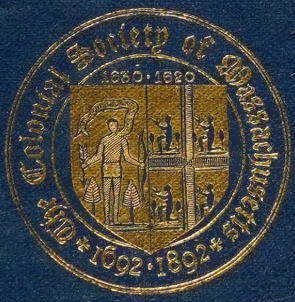
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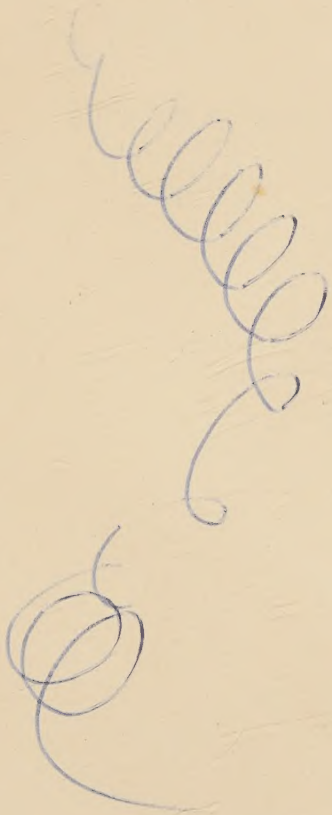

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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1920–1922

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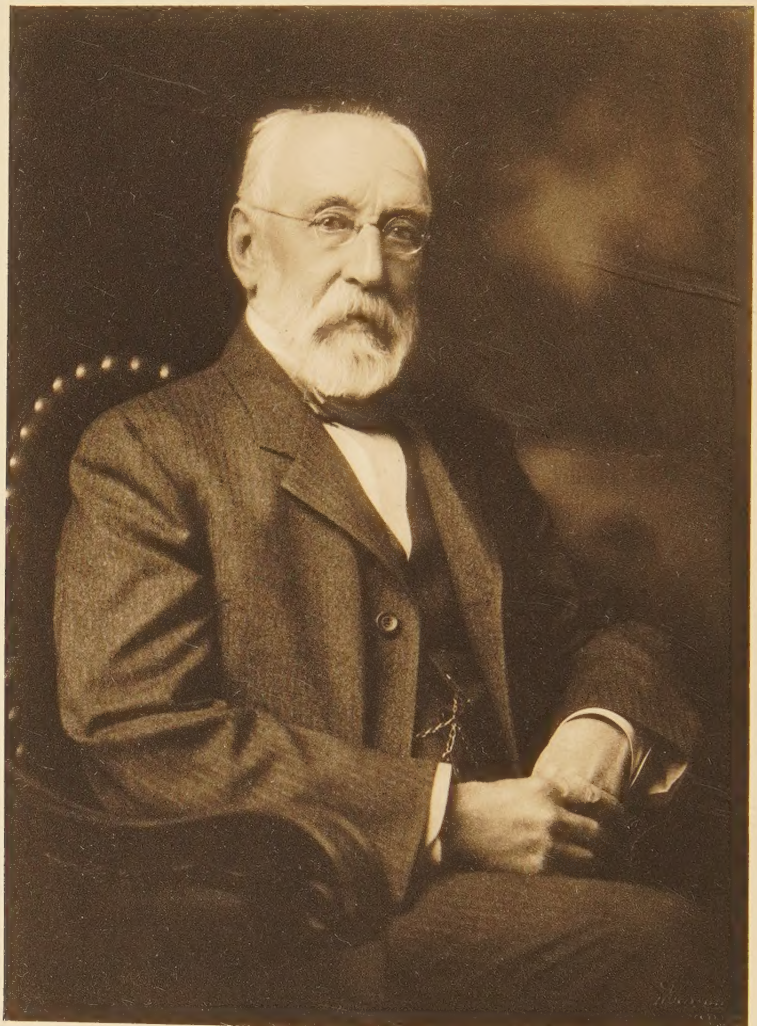

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PUBLICATIONS

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TRANSACTIONS

1920–1922

Printed at the Charge of the Andrew McFarland Davis Fund

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PREFACE

VOLUME XXIV, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at thirteen meetings, from January, 1920, to January, 1922, both included, in continuation of Volume XXI.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, namely: to Dr. Octavius Thorndike Howe, Mr. Albert Matthews, Mr. Harold Murdock, Mrs. Charles Edward Ober, Mrs. Charles Robert Sanger, the Cary Memorial Library (Lexington), the Club of Odd Volumes (Boston), the Library of Congress, the Corporation of Harvard College, the Harvard College Library, the Selectmen of Lexington, the Lexington Historical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Maine Historical Society.

For the Committee of Publication,

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON,
Chairman.

BOSTON, 1 October, 1922.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE v

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xi

OFFICERS, 1 OCTOBER, 1922 xiii

RESIDENT MEMBERS xiv

HONORARY MEMBERS xvi

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS xvi

MEMBERS DECEASED xvii

PAPERS, NOTES, REMARKS, AND DOCUMENTS

Remarks on Thomas Hollis (1720–1774) and Jonathan Mayhew (1720–1765), by CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH 1

Book-plates of Edward Holyoke and Gershom Rawlins, 1704, exhibited by GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP 2

Note on Gershom Rawlins (H. C. 1705) and Dudley Bradstreet (H. C. 1698), by ALBERT MATTHEWS 2

Remarks on a copy of An Exact Collection Of all Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, etc., London, 1643, by JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE 8

The Pilgrim Spirit, by WINSLOW WARREN 10

Notes on some Manuscript Sermons preached by the Rev. Simon Bradstreet in Marblehead, 1743–1769, by HENRY WILDER FOOTE 23

Comment by HENRY HERBERT EDES 30

The Church of England, Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire, and Dartmouth College, by LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO 31

Comment by OTIS GRANT HAMMOND 33

Remarks by ALFRED JOHNSON, on Two Visits of Daniel Webster to Belfast, Maine 34

Remarks on the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, by PERCIVAL MERRITT . 34

Massachusetts Land Grants in Vermont, communicated from HERBERT WILLIAMS DENIO 35

PAGE

Letter of Viscount Bryce, dated 25 March, 1920, communicated by Henry Herbert Edes 61

A Ghost Benefactor of Harvard College, by Albert Matthews . 61

Remarks by Arthur Lord, on forged Signatures of Myles Standish and John Robinson 63

Remarks by Worthington Chauncey Ford, on the Suppression of Names in Diaries and Letters 64

Remarks on the Rev. Robert Boucher Nickolls, by Percival Merritt 64

Two Book Lists: 1688 and 1728, communicated from Howard Judson Hall 64

Two Volumes, exhibited by Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe . 71

Note on Robert Elliston (1680–1756), by Albert Matthews . 71

Announcement by Henry Herbert Edes, of the Receipt of certain Bequests 81

The Building of Massachusetts Hall, 1717–1720, by William Coolidge Lane 81

Letter of Viscount Bryce, dated 9 November, 1920, communicated by Henry Herbert Edes 118

Remarks on the Rev. Stephen Christopher Lewis, by Percival Merritt 120

Writings of George Ware Briggs (1810–1895), by Albert Matthews 120

Remarks on Judah Monis, by George Foot Moore 146

Comment by William Coolidge Lane 148

Note on the Rev. George Sumner Ball (1822–1902), by Albert Matthews 148

List of Plymouth Colony Freemen, 1675, communicated by Henry Herbert Edes 149

Remarks by Albert Matthews, on a Society at Harvard College, 1721–1723; on an Agreement between Harvard Students, dated 31 March, 1770; and on the Martimercurian Company, 1771 156

Early Silver belonging to Harvard College, by William Coolidge Lane 165

The engraved Copper Plate from which the Harvard College Book-plates were printed about 1840, exhibited by John Whittemore Farwell 176

Book-plates of three Harvard Clubs, exhibited by Ezra Henry Baker: the Knights of the Order of the Pudding Stick, the Order of the Knights of the Square Table, and the Porcellian Club 176

PAGE

Various Objects relating to Harvard College, exhibited by EZRA HENRY BAKER 177
The President and the Senate, by GEORGE HUBBARD HAYNES . 180
Plymouth Plantation and the Golden Age, by EDWARD KENNARD RAND 182
Extracts from George William Crosby's Annals of Belfast, Maine, communicated by ALFRED JOHNSON 195
Sir Francis Bernard and his Grant of Mount Desert, communicated from WILLIAM OTIS SAWTELLE 197
Remarks by JOHN WHITTEMORE FARWELL, in exhibiting a Book published in London in 1632 254
Remarks by CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, on a copy of the Bible used at the Inaugurations of Presidents Washington and Harding 255
Christo et Ecclesiae, communicated from CLIFFORD BLAKE CLAPP 256
Earl Percy's Retreat to Boston on the Nineteenth of April, 1775, by HAROLD MURDOCK 257
Remarks on Massachusetts Broadsides, 1639–1800, by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD 292
Note on the Term "God's Acre," by ALBERT MATTHEWS 293
Note on the Courier Politique de l'Univers, Boston, 1792–1793, by PERCIVAL MERRITT 296
Remarks by JOHN WOODBURY, on a copy of John Brown's An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times . . . 312
A Religious Society at Harvard College, 1719, by WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE 309
Maine as a Massachusetts Frontier, and some of its early Forts, by ALFRED JOHNSON 313
The Observator and Increase Mather, communicated from ROGER PHILIP MCCUTCHEON 313
Beverly Privateers in the American Revolution, communicated from OCTAVIUS THORNDIKE HOWE 318
Remarks by PERCIVAL MERRITT, in communicating a Letter of the Rev. Robert Boucher Nickolls, dated 5 August, 1775 . 435
Remarks by JOHN WHITTEMORE FARWELL, in communicating a Letter of William Flint, dated 14 July, 1756 438
Remarks on Fellow-Commoners at Harvard College, by ALBERT MATTHEWS 442

BUSINESS PROCEEDINGS

PAGE

Members Elected 1, 10, 111, 156, 180, 257, 300, 309, 318
Vote to join the Bay State League 31
Committee to Nominate Officers appointed 60, 257
Committee to Examine the Treasurer's Accounts appointed . 60, 257
Death of Members announced 60, 111, 317
Report of the Council 111, 300
Report of the Treasurer 114, 304
Report of the Auditing Committee 117, 307
Officers Elected 117, 120, 307
Annual Dinner 119, 308
Delegates to the Annual Conference of Historical Societies appointed 120

APPENDIX

List of Members of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1892–1922:
Foreword 447
Officers, 31 December, 1922 451
Alphabetical List of Members, 1892–1922 453
Chronological List of Resident Members, 1892–1922 469
Chronological List of Honorary Members, 1892–1922 475
Chronological List of Corresponding Members, 1892–1922 . . 476

INDEX 479

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Portrait of Andrew McFarland Davis	*Frontispiece*
A Draught for the New College by Benjamin Wadsworth	94
A Plan for the New College by John Leverett	100
Early Silver belonging to Harvard College:	
Plate I	166
Plate II	172
Map of the Island of Mount Desert, published 24 April, 1776	200
Portrait of Sir Francis Bernard	250
Portrait of Earl Percy	258
A View of the South Part of Lexington, by Amos Doolittle	272
Articles of a Religious Society at Harvard College, 1719–1723	310
Portrait of Hugh Hill	320
A West View of the Town of Bilbao in Vizcaya, 1756	342
Combat Naval Livré le 21 Juillet, 1781, par Mr de la Pérouse Capitaine de Vaisseaux	384

COUNCIL

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

1 October, 1922

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RESIDENT MEMBERS

IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ENROLMENT

1892

Henry Herbert Edes, A.M.
Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B.
Charles Sedgwick Rackemann, A.M.

1893

George Wigglesworth, A.M.
Waldo Lincoln, A.B.
Charles Montraville Green, M.D.
George Lyman Kittredge, LL.D.
Charles Warren Clifford, A.M.
Walter Cabot Baylies, A.B.
Frank Brewster, A.M.
George Lincoln Goodale, M.D., LL.D.

1894

George Nixon Black, Esq.

1896

Charles Francis Mason, A.B.
Albert Matthews, A.B.

1897

William Coolidge Lane, A.B.
Hon. William Cushing Wait, A.M.

1898

John Eliot Thayer, A.M.

1899

Frederic Haines Curtiss, Esq.

1901

Hon. James Madison Morton, LL.D.
James Atkins Noyes, A.B.

1902

Rev. James Hardy Ropes, D.D.
Francis Apthorp Foster, Esq.

1903

John Noble, LL.B.
Winthrop Howland Wade, A.M.
Hon. Augustus Peabody Loring, LL.B.

1906

William Vail Kellen, LL.D.
Robert Dickson Weston, A.B.
Henry Lefavour, LL.D.
Francis Randall Appleton, LL.B.
Arthur Lord, LL.D.

1908

Rev. William Wallace Fenn, D.D.
Julius Herbert Tuttle, Esq.
Rev. Charles Edwards Park, D.D.
Ogden Codman, Esq.

1909

Worthington Chauncey Ford, LL.D.
William Lowell Putnam, LL.B.
Harold Murdock, A.M.
Rev. Edward Caldwell Moore, D.D.

1910

Archibald Cary Coolidge, LL.D.
Ezra Henry Baker, A.B.
John Whittemore Farwell, Litt.B.
Frederick Jackson Turner, LL.D.
John Woodbury, A.B.
Hon. John Adams Aiken, LL.D.
Rev. George Foot Moore, LL.D.
Edward Percival Merritt, A.B.
Hon. Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D.

1911

Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, Litt.D.

1912

Clarence Saunders Brigham, A.M.
Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D.
Roger Bigelow Merriman, Ph.D.
Chester Noyes Greenough, Ph.D.
Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D.
Hon. Robert Grant, Litt.D.

1913

Allan Forbes, A.B.
Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt.D.
Samuel Chester Clough, Esq.
Hon. Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B.
Alfred Claghorn Potter, A.B.
Francis Henshaw Dewey, A.M.
William Roscoe Thayer, LL.D.
Edward Kennard Rand, Ph.D.

1914

Charles Hall Grandgent, L.H.D.
Hon. Charles John McIntire

1915

Francis Russell Hart, Esq.
Samuel Henshaw, A.M.
Augustus George Bullock, A.B.
Hon. Winslow Warren, LL.B.
Edward Channing, Ph.D.
Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, A.M.
Stephen Willard Phillips, LL.B.
Alfred Johnson, Litt.D.

1916

George Parker Winship, Litt.D.
Lawrence Shaw Mayo, A.M.
Richard Clipston Sturgis, A.B.
Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, B.A.S.

1918

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D.
William Crowninshield Endicott, A.B.
Frederick Cheever Shattuck, M.D., LL.D.
Hon. James Parker Parmenter, A.M.

1919

Charles Rockwell Lanman, LL.D.
Henry Goddard Pickering, A.M.
Robert Gould Shaw, A.M.
Samuel Williston, LL.D.
Morris Gray, LL.B.
Rev. Howard Nicholson Brown, D.D.
John Lowell, A.B.

1920

Hon. Charles Francis Jenney, LL.B.
George Henry Haynes, Ph.D.
Alfred Lawrence Aiken, A.B.

1921

Hon. Frederick Lawton, A.B.
George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D.
William Bradford Homer Dowse, LL.B.
Wilbur Cortez Abbott, A.M.

1922

George Pomeroy Anderson, Esq.
Francis Tiffany Bowles, U.S.N.A.
Walter Austin, LL.B.
Homer Gage, M.D.

HONORARY MEMBERS

1910

Hon. Elihu Root, LL.D.

1913

Hon. William Howard Taft, LL.D.

1922

John Singer Sargent, LL.D.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

1898

John Franklin Jameson, LL.D.
Hon. Simeon Eben Baldwin, LL.D.
Wilberforce Eames, A.M.
Rev. William Jewett Tucker, LL.D.

1899

Edward Field, A.B.
Arthur Twining Hadley, LL.D.

1903

George Arthur Plimpton, LL.D.

1904

Herbert Putnam, LL.D.

1905

Rev. John Carroll Perkins, D.D.
Clarence Winthrop Bowen, LL.D.
Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, Esq.

1906

William Logan Rodman Gifford, A.B.
Robert Hallowell Gardiner, A.B.

1907

Thomas Willing Balch, L.H.D.

1908

James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D.
Frank Warren Hackett, A.M.

1910

Edward Robinson, LL.D.

1912

Edward Vanderhoof Bird, Esq.

1913

Edgar Huidekoper Wells, A.B.

1915

Charles McLean Andrews, L.H.D.
Evarts Boutell Greene, Ph.D.

1917

Edmund Burke Delabarre, Ph.D.
William MacDonald, LL.D.
George Burton Adams, Litt.D.

1918

Hon. Frederic Adrian Delano, A.B.
Otis Grant Hammond, A.M.

1920

George Russell Agassiz, A.B.

1922

James Benjamin Wilbur, Esq.
John Pierpont Morgan, A.B.

MEMBERS DECEASED

Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume of Transactions, with the Date of Death

Resident

Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M.	29 March,	1920
Charles Armstrong Snow, A.B.	1 September,	1920
Hon. Winthrop Murray Crane	2 October,	1920
Barrett Wendell, Litt.D.	8 February,	1921
Charles Pickering Bowditch, A.M.	1 June,	1921
John Endicott Peabody, A.B.	17 August,	1921
Lindsay Swift, A.B.	11 September,	1921
Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt	13 December,	1921
Edward Mussey Hartwell, LL.D.	19 February,	1922
Richard Middlecott Saltonstall, A.B.	17 April,	1922

Corresponding

Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D.	13 August,	1920
Hon. James Phinney Baxter, Litt.D.	8 May,	1921
Rev. Williston Walker, D.D.	9 March,	1922

TRANSACTIONS

1920–1922

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

JANUARY MEETING, 1920

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 22 January, 1920, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. George Henry Haynes of Worcester, Mr. Charles Francis Jenney of Hyde Park, and Mr. Edward Mussey Hartwell of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. Chester N. Greenough read a paper on Thomas Hollis (1720–1774) of Lincoln's Inn and the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew (1720–1765) of the West Church, Boston. Mayhew's liberal theology, his determined efforts to resist the attempts of the Society for Propagating the Gospel to advance the interests of the Church of England in the American colonies, and his republican political theories, all commended the Boston minister to the warm regard of Hollis. The correspondence of the two men, as preserved in the Hollis Papers, was spoken of as among the most interesting and valuable documents of the period. Largely through Mayhew's prompting and personal agency, Hollis became an important friend of

the radical group in church and state affairs in Massachusetts.

Hollis's part in the republication of Mayhew's works in London was commented on, and special emphasis laid upon Hollis's vigorous efforts to bring Locke, Milton, Algernon Sidney, and other republican writers — usually in editions published, bound, and inscribed in Hollis's striking way — to the attention of the colonies, and especially to those who used the "public library at Cambridge" (that is, the Harvard College Library). Mr. Greenough showed a manuscript, in Hollis's own hand, of verses addressed to Mrs. Mayhew explaining the device under Cipriani's print of Mayhew's portrait, and alluded to other prints and inscriptions which indicate Hollis's generosity to Harvard and his special wish that the College might be fully supplied with works on government — "that first subject" — and might use these books to advance the cause of liberty. Mr. Greenough also exhibited fine portraits of Dr. Mayhew and of Algernon Sidney.[1]

Mr. GEORGE P. WINSHIP exhibited the book-plates of Edward Holyoke and Gershom Rawlins, which were printed in Boston in 1704. Holyoke and Rawlins were classmates, graduating from Harvard College in 1705, so that these are perhaps the earliest known book-plates belonging to undergraduates of the College.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS communicated the following —

NOTE ON GERSHOM RAWLINS (H. C. 1705) AND DUDLEY BRADSTREET (H. C. 1698)

When Mr. Winship showed me these book-plates a week or two ago and asked whether I knew exactly who Gershom Rawlins was, I replied that I did not but had no doubt that it would be easy to

[1] Mr. Greenough's paper, together with the illustrations, will appear in the Transactions of a future meeting.

ascertain from the manuscript continuation of Sibley's Harvard Graduates, now owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Sibley's printed work is so singularly free from errors that in quoting the few words which follow it is only fair to point out that in this instance Sibley merely took what data he had at hand and evidently had made no attempt to verify the identification. This is what he wrote:

Rawlins, Gershom, Rev., an eminent dissenting clergyman took his degree of A.M. in 1744, returned to England and died at his house in St. Johns Square, London 14 Dec 1757

Then follow six references, an examination of which shows that Sibley accepted the above identification from John R. Rollins, who made it on three separate occasions — first in 1854,[1] again in 1870,[2] and finally in 1874. As his last account is fuller than the others, it is here given:

Rawlins, Rev. Gershom. Two Sermons; 1715; 8vo. He was for a time in America; graduated at Harvard College, 1705; M.A., 1744. He returned to England and died at his residence in St. John's Square, London, Dec. 14, 1757, "an eminent dissenting minister." . . .

Rev. Gershom Rawlins grad. Harvard University, 1705; M.A., 1744. He went to England and died at his residence in St. John's Square, London, Dec. 14, 1757; "an eminent dissenting minister." [3]

In neither of the three instances did Mr. Rollins cite any authority, but no doubt he had seen a notice of the death of a clergyman of that surname in an English magazine or newspaper, and had jumped to the conclusion that it was Gershom Rawlins. Thus the London Magazine for December, 1757, recorded the death on the 15th of that month of the "Rev. Mr. Rawlings, an eminent dissenting minister;" [4] while the Gentleman's Magazine for the same month stated that the death of the "Rev. Dr. Rawlins, in St. John's Square," occurred on the 16th.[5] That these two notices referred to the same

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, viii. 258.

[2] Notes relating to Rawlins, or Rollins, etc., p. 37.

[3] Records of Families of the Name of Rawlins or Rollins, in the United States, pp. xi, 303.

[4] xxvi. 619.

[5] xxvii. 578.

person is made certain by an extract from the London Chronicle of December 15–17, 1757: "Yesterday died, at his House in St. John's Square, the Rev. Dr. Rawlings, an eminent Dissenting Minister."[1] This "eminent dissenting minister," however, was not Gershom Rawlins, but the Rev. Richard Rawlin, of whom a sketch will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography.

It is not a little curious that almost nothing should be known about a Harvard graduate, and that a man who took orders in England should be mistaken for an "eminent dissenting minister;" and the few data here presented are offered in the hope that they will be the means of obtaining further information.

Gershom Rawlins, the son of John and Judah Rawlins, was born in Boston on January 29, 1686.[2] Entering Harvard in 1701, in 1703 and again in 1704 he was "Scholar of the House"[3] — one of those, that is, appointed to look after the college buildings, etc., receiving therefor a small gratuity — and graduated in 1705. On the same Commencement Day Judge Sewall "Gave Gershom Rawlins a 20^{s} Bill."[4] For the next six months Rawlins taught the grammar school at Woburn, receiving £15.[5] As he did not take his second degree of A.M. in course in 1708, it is a fair assumption that he had already gone to England. At all events, we next hear of him on May 14, 1714, on which day he wrote the following letter to the Bishop of London:[6]

SIDNEY STREET, NEAR LEICESTER FIELDS, MAY 17, 1714.

MY LORD,

The uneasiness which my personal address seemed to give your Lordship yestermorn has obliged me to take this method to acquaint your Lordship that I last night performed y^{e} last office for my late friend and countryman M^{r}. Bradstreet who I may venture to say was very deserving of the favour and esteem wherewith your Lordship was pleased to honour him whilst alive. Your Lordship not being at leisure to hear me explain myself upon the favour I came yesterday to entreat for him since his death, I beg leave to do it here. There are people my Lord in

[1] ii. 578. The paragraph is headed "Friday, December 16."
[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 166.
[3] College Book iv. 23, 24, 25.
[4] Diary, ii. 134.
[5] S. Sewall, History of Woburn, p. 586.
[6] John Robinson (1650–1723).

New England who will not fail to say (perhaps from the pulpit) when they hear of M^r. Bradstreet's death, that it was a Judgment on him for his Apostacy; for so they qualify conformity. And tho' I fear this can no way be prevented yet I humbly conceive your Ld'p may easily prevent their triumphing over him and the glorious cause in pursuit whereof he died, by sneering that the Church of England was not so fond of her new Proselyte but that his carkass loathsome as it was might have remained above ground had not the charity of a few of his countrymen provided for its interment, who I can assure your Lordship are so far from expecting to be reimbursed out of his Estate, that on the contrary they think his Family stands in need of their further charity.

I know, my Lord, they would be glad of such a story in New England and would carefully improve it to defeat the hopes we have that several of the young Students in that Country will follow his example. The method in which I conceive your Lordship might remedy this and which I promise myself from your Lordship's known goodness is by procuring £20 from the Illustrious Society in whose cause he lost his life, w^ch will be sufficient I hope to pay his debts & defray the charges of his Funeral. The Society have obliged themselves to defray the charges of those who come over to be ordained and embrace their Mission, as appears in their printed acc^t Page 74–75 and therefore cannot refuse this when recommended by your Lordship. This is the only favour I have to beg of your Ld'p unless it be that your Lordship will pardon the trouble w^ch nothing but my concern for y^e honour of our most excel Church could have tempted me to give you.

I am, My Lord, y^s.,
G. RAWLINS.[1]

Previous to the "great apostacy" at Yale College in 1722, which so stirred New England, there had apparently been only five Americans who had gone to England for Episcopal orders, all of whom, oddly enough, were Harvard men. William Vesey graduated in 1683, Samuel Myles in 1684, Dudley Bradstreet in 1698, Gershom Rawlins in 1705, and John Usher in 1719. It was the third of these who was the subject of Rawlins's letter to the Bishop of London.

[1] W. S. Perry, Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church, iii. 98–99. On December 11, 1872, Bishop Perry wrote to Sibley stating that he had a copy of this letter and asking for information about Rawlins; and on December 27 he sent Sibley a copy of the letter, adding "I am very much obliged to you for the information you send." The Massachusetts Historical Society owns Bishop Perry's letters, but Sibley's replies have not been preserved.

Dudley Bradstreet, a grandson of Governor Simon Bradstreet, was the son of Dudley Bradstreet and his wife Ann (Wood) Price, the widow of Theodore Price. Born at Andover on April 27, 1678,[1] after graduating at Harvard in 1698 he taught the grammar school in his native town for several years,[2] and in March, 1704, was also called to teach the grammar school at Woburn and attended "'personally at Wooburne at the time of the Charlestown Court;' but no scholars presenting themselves as his pupils, he had returned to Andover again," his expenses being paid and he receiving a gratuity of eighteen shillings.[3] On March 5, 1706, he was chosen pastor of the church at Groton and was ordained on November 27th.[4] There he remained for nearly six years, when, trouble having arisen, on June 18, 1712, an ecclesiastical council proposed his dismissal, on July 22 the church voted to dismiss him, and on July 24 the town agreed.[5] It was long supposed that the cause of the disagreement between him and the parish was due to his Episcopal leanings, but documents that have recently come to light show that there were other reasons for dissatisfaction on the part of his parishioners.[6] Exactly when he went to England is not known, but he was ordained deacon on April 18 and priest on April 25, 1714, by the Bishop of London.[7] Bradstreet was regarded in London as a man of promise, and no doubt he looked eagerly forward to his return to his native country as a missionary; but in less than three weeks after his ordination he met the miserable fate detailed in Rawlins's letter.

The news of his death reached Boston on August 5, 1714, on which day Sewall noted that "Mr. Dudley Bradstreet quickly after he had received Orders, dy'd of the small Pocks."[8] President

[1] Andover Vital Records, i. 77. Dudley Bradstreet, the father, died on November 13, 1702 (ii. 397).

[2] A. Abbot, History of Andover, p. 133; S. L. Bailey, Historical Sketches of Andover, p. 522.

[3] Sewall, History of Woburn, pp. 214, 586.

[4] Butler, History of Groton, pp. 165, 168. The date of ordination is sometimes wrongly given as June 16, 1706, and even as 1708.

[5] Butler, History of Groton, pp. 166–167.

[6] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xii. 298–302; S. A. Green, Groton Historical Series, vol. i. no. x. pp. 1–5.

[7] Leverett's Diary, p. 90.

[8] Diary, iii. 13.

Leverett, but without comment of any sort, copied into his Diary the Latin certificates of Bradstreet's ordination as deacon and priest.[1] In a letter written August 10 to the Rev. Eliphalet Adams of New London, Sewall said: "Miserable B——t! his L——g mouth is stop'd by the Small Pocks."[2] Still more bitter were the words Sewall wrote to Jeremiah Dummer on August 17th: "Miserable B——t! the Small Pocks has stop'd his L——g mouth. *He'l soon be dispatched* was fulfill'd in a superiour degree than you imagined."[3] It is clear that Dummer must have mentioned Bradstreet in his letters, but these apparently have not been preserved. As an offset to the hard things said about him by Sewall, it is only fair to place on record the view held of him in London. In the Abstract appended to a sermon preached in 1715 by St. George Ashe, Bishop of Clogher in Ireland, we read:

For this Parish [Newbury], or *Naraganset*, was design'd the Reverend Mr. *Dudley Breadstreet*, a Native of the Country, and Proselyte of their Way by Education, Grandson to Governour *Breadstreet*, who being timely convinc'd of his Duty to receive *Episcopal* Ordination, was desirous, when *confirmed*, of *strengthening his Brethren* in Orthodoxy of Faith and Regularity of Manners, and of whom great Expectations were raised; but God suffer'd them to be defeated by his Decease, opportune enough for himself, who was (seiz'd at *London* by a Distemper then almost *epidemical*) full of Intentions to do good; but untimely to his Family and Dependants, who yet were not burthen'd with the Expences of his Sickness or Funeral Charges; and had besides a Surplusage of the Society's Benevolence transmitted to them, as a Testimony of *their* Regards for him, whose *Gain was their Loss*.[4]

[1] Diary, pp. 90–91. They are headed "m^{r} Dudley Bradstreet's Orders. 1. Diaconatus. . . . 2. Presbyteratus;" are entered between Corporations meetings held on July 22 and September 16, 1714; and in the margin is written "Reg. Sept. 1. 1714."

[2] Letter-Book, ii. 32. [3] ii. 32.

[4] A Sermon Preach'd before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; . . . On Friday the 18th of February, 1714. . . . London: . . . 1715. Abstract Of the most material Proceedings and Occurrences within the past year's Endeavours, p. 40. In his History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett (1847, p. 452; 1907, iii. 63) Updike wrongly stated that Bradstreet was designed "for Marblehead or Narragansett," and that he "died before ordination." In the Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1893, p. 852) Bradstreet is said to have "qualified for Newbury Mission."

When Rawlins was ordained has not been ascertained. In 1715 he published at London " A Sermon [on Chron. ix. 7] Great Britain's Happiness under the wise and good Government of a Protestant King, preach'd at the Camp in Hide Park, . . . Sept. 18, 1715, being the anniversary of King George's happy Arrival." [1] Then follows a period of nearly thirty years during which nothing is heard about him. On Commencement Day, July 4, 1744, the Corporation of Harvard College voted " That the Rev^{d} M^{r} Gershom Rawlins, who formerly had his first Degree in this Society, should have his second Degree given him this Day." [2] On the same day the Overseers voted " That the Revd m^{r} Gershom Rawlins, of London," and four others, " though absent upon divers reasons were admitted to have the degrees of Master of Arts conferred on them." [3] Thus after a lapse of thirty-nine years he received his A.M. This is our last authentic glimpse of Rawlins. His name was starred in the Triennial Catalogue printed in 1758 — a fact which proves not that he was then dead but merely that the College authorities thought he was.[4] Elsewhere, but on uncertain authority, he is said to have died in 1763.[5]

Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE spoke as follows

The search for books which were once a part of our earliest libraries becomes now and then of fascinating interest, and when such works bear evidence of their connection with distinguished collections their association gives them a special value. Thomas Prince,

[1] This title is taken from the British Museum Catalogue. The title is not in Sabin, and I have been unable to locate a copy. Mr. Rollins's statement (p. 3, above) that Rawlins printed " Two Sermons; 1715 " may be correct, but no authority is cited.

[2] College Book iv. 259.

[3] Overseers' Records, ii. 1.

[4] The date 1757 was first attached to Rawlins's name in the 1848 Triennial Catalogue.

[5] The so-called " Gilman-Belknap-Winthrop-Pierce Triennial Catalogue," now owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, where the entry occurs: " Episc. min. London. B. — ob^{t} 1763 aged 76 E. — Epis. min. in London. G. Brit. W." " B." stands for Jeremy Belknap, and "W." for William Winthrop (H. C. 1770). In 1864 Sibley wrote: "To the Doctor's [Dr. Belknap's] memoranda are additions by another hand, probably that of the Rev. Dr. John Eliot, of Boston" (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, viii. 45). Why Eliot gave that date remains unknown.

who began as a collector in 1703 while a student at Harvard College, gathered many works identified with colonial libraries. His library, now at the Boston Public Library, contains one book which goes back to the library of Robert Keayne, Boston's early benefactor, who came to our city in 1635 and died on March 23, 1656, providing by his will for a library in the Town House, which should contain "a handsome roome for a Library & another for the Eld^{rs} and Scholl^{rs} to walke & meete in." The title is as follows:

An Exact | Collection | Of all Remonstrances, Declarations | Votes, Orders, Ordinances, Procla- | mations, Petitions, Messages, Answers, and other | Remarkable Passages betweene the Kings | most Excellent Majesty, | and his High Court | of Parliament beginning at his Majesties | return from Scotland, being in | December 1641, and continued untill | March the 21, 1643. | Which | Were formerly published either by the Kings | Majesties Command or by Order from one | or both Houses of Parliament. | With a Table wherein is most exactly digested all the fore-mentioned things according to their severall | Dates and Dependancies. | — | [Printer's mark showing the English coat of arms] | — | Printed for Edward Husband, T. Warren, R. Best, and are to be | sold at the Middle Temple, Grays Inne Gate, and the | White Horse in Pauls Churchyard, 1643.

8vo. pp. (1), (6), 954, and Table of 15 pp.

On the top of the blank page preceding the title-page is written the following in Keayne's hand, and it is interesting to note the writing is of the same date as the imprint, showing its early purchase by him:

Robert Keayne. his booke — Ann. 1643 | of Boston in New England Price 7^{s}

Just below this in another hand, probably that of Keayne's cousin, the Rev. John Wilson, minister of Medfield, whose father the Rev. John Wilson of Boston and John Norton, under Keayne's will, were to select the books fit for the Town Library and dispose of the others:

Dom: Accipe Donū Amici tui | Cordialissimi. Jn°nis Wilsoni:

On February 13, 1719, the book passed into the possession of Thomas Prince, as shown by his own entry of that date.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1920

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 February, 1920, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS JENNEY, Mr. GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, and Mr. EDWARD MUSSEY HARTWELL, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL AGASSIZ of Newport, Rhode Island, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN read the following paper:

THE PILGRIM SPIRIT

In a Forefather's Day ode written by the Rev. John Pierpont — one of the most inspiring odes called forth by the celebration of that day — is the following verse:

> The Pilgrim spirit has not fled:
> It walks in the noon's broad light;
> And it watches the bed of the glorious dead,
> With the holy stars, by night.

An eminent writer in England has recently said:

It is an auspicious moment — a year that should stir America with great memories and inspire it with high motives. It is the tercentenary of the sailing of the Mayflower. A few weeks ago I stood in the little grave yard in Plymouth in New England where the Pilgrims of that

immortal expedition sleep. All that is best in America will turn in reverent thought this year to that sacred spot and I have confidence that all that is best in America will prevail in this emergency as it has prevailed in the past and make the record of 1920 a fitting and everlasting memorial to the fadeless glory of 1620.

As we read words like these expressing with confidence hopes for the future, do they not inevitably suggest to our minds the question whether they are really true of this Nation to-day now that it has ceased to be homogeneous in character and become the melting pot of the world? Does the Nation retain the same moral fibre as in Pilgrim days so that the promise of the future equals the performance of the past? We cannot question the physical courage of its people — though that is a quality shared with all great nations — it has been clearly manifested upon the recent battlefields of Europe — nor can we doubt the patriotic impulses of our people, for they have shown a spirit of self sacrifice, men and women alike, in cheerfully bearing privation in a great cause and in offering their lives and their treasure for the relief of Europe and the betterment of the world. All this is of hopeful augury for the future — but great as the Nation is and great as seems the promise, to make sure of its fulfillment we must look for the same moral grandeur that ennobled the Pilgrims, the same high motives, the same fortitude, the same reliance upon God to hold it unswervingly in the path of duty and the same devotion to Christian principles which set apart the Pilgrims as a chosen people with a high mission to build up on this continent a great empire on the solid basis of justice and truth.

The permanence and prosperity of America depend upon the certainty with which an affirmative answer may be given to these questions, and yet no one can approach them without hesitation in view of the present disturbed and unsettled condition of public affairs calculated as it is to unhinge all but the strongest minds and to perplex and confuse us as we look upon the ruin the last few years have wrought upon high principles that were thought to be firmly established in the world.

The near approach of the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth not only proclaims that as a people we have reached an age of respectable antiquity, but gives us food for profound speculation and thought in the survey of three centuries which

have probably been more prolific of startling events and wonderful discoveries than any equal period in the world's history. A little forlorn band of humble emigrants struggling for existence upon the bleak shores of Plymouth, has developed under the providence of God into a mighty Nation holding to-day apparently the key to the very life of the continent from which they were driven forth — that Nation has itself passed through seven wars, three of which at least were just and necessary and a test of its stamina and strength. The three centuries have witnessed the English Revolution, the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Russian revolution, the vast development of the English empire, the rise of Japan to a world power, and lastly the awful cataclysm that has convulsed Europe and left it in disorder and in near approach to bankruptcy.

Mighty empires have been built up and have toppled down. Napoleonic dynasties, Bourbon dynasties, Hohenzollern, Romanoff, and Hapsburg dynasties have disappeared, the unspeakable Turk retains but a corner of his once great empire and Russia with its vast population is in chaos; yet slowly but surely the principles of democracy which the Pilgrims exemplified have extended over the earth. During the same period, discoveries and inventions beyond wildest dreams have astounded the world, advances in the arts and sciences have been made beyond imagination, and civilization has been everywhere extended.

We had thought that the blessings of Christianity had kept equal pace with civilization and that the great Nations of the earth had been so led into the paths of peace that the barbarism of war, if not impossible, had at least been tempered by more civilized rules of warfare; but from this last has come a rude awakening and we have seen the world disgraced in the recent war by barbarism triumphant in a great Nation which has trampled in the dust the rights of non-combatant people, committed hideous crimes on sea and land, and wrought purposeful destruction of private property without the least military necessity, and we have everywhere seen all the destructive agencies of modern science and invention harnessed to the chariot of war.

It can hardly be wondered at that, in face of this apparent relapse into barbarism, many thoughtful minds have questioned whether Christianity itself has not failed and still ponder over the situation,

uncertain whether the world will awaken from this temporary backsliding and gain from all the sacrifice and suffering a higher conception of duty and a more serious and deeper insight into the great moral questions that may lead towards the light of a better Christianity — or whether the awful scenes of horror and carnage through which men have passed and the temporary loosening of the rules of law and order have made them callous, brutalized their natures, and so led to a disregard of the laws of God and man.

The gravity of such a situation cannot be overestimated, and whether in our own country we are to emerge from it unstained must, as I have indicated, largely depend upon the survival of the Pilgrim spirit and upon whether our people have truly absorbed the lessons to be drawn from Pilgrim patient acceptance of hardship without impairment of their sublime faith and absolute reliance upon divine protection.

With these things in mind it is well to recall the story of 1620 and to see what meaning it has in the present day — not the details of Pilgrim life, for those are too familiar to all of you, but certain phases of their character and purpose which have not always been fairly told and which are liable to misconception by exaggeration of defects which those men shared with all the sons of men. I have slight interest in or patience with writers who seem to delight in portraying the failings of those early pioneers and cannot appreciate how little those failings really detract from the sterling character and earnest devout purpose and the amazing fortitude of those Pilgrim fathers. It is difficult to understand the value of such books as the True History of the Pilgrims, the True George Washington, the True Thomas Jefferson, which are greatly untrue because they exaggerate defects and minimize virtues. It may be they serve an unlooked for purpose inasmuch as a contemplation of human failures sometimes serves to magnify the virtues — as some one has said that the weaknesses of great men increase their popularity — upon the theory we must assume that many people are better pleased with themselves when they realize that those held up to them as models of virtue had after all a human side.

Without hesitation, we may admit that the Pilgrims though more tolerant than most of their contemporaries were in their nature or from their experiences hard and stern men — that being modified, how-

ever, by the gentle side shown in their family relations which often indicate a tinge of romance — we may freely concede that they were bigoted in their beliefs, relentless towards opposition, and that they turned away from the brighter side of life and dwelt upon its serious and darker side — as Boyle O'Reilly puts it in his poem at Plymouth, "they missed God's smile to watch his frown," but is it any wonder that their hardships and sufferings were too great for lightness of heart and that "God's smile" seemed very distant from them? If they turned away from the contemplation of earthly pleasures they never wavered in their faith in a heavenly reward.

They were doubtless men of their time and their thoughts were of the times in which they lived, except in so far as they had caught a glimpse of something higher and better. Their creed was Mosaic, their God a cruel and relentless being, Heaven and Hell were intensely real to them, and their Bible was to be construed with extreme literalness, with no allowance at all for its being clothed in oriental form and delivered to oriental nations; yet, what was rare in those days, they did have strivings for broader light and a more humane conception of their relations to their fellow-men, even though they had but a glimpse of the spirit of toleration. We would like to accept Mrs. Hemans's poetic version that they came here to establish "Freedom to worship God," but if that is to be taken in any other meaning than that they sought freedom for themselves to worship God unmolested — the phrase is hardly in accordance with their own conception of their mission, for they had not reached the point of general toleration nor had any people in the world, not even in tolerant Holland.

We may therefore be charitable in our judgment of their intolerance towards later comers whose religious views seemed to the Pilgrims to threaten the loss of their own religious freedom, yet it is something that they were much less harsh than their neighboring colony and made little trouble for those among them who conscientiously but quietly differed without openly proselyting or disturbing the public peace and order — and the fact is remarkable as well as suggestive that the colony became much more intolerant after the Pilgrims had all passed away than during their lifetime.

The much discussed question of their treatment of the Quakers, however severe it may have been, shows the Pilgrims to have been

greatly more lenient than elsewhere, and it is always difficult to determine how far their action was because of the religious opinions of the Quakers or of their unruly behavior and abuse of the constituted authorities; the fact remains that there were Quakers who, quietly holding their opinions, dwelt among them undisturbed — as did also certain Roman Catholics who later joined the settlement. It was to their credit also that they were often in trouble with their Boston neighbors for harboring and protecting men of unorthodox views who had fled from that colony; that they never in any way shared the prevailing witchcraft delusion, but treated it with ridicule and contempt; that they were just in dealing with the Indians, though stern and decisive in their action towards those who were hostile and treacherous; and that they took the first great step towards democracy in separating church and state by giving freeholders the ballot regardless of church membership.

A recent preacher of some note has criticized their action in suppressing the Merry Mount settlement at Wessagussett, upon the ground that that hilarious crowd, though fond of maypoles and dancing and merriment, at any rate carried their prayer books in their hands; a curious defence, for they certainly did not carry them in their hearts or regard such teachings in their drunkenness and riot and open sale of firearms and fire water to the Indians of the vicinity, making the latter more dangerous than ever to the Pilgrim neighbors; nor did the preacher, if he was aware of it, take the trouble to mention at all the creditable fact that after the dispersal of the Merry Mount settlers Thomas Morton their chief leader was allowed to live in Plymouth without molestation.

The prayer book story may be classed with other mythical titbits of incorrect history — such as the story of Christmas among the Pilgrims on the Mayflower in 1620, which disregards the fact that all the men were on shore that day, hard at work felling timber for their houses and that the only notice of the day mentioned in history is that the captain of the Mayflower served out an extra allowance of beer to those on board. With their peculiar views it is needless to say that Christmas was the last day in the year the Pilgrims would have celebrated. Or we may class the story with that of the first Sunday on Clark's Island with a picture showing the Mayflower in the offing and a preacher in full canonicals performing service, —

though the Mayflower was then at Provincetown and the Pilgrims had no preacher with them on the island, Brewster not being of the party. Such stories are to be compared for accuracy with the recent statement that it was the Roman Catholic bishops who procured Magna Charta from King John at Runnymede, the only apparent foundation for the statement being that among the large concourse of nobles and barons present there may have been Roman Catholic bishops: if there were bishops there at all, they must at that period have been Catholics.

But passing from the question of the failings of the Pilgrims, the more impressive fact stands out that they bore their severe hardships with unswerving courage, steadfastly held to their principles in reliance upon divine guidance, and with what light they had strove to infuse a spirit of righteousness upon their struggling settlement. No hope of gain inspired them, no knowledge that they were to be the corner-stone of a great empire, no desire or ambition to glorify their undertaking — they simply recognized themselves as humble instruments of the divine will and walked conscientiously and faithfully in the narrow path of duty. Their thoughts were upon the heavens above more than upon any possible success in this world, and they were content with the belief that through their sufferings a pure religious belief would be transmitted to their descendants. No one can read Bradford's and Winslow's account of the migration without being impressed by the simple matter of fact portrayal and the entire absence of any attempt to exploit the undertaking or to claim credit for the hardship and suffering.

There are passages in the Pilgrim writings which seem to express in striking manner their mental attitude and their hopes and fears; at the risk of quoting what is already familiar to you, I want to group extracts from a few of those writings, for I know of none which more clearly breathe the genuine spirit of the Pilgrim. First I would recall Bradford's description of the little church at Scrooby where was lighted the fire that has illuminated a continent:

> So many therfore of these proffessors as saw ye evill of these things (in thes parts,) and whose harts ye Lord had touched with heavenly zeale for his trueth; they shooke of this yoake of Antichristian bondage. And as ye Lords free people, joyned them selves (by a covenant of ye Lord) into a church estate, in the felowship of the Gospell, to walke in

all his wayes, made known, or to be made known unto them (according to their best endeavours) whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them. And that it cost them something this ensewing historie will declare.[1]

And those later words when they were on the point of leaving for Holland where they described themselves as "a poor people of Lincolnshire who being enlightened by the word of God and urged with the yoke of subscription had been led to see further."

The modesty and genuineness of these declarations are as noticeable as the honest strivings to gain further light. It is impossible to read the words now without being impressed with their advanced thought and with the willingness to accept whatever light the future might bring.

Now turn to Holland, when after their residence there of twelve years they had determined to seek a new home in America, and read John Robinson's wise letter of advice to the adventurers in July, 1620:

> Wheras you are to become a body politik, using amongst your selves civill governments, and are not furnished with any persons of spetiall eminencie above ye rest, to be chosen by you into office of government, let your wisdome and godlines appeare, not only in chusing shuch persons as doe entirely love and will promote ye commone good, but also in yeelding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawfull administrations; not behoulding in them the ordinarinesse of their persons, but Gods ordinance for your good, not being like the foolish multitud who more honour the gay coate, then either the vertuous minde of the man, or glorious ordinance of ye Lord.[2]

Following this counsel upon civil matters was Robinson's well known sermon upon the eve of their departure from Leyden (or such part of it rather as has been handed down to us in Edward Winslow's Briefe Narration) from the text "and there by the river Ahava I proclaimed a Fast that we might humble ourselves before our God and seek a right way for ourselves and for our children and for all our substance." To appreciate its true spirit and to recognize the breadth of its tone I must venture in harmony with my subject to

[1] History of Plymouth Plantation (1912), i. 20–22.
[2] In Bradford, History, i. 134.

quote what has often been quoted before, for it is essential to those who would grasp the true inwardness of this Pilgrim departure. In part, as Winslow gives it, it reads:

> He charged them before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal any thing to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word.

And again:

> You see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them; a misery much to be lamented; for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole truth to them; and were they now living . . . they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. . . . For . . . it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.[1]

The breadth and liberality of these utterances of Robinson have often been commented upon, but to me the most remarkable thing connected with them is that this man, the most eminent scholar in the Pilgrim church, and upon whose counsel the Pilgrims both in Holland and America depended so much, a man who had been abused and harried in England, who had been driven from his native land and who through every discouragement had ministered in Leyden to his poor and struggling company, should have had it in his heart to give such broad and hopeful advice to the departing members of his congregation without a tinge of bitterness and with no reference to what they had borne and suffered.

A proper sequel is Bradford's brief but pathetic account of the final departure from Delft Haven August 1, 1620:

> They looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to ye heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits. . . . The next day, the wind being faire, they wente aborde, and their friends with them, where truly dolfull was the sight of that sadd and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praires did sound amongst them, what

[1] In Young, Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, pp. 396, 397.

tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches peirst each harte; that sundry of ye Dutch strangers yt stood on the key as spectators, could not refraine from tears.[1]

So with these utterances from their hearts they embarked upon the stormy and dangerous voyage to a land they knew nothing of and to encounter all the perils and risk of settlement in the wilderness, but they were buoyed up by an implicit faith and by a courage that dared all obstacles.

Hardly had they anchored in the harbor of Provincetown when all the male members, other than apprentices and servants, joined in signing the immortal Compact in the cabin of the Mayflower November 21:

Haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutualy in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame shuch just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.[2]

Could there have been a more fitting conclusion of their voyage or a more masterly or concise statement of their determination that the new colony should be governed by law and that all should respect constituted authority? They attempted no elaboration of great principles, but laid the keystone of the democratic arch in this simple and conclusive manner.

These papers that I have cited express in few words the inspiration of the Pilgrims — patience, courage, faith and unshaken fortitude. As they looked back to their experiences of the previous three months, desperate as the future yet seemed, they could not but feel that a special Providence had guided them over the three thousand miles of sea in their overcrowded, ill-fitted and almost unseaworthy

[1] History, i. 124–125.
[2] Id. i. 191.

ship, and yet more recently in saving from utter wreck the small shallop which safely crossed the Bay from Provincetown to Clark's Island midst a fierce storm which threatened every moment to swamp the frail boat. That boat truly bore Cæsar and all his fortunes, for in it were Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish and Howland, and if those men had perished it is unlikely that the Plymouth Colony would have been heard of in history.

Surely no other settlement has been undertaken in such a spirit and never under more discouraging and hopeless circumstances. The details of the Pilgrim life at Plymouth have been amply and eloquently told — it is needless for me to weary you with a story so well known; there was nothing to encourage those men except a single piece of good fortune that before their coming the Indians of the vicinity had been largely destroyed by disease, rendering them less exposed to hostile attack — other than that, and even of that they knew nothing but rumors, the story is one of prolonged hardship and suffering, of distressing losses by sickness, of near famine and of the doubtful struggle to maintain life itself. But they refused to be daunted and in the end overcame all obstacles and secured a lasting triumph in seeing their colony grow and strengthen until, after they themselves had passed on, it united with the stronger colony of Massachusetts and became a part of the great development of this mighty Republic.

But let us not misinterpret the spirit of the Pilgrims as applied to the present times, it never meant that we should be content to stand where they stood — Robinson's words apply now as they applied then, that men of our day should be "as ready and willing to embrace further light as that they had received;" to keep abreast of their spirit their descendants must also welcome the opportunity to "see further" and it is for them to show their rightful descent by enlarging and developing the spirit of truth and freedom. We of this age will deserve little credit unless the seed so carefully sown three hundred years ago shall ripen into a richer fruit. Even if our Pilgrim ancestors fell short of their highest ideals, as all men and nations have fallen and always will, they gave us at any rate their manly struggle with trying experiences and depressing hardships and their ever hopeful courage as bases on which to build a solid edifice of popular government and free and enlightened institutions.

What other than a renewal of the spirit of earlier days sustained the men of the Revolution in their long contest and enabled them to embody in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States the principles clearly shadowed forth in the Compact of 1620 — what other than that inspired the loyalty that preserved this great Union in 1861 and brought about the emancipation of the slave — what other than that spirit carried America into the recent world conflict and ranged her with no selfish aim on the side of imperilled civilization in Europe? And now when the storm has lulled what but that spirit with the added light of centuries of experience, of growing knowledge and developing wisdom will enable this Nation to gather in the full harvest of freedom and democracy?

But the preservation of the ancient spirit in its full force and the extension of its influence requires the most constant watchfulness — especially just now when, temporarily we believe, the public mind has lost something of its balance. The prevailing restlessness, the excited condition of the public, the abnormal situation in business affairs, the threatened financial disturbance, have combined to create a nervous tension which gives ominous signs of danger to great principles which lie at the foundation of republican institutions. This condition is not unusual as the result of war and was to have been expected after a war that swept in all the great nations of the earth. With us, it takes the form of a distrust of free thought and free discussion and we see an American Congress discussing the necessity of a return to alien and sedition laws which were tried in the infancy of our Republic and emphatically discarded by the intelligence of the people. What is needed now is not more laws but more respect for those we have and possibly a more judicious enforcement of them. Drastic legislation invading personal rights and so out of harmony with the general views of a very large section of the people as to require armies of officers and spies to enforce it, will not cure the disease attacked but is sure to increase the general ferment and bring into disrepute wise and salutary laws. It is the old story that well-meant reforms are apt to defeat their own ends if too hasty and sweeping and if forced upon a people unprepared for them and more than doubtful of their wisdom. Never more than now was calm judgment and deliberation needed in our public affairs. It is unthinkable that here in America we should fear the freest thought and widest public

discussion, subject only to recognized limitations that no one can publicly advocate crime or incite or attempt the overthrow of our government. I have no fear that truth can be overcome by the ravings of ignorant or fanatical talkers, nor can I doubt that if speech becomes action or an obvious incitement to action an intelligent people will find ready means to protect itself.

An eminent Judge of the Federal Supreme Court has recently wisely said that it was better to let steam escape and be dissipated into thin air than to risk explosion by attempting to confine it. It was the foresight of the framers of the Constitution that forbade conviction for treason except upon the proof of overt acts by at least two witnesses — surely for lesser public crimes we can rely upon due process of law without imperilling the sacred right of free thought and of such free speech as does not degenerate into unbridled licence. To be sure we have the embarrassment now that results from the extraordinary liberality of our emigration laws and we feel rightly indignant that aliens who seek the protection of our laws should violate decency and law in the attempt to foment trouble among our people. They must be sternly dealt with and the government must exercise its right of protecting itself by withdrawing its permission that they should remain among us, but even those men are entitled to fair hearings.

There is danger to the public welfare too in the facility with which pseudo Americans are allowed to stir up ill blood against nations with which we are at peace and to proceed to the very verge of illegality in interference with the domestic affairs of other nations. The mark of the true American, to the manor born or American by adoption, should ever be that he always and ever places the interests of America before those of any other land and never forgets that his allegiance to America admits of no possible allegiance elsewhere.

Freedom of thought — freedom of speech, obedience to the law are in full harmony with the true Pilgrim spirit as developed by three centuries of progress, for the Pilgrim — though the radical of his day and though he realized how abhorrent his principles were to the rest of the world — maintained his freedom of thought and speech, never looked unkindly upon the land he had left but put away the remembrance of the persecution and abuse from which he had suffered — never conspired in any way against the government of his native land or against his neighbor, and above all things was im-

patient of any disregard of orderly government or of disrespect for constituted authorities; — he was a practical man of action, but his acts were the result of careful thought and deliberation and ever of a deep and abiding faith in God and a sure reliance upon his guidance.

We want now as humble a spirit, as deep a faith and as pure a motive as he possessed. We may look beyond his ideals as the centuries have given more light, but while we pride ourselves that we have advanced free thought and a spirit of toleration we must be equally sure that we are firm in maintaining that advance and are not shaken by temporary gusts of popular excitement or passion.

Only then can we properly celebrate the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims and lay claim to the descent of their spirit. We thankfully acknowledge what was praiseworthy in their lives and when we criticize their failings, we admit that we must prove by our actions that we of this generation have seen the "further light" and not only have seen it but have profited by it.

The Rev. Henry W. Foote read the following —

NOTES ON SOME MANUSCRIPT SERMONS PREACHED BY THE REV. SIMON BRADSTREET IN MARBLEHEAD, 1743–1769

A number of years ago I found, among some old family papers which had belonged to my great-uncle, the Rev. William Orne White of Brookline, a package containing a dozen eighteenth century sermons written in a crabbed hand, with no indication as to their authorship, but with notes showing that they had been delivered in Marblehead between 1743 and 1769. I put them aside, intending some day to look into a history of Marblehead to see who had been minister there during that period. But one day last autumn, being in the Treasure Room of the Widener Library in Cambridge, my eye was caught by a small copy of the first volume of William Ames's Opera, published in 1658, which was lying in one of the exhibition cases. It had been placed there because it contained three autographs of interest, namely those of the second Simon Bradstreet (son of the Governor) and of his son and grandson, the third and fourth of the same name. The last of the three had added beneath

his name "Avus, Pater, Filius et Nepos, 1742." The Librarian's explanatory card beneath the book added the information that the second Simon Bradstreet (H. C. 1660) had been minister at New London, Connecticut; that the third (H. C. 1693) had been minister at Charlestown; and that the fourth had graduated from Harvard in 1728 and had been minister in Marblehead. Making further inquiries I found that the fourth Simon Bradstreet was born June 23rd, 1709, and was minister at Marblehead from 1738 till his death there on October 5, 1771.

Returning home with this information I looked once more at my packet of old sermons. They are made up in the shape of little booklets, each containing from sixteen to forty pages, save one which is only a fragment, the last four pages of a sermon. The pages are stitched together, and range in size from 5 by 3½ to 6 by 4 inches. Each sermon is divided into two parts, or, rather, the same discourse served for both morning and afternoon services, the minister preaching to about the middle of his discourse in the morning and finishing it in the afternoon, though when he repeated a sermon he did not always divide it at the same point. On the last page of each sermon are memoranda as to its use. One was preached four (or five) times between 1751 and 1767; two were preached three times; the rest once each. The preacher generally noted the weather and attendance. After a sermon preached after the death of Judge Stephen Sewall there is a note on his character; another memorandum refers to the earthquakes of November, 1755; another to the young men recently returned from a fishing voyage; another to the writer's birthday.

It was this last sermon which completed the identification of the author. Its first memorandum is as follows:

> Mhead. June 23, 1751, A & P M — being my Birthday when I entred upon my 42^{d} year — Lord! I desire to praise & adore thee for all ye mercies of my past Life, & intreat thy forgiveness of all my past sins, & grace to improve ye future part of my Life to thy glory, ye good of thy people comitted to my Charge, and to my own eternal Salvation, Thro J. X. Amen.

It will be remembered that the fourth Simon Bradstreet was born June 23, 1709, so that he would have been forty-two on this day in

1751; thus, according to our computation, he would have been entering his forty-*third* rather than his forty-*second* year. The writer evidently liked his birthday discourse, with its text from Isaiah 32: 17, "And the work of rightousness shall be peace, and the effect of rightousness quietness and assurance forever," for he preached it several times. The notes continue.

Marblehead. June 24, 1753. N S. A and P M.
Mhead July 8, N S. 1759. The week before was Birthday wn I enterd my 50th year.
Sept. 13th 1767 A.M. [to the 19th page].
Sept. 20, 1767, A.M. [presumably the remainder of the discourse].

But this "birthday sermon" had yet other evidence to give. Across the upper corner of the first page, in another and more elegant hand appear the words,

To the
Mr. Broads

while across the corresponding corner of page 8 the same hand continues

Reverend
trate and Wife.

The frugal preacher had cut up for sermon paper the unused half of some invitation which had been addressed "To the Reverend Mr. Broadstrate and Wife." Investigation disclosed the name of "Mr Broadstrate" written across a page in another discourse. The identification was complete, for of course "Broadstrate" was but the common pronunciation of Bradstreet.

The memoranda on the other sermons are as follows:

No. 1. Coloss. 4:2 Continue in prayer. (16 pp.) "Mhead. March 4, 1743/4 P.M."
No. 2. Heb. 11; 6 But without faith it is impossible to please God. (16 pp.) "Mhd. May 5, 1745. A and P M Fair."
No. 3. The "birthday sermon" described above.
No. 4. Psm. 37; 23–24. The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord; & he delighteth in his way. Tho he fall he shall not utterly be cast down; for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. (38 pp.)

"Marblehead 8^{r} 26, 1755. A and P M. A very fair & pleast day; dirty streets & a little coolish."

"Marblehead, June 12, 1757, A and PM Fair, hot, pleast. L.D.O.M." [1]

"8^{br} 9, 1768. A and P M Overcast like rain. N.B. Ye Doctrine to be consid^{d} in another Sermon."

In the margin of p. 4 is written "[Mr. Henry]," presumably a reference to the works of Matthew Henry.

No. 5. A fragment, only the last four pages.

"Pc^{d} Marblehead 9^{r} 23, 1755 A and P M. Being ye Sabbath after a gt Earthquake, w^{c} happend on Tuesday morn, ab^{t} 4 of Clock; & was followed with several smaller Shocks yt morning & week, & one more consid^{ble} on Saturday night abt 9 of ye Clock. It rained & blowed very hard ys Sabbath morning, but was a clearing up Day interspersed. N.B. Was a very serious, affected & Attentive Audience and very full. Ye Lord bless his Word & Providence to lead ys people & ye whole Land to Repentance."

The Lisbon earthquake occurred on Nov. 1, 1755, seventeen days before the first shock noted above.

No. 6. Heb. 7:25. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the utermost, yt come unto GOD by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for us. (32 pp.)

"Mhead Feb. 11, 1759 A M pleast. A full house."

"Mhead. Jan. 10, 1762. A & P M Snowy, stormy, and full House."

"Jan. 29, 1769 P M Fair, very cold & very windy."

No. 7. 1 Pet. 5;8, 9. Be sober. be vigilant; because your adversary ye Devil as a roaring lion walketh about seeking whom he may devour: Whom resist stedfast in the faith. (40 pp.)

"Mhead Feb. 17; 1760 A & P M. Cloudy, moder^{t} some snow, full House."

No. 8. Jno. 16; 28. I came forth from ye Father & am come into ye [world], ag^{n} I leave ye [world] to go unto the Father. (39 pp.)

"Mhead Sep^{r} 14, 1760 A M. Raining, dark uncomfortable W^{r} and very thin House."

"Sep^{r} 21 1760 P M. Stormy Day & few at meeting."

"These Sermons were occasiond by ye Death of ye Hon^{ble} Judge Stephen Sewal, who departed ys Life Sep^{r} 11, and was Interrd Sep^{r} 13,

[1] Laus Deo Optimo Maximo.

1760. He was a Gentleman greatly beloved & respected, & greatly lamented. And he deserved it. For he has left few or none behind him equal to him upon all accounts; being eminent both in Gifts & Graces; above others, & yet remarkable for his Modesty & Goodnature to all."

No. 9. 1 Cor. 11; 26, For as often as ye eat ys bread and drink ys cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come. (32 pp.)

At page 16 this note is entered: "Aug. 1, 1762. A M. Sacrament Day, Fair and pleast. There was chh. Mr. Bass preached. The rest for ye next Sacrament if God permit."

And at the end is this note: "Mhead Sep^{r} 5, 1762. A M. Sacrm^{t}. no Chh." Some illegible Greek follows.

These memoranda indicate that it was the custom to observe the Lord's Supper on the first Sunday of each month. "Chh." refers to service in St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, which was at that time without a rector. "Mr. Bass" must be the Rev. Edward Bass, the rector of the Episcopal Church at Newburyport, later Bishop of Massachusetts, who evidently came to Marblehead at least once to administer the sacraments for the congregation of St. Michael's while they were without a clergyman. Simon Bradstreet took note of the doings at St. Michael's. In this connection it is interesting to refer to a passage in the autobiography of John Barnard, referring to Bradstreet and to an earlier rector [1] of St. Michael's: "I and Mr. Bradstreet, of the other church in the town, maintained the strictest brotherly love and friendship with him." [2]

No. 10. I Cor. 11: 26, For as oft as ye eat ys bread and drink ys cup, ye do shew ye Lord's Death till he come.

"Oct^{r} 3, 1762, A M."

This seems to be the second part of another discourse following No. 9, for it begins "I have spoken of the first and proceed to the second."

No. 11. Psm. 119: 9 Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed yrto according to thy word. (24 pp.)

"Mh^{d}. Dec^{r} 30, 1764, P M. Very Cold and very slippery. Full House. L. D. O. M."

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[1] Peter Bours (H. C. 1747).

[2] C. R. Batchelder, History of the Eastern Diocese (1910), i. 482. I am indebted to Mr. Percival Merritt for this reference and for the identification of "Mr. Bass."

Although not so noted this apparently was originally a sermon of twenty pages addressed to young men about to start on a fishing voyage, but it has an appendix of four pages, indicating that it was again preached to them on their return: "God has now blessed you with a safe and prosperous return."

No. 12. Psm. 119; 126. It is time for thee, Lord, to work; for yy have made void thy Law. (35 pp.)

"Mhead. Decr 21, 1766, A. M. Dies Serena et plena." (first half.)

"Jan 4, 1767, P M. snowy, Modte pleast." (Second half.)

In addition to the information conveyed by these notes there are some further inferences which may be drawn from the sermons. They can hardly have been read in the pulpit. The writing is too small and difficult and full of abbreviations to have been read easily. The sermons will not lie open but would have had to be held in the hand. The discourses are not really long enough to have occupied the full sermon time; most of them would not require more than twelve to fifteen minutes to read. Finally, many of the headings are not developed, though some parts are written in full. In a word, what we have are outlines rather than finished discourses, so that it is probable that Bradstreet preached without manuscript, or read in part and extemporized the rest. The ground plans of the sermons are fairly well worked out in a series of headings, leading up in each case to the "Improvement," or application of the theme to his hearers. I have noted references to Law, to Henry, to Fenton (twice), to Baxter, to Cicero, and to "Mr. Emlyn's Fun. Sermon on his wife." [1]

It must be admitted that for the most part the sermons are dry, hard reading, being theological discourses with scanty illustrations, even from the Bible, and with very few allusions to the daily life of the people before them. In the spoken discourses, however, these dry bones may have been clothed with life. The "earthquake" sermon shows the preacher taking advantage of the situation to preach the terror of hell upon his hearers:

What we have heard shows us how happy those pious and godly ones are who are departed this life, and so are got free from all the troubles and desolation of this world, and are safely housed in the blessed holy king-

[1] Richard Baxter (1615–1691), Thomas Emlyn (1663–1741), Matthew Henry (1662–1714), William Law (1686–1761).

dom of their God. They are now where no danger can come to disturb and affright them. They are entered into rest and peace, their bodies sleep quietly in the dust; and their souls are joyful in heaven, praising God among the happy and righteous above. Let that comfort those that mourn for their departed friends and dear children. They are free from all fear and troubles forever. Let this also excite us to secure an interest in God, and then we may expect and wait for death as the end of all our miseries and as the beginning of our eternal joy and felicity. Earthquakes cannot affright the dead, nor disturb the peace and tranquillity of the righteous in heaven. Hell only is the place when earthquakes lose all their terror by being overmatched with infinitely greater terrors, compared to which the greatest earthquakes are nothing. How dreadful then must the case of those impenitent sinners be, who, by their wicked lives are preparing and ripening their miserable souls for such dismal torments as will make earthquakes desirable rather than dreadful. For the scripture tells us that the wicked will call to the rocks and the mountains to fall upon them and hide them from the face of Christ when he comes to judgment!

No. 11 contains a passage illustrating the educational conditions of the time:

Instead of idling away your time because you know not how to spend it, give your attention to reading, and learn all such good things as may accomplish you and fit you for use and service as you grow up. Learning will be of good use to you, especially learning in religion and God's Word. How profitably might you spend the winter season if you had learning? And how easily and speedily might you acquire good learning if you would but give your minds to it? It is a grief to me to see so many persons who are of a good natural genius and capacity, so ignorant in the scriptures and so little acquainted with God's Word, when by a little pains and care they might learn to read or to understand it to great advantage. O be prevailed upon to get all necessary learning, and try to get a love for the Word of God, and if you can't read it get others to read it to you. And mind the reading of it in this house on the Lord's Day. And let those that can read bring a Bible to follow the minister in his reading, which is the general practice in all the considerable places in the lands where the Word of God is read in the public assembly, as I have been informed.

And, finally, his preaching cannot have been altogether without savor who could pen these felicitous words in his sermon after Judge Sewall's death:

Some not unfitly compare the saints of all ages to a fleet of mariners all bound for the same Ports, tho some arrive sooner and some later, and they who have been first there welcome those that come afterward with joy and great affection. And what tho our friends have outsailed us? 'T is likely we may come in with the next good wind and meet each other in the celestial Habitations, and then our love will be satisfied again.[1]

Mr. HENRY H. EDES spoke of the third Simon Bradstreet, the father of the Marblehead clergyman. He succeeded the Rev. Charles Morton as the minister of Charlestown; was "a man of great learning, strong mind and lively imagination;" and when presented to Governor Burnet by Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, was introduced as "a man who could whistle Greek."

[1] Cf. A. H. Clough, Qua Cursum Ventus.

MARCH MEETING, 1920

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 March, 1920, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

On the recommendation of the Council it was —

Voted, That this Society join the Bay State League.

Mr. Lawrence Shaw Mayo exhibited two photographs of Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire, one from a portrait by Wilson given by the Governor himself to the Marquis of Rockingham and now at Wentworth-Woodhouse, Rotherham, England, and the other from a pastel by Copley now owned by Mrs. Gordon Abbott of Boston; and read a paper on the Church of England, Governor Wentworth, and Dartmouth College, speaking in substance as follows:

For nearly sixty years the royal governorship of the Province of New Hampshire seemed to be a family possession of the Wentworths, the office having been held by three generations: Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth (1717–1729), his son Governor Benning Wentworth (1741–1766), and the latter's nephew Governor John Wentworth, who was appointed to office at the age of twenty-nine, and held it till the outbreak of the Revolution.

The first settlers on the banks of the Piscataqua were contented churchmen, and the first religious society organized at Portsmouth worshipped according to the ritual of the Anglican Church. When

New Hampshire was taken under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, about 1640, the Puritan government of the Bay Colony put an end to those services, and sent ministers of its own belief to Portsmouth. The people appeared to conform to the new teachings, but actually they and their descendants remained loyal to the Church of England, and patiently awaited the day when they might worship as they chose. About 1730 a number of the leading families organized an Episcopal society, which soon became a flourishing parish. The Governor and most of the Portsmouth aristocracy belonged to this flock. The rest of New Hampshire believed in Congregationalism. Thus there existed side by side the church of the court and the church of the people.

Benning Wentworth, who governed New Hampshire for twenty-five years, laid a foundation for the extension of Episcopalianism by reserving land for the benefit of the Church in every township granted by him after 1750 — one share for a glebe, and one for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. When John Wentworth succeeded his uncle as governor in 1766, he determined to bring about the gradual conversion of his Province by settling Episcopal ministers on these lands and by organizing Anglican parishes in the new towns before the people were prosperous enough to support ministers of their own persuasion. The Connecticut valley offered a particularly attractive field for this experiment.

When the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock moved his Indian school from Connecticut to Hanover, about 1770, Governor Wentworth granted a charter which converted that institution into a college. Wheelock suggested that it might be named for Wentworth, but the final decision was to call it Dartmouth College. The Governor appeared to take a genuine interest in the school, but it soon became evident to Dr. Wheelock, its president, that Wentworth intended to place the control of the institution in the hands of churchmen. His first move was to attempt to add the name of the Bishop of London to the list of English trustees mentioned in the charter. Wheelock, who was a Connecticut dissenter, skilfully prevented this. Then the Governor tried to place as many Episcopalians as possible on the American board. In this he was only partially successful. Perhaps the most subtle bit of undermining was his effort to induce a promising young tutor to forget his Presbyterianism and take orders

in the Church of England. If he would do so, Wentworth assured him of an appointment to King's Chapel in Boston. The tutor, however, remained true to his convictions.

Was Governor Wentworth's interest in Dartmouth College genuine, or did he regard the infant institution merely as a means to his end — the establishment of the Church of England in New Hampshire? His general character gives us one answer; his persistent efforts for Anglican control give us another. How long Dr. Wheelock could have continued to prevent the realization of Wentworth's scheme is also a question. Fortunately for him the outbreak of the Revolution put an end to the Governor's ecclesiastical manœuvres.

Mr. Otis Grant Hammond, a Corresponding Member, spoke of the criticism of Governor Benning Wentworth, who, it is said, entered upon his office poor and retired rich, and who bestowed very many offices within his gift upon his kindred and family connections. Mr. Hammond remarked upon the tradition that the Governor exacted a fee of £100 for each of the many township charters he granted, besides reserving to himself in each charter a tract of five hundred acres, which became known as "the governor's farm." These farms were generally located in the corners of the townships, with the result that, as the towns were built up, two, three or four of these "farms" were found to be contiguous and constituted large and valuable tracts.

Mr. Hammond also remarked upon the intimacy of Governor John Wentworth and young Benjamin Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford, who, as a youth, removed from Woburn to Concord, New Hampshire, where he became a great social favorite, married the young, beautiful and wealthy widow Rolfe, and finally incurred public jealousy and distrust because of his appointment by the royal governor to high military office over the heads of many officers of mature age and long service.

Mr. Hammond exhibited a large and peculiar ther-

mometer which had belonged to the governor, and is now in possession of the New Hampshire Historical Society. He also showed a volume of the Weare Papers, recently recovered by the State of New Hampshire from private hands, in which they had remained for more than half a century. This volume contained, among other interesting documents, the original draught of the charter of Dartmouth College.

Mr. ALFRED JOHNSON gave an account derived from his uncle, the late Ralph Cross Johnson, of two visits of Daniel Webster to Belfast, Maine. The first was made with his brother Ezekiel early in the last century. Having but one horse, they "rode and tied" — that is, one rode for some miles, then tied the horse and continued on foot, the other mounting the horse when he came up to where it was tied. They found the main highway in pretty poor condition, the ascents and descents often steep and rugged. On approaching Belfast, Daniel was obliged to lead the horse down the precipitous side of the bluff, while Ezekiel held him back by hanging onto his tail, at times running, at others sliding.

Some thirty years later Daniel again visited Belfast, and remarked upon the improvements in the roads, the houses, and the general appearance of the place, and the excellent quality of the new rum then shipped to Belfast in bulk from the West Indies.

Among his friends and political associates who resided in Belfast during a part or the whole of the period covered by these two visits were the Rev. Alfred Johnson (who, like Webster, was a graduate of Dartmouth), John Wilson, a fellow Member of Congress with Webster, and William George Crosby and Hugh J. Anderson, Governors of the State of Maine, the latter afterwards a Member of Congress.

Mr. PERCIVAL MERRITT gave an account of the later history of Robert Ratcliffe, first rector of King's Chapel,

Boston, drawn largely from books printed in England since the publication of Foote's Annals of King's Chapel. Mr. Merritt traced Ratcliffe's career in England and told the story of his family history, and of his death, the date of which has been unknown here hitherto. His son, Dr. John Ratcliffe, for thirty-seven years master of Pembroke College, Oxford, and prebendary of Gloucester, was, at his death in 1775, the last survivor of the descendants of the first clergyman of the Anglican Church in Boston.

Mr. Albert Matthews communicated the following paper, written by Mr. Herbert W. Denio of New York:

MASSACHUSETTS LAND GRANTS IN VERMONT

During the colonial period the territory which is now Vermont was claimed in part or wholly by each of the four surrounding governments: namely, Canada, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York. Each of them in turn made land grants within the present State.

Grants Extending into Vermont

Northfield (Hinsdale, Vernon)

The northern boundary of Massachusetts was not definitively determined until March 5, 1740, when the King in Council declared that it should be a similar curve line and three miles north of the Merrimac River from the sea to the Pawtucket Falls, and from thence by a line due west until it meets with the King's other governments. The line was surveyed by New Hampshire in February and March, 1741, Massachusetts refusing to join in doing it.[1]

For many years Massachusetts had claimed, as interpreted by her first charter, that her territory extended three miles north of every part of the Merrimac River. This sometimes meant three miles north of the junction of the Pemigewasset and the Winnipisaugee Rivers in the town of Franklin, New Hampshire; and sometimes, by regarding the Winnipisaugee as a continuation of the Merrimac, the province was claimed to extend three miles north of the outlet of Lake Winnipisaugee. These limits are in the latitude

[1] Belknap, History of New Hampshire (1792), ii. 169.

of Ascutney Mountain in Weathersfield, Vermont, in the first case, and of Windsor in the latter case.

Previous to 1740 Massachusetts had made many land grants in part or wholly north of the boundary of that date. The first grant of this character in Vermont was that of Northfield. An attempt was made in 1671 to secure a charter from the General Court for a grant on the Connecticut River, north of Deerfield. This failed, but the attempt was renewed by parties from Northampton the following year and succeeded. The Squakheag Indians lived in this region, extending from the Pocumtucks of Deerfield northward to the Wanasquatok or Broad Brook in Vermont, which flows into the Connecticut from the west three-quarters of a mile south of where Fort Dummer was afterwards built in the present town of Brattleboro, Vermont. The Indian name Squakheag is believed to mean "a spearing place of fish," and was so called because of the great abundance of fish annually secured there.

An Indian deed was obtained in 1671 for a tract of land extending three-quarters of a mile on the west side of the river and three and three-quarters miles on the east side, and from Deerfield northward. Other Indian deeds were secured in 1673, 1686, and 1687, extending the original tract so that finally the purchases included the land from Deerfield to Cowas or Mill Brook on the east side of the Connecticut, and to Wanasquatok Brook on the west side, varying at different dates from eight to twelve miles on the river, and six miles on each side of it. The present towns of Northfield, Vernon, Hinsdale, and Winchester were included in the tract, as well as portions of other towns. The final Indian deed was from Nawelet, the Indian chief, on whose lands were found about fifty years ago, near the present village of South Vernon, about eighty rods north of the State line, some thirty Indian granaries.[1] The township with its additions and changes varied in extent considerably at different dates.

A few settlers took possession in 1672 or 1673; but King Philip's War broke up the settlement in 1675. Some of the settlers returned in 1685 and remained five years, when they had to flee for their lives at the beginning of King William's War.

During this settlement the meadows in the northern part of the

[1] Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Proceedings, iii. 392.

town, west of the river, were allotted to proprietors, among them Zachery Lawrence, in 1684 and 1685.[1] The island in the great bend of the river was allotted to John Clary in 1685 and it went by his name many years, later it was called Stebbins Island. It has been claimed [2] that the earliest settlement by the English in Vermont was on these meadows in 1690. This possibly may be so, but I have found no positive evidence of it. The third settlement in 1714 proved to be permanent.

When the Massachusetts-New Hampshire boundary was surveyed in 1741, it cut off from Northfield a tract four miles and 197 rods from the northern part of the town. This tract was the first territory of Vermont granted and owned by English settlers. After 1741 the tract was held to belong to the settlers living on it at the time and to be under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire. In deeds and other official papers the tract was styled "of the northerly part of Northfield township above the line of the Massachusetts government." It was also called Bridgman's Fort, due to the fact that a John Bridgman had purchased from a proprietor a claim in the northern part of the original township and built a house or "fort" there and occupied it.

A charter was secured from New Hampshire September 5, 1753, for a township including land on each side of the river to which the name of Hinsdale was given. On the east side of the river the charter included that part of the old town of Northfield north of the Massachusetts line; on the west side all the land northward to Venter's Brook, and extending west ten degrees north from the mouth of that brook 250 rods, thence at a right angle to the Massachusetts line. The charter included a strip of land on the extreme west side which had not been in Northfield, and was given to such of the grantees of Hinsdale "as now live in New Hampshire."

A few days later, September 26, a new charter was issued to Winchester and Hinsdale, in which the boundary between the two towns was moved toward the Connecticut River, beginning on the Massachusetts line 80 rods (one-quarter of a mile) from the Connecticut and running northerly to the northern bounds of Winchester, thus throwing quite a large part of the old Northfield township east of

[1] Temple and Sheldon, History of Northfield, pp. 99, 106.

[2] Conant, Vermont Historical Reader (1907), p. 19.

the river and north of the Massachusetts line into the town of Winchester, and extending Hinsdale northward considerably beyond the bounds of the town on the west side of the river, which bounds were unchanged by this charter.[1] Thereafter the tract on both sides of the river was known as Hinsdale, New Hampshire; and the part on the west side retained the name under the government of New York and of Vermont until 1802, when it was renamed Vernon.

FALLS FIGHT TOWNSHIP (BERNARDSTON)

The petition of Samuel Hunt of Billerica for himself and other survivors of the soldiers of Captain Turner's Company who were in the battle at Turner's Falls in 1676 for a grant of land was presented to the General Court November 28, 1734. A township was granted to them; and a surveyor was authorized to lay out a township six miles square northward of Deerfield in the unappropriated lands of the Province and to return a plan of the same to the Court within twelve months.[2] On December 24, 1735, Thomas Wells was authorized to call the first meeting of the proprietors for organization.[3] An additional grant was made to them of 4,480 acres, and the plan for the township was accepted August 5, 1741.[4]

This township extended beyond the north bounds of the Province similar to Northfield, but not as far. The part cut off was known as Falls Town Gore. The original town was renamed Bernardston in 1762. In 1765 Oliver Partridge in behalf of himself and other proprietors of Bernardston petitioned the General Court for a grant of 7,350 acres in lieu of their lost land. A grant of Florida on Hoosic Mountain was made to them June 24 and 25, 1765, and confirmed November 1 of the same year on the acceptance by the Court of a plan of the grant made by the surveyor, of the previous October 24th.[5]

The eastern portion of Falls Town Gore and Sawtell's Grant (to be described later) were joined to Hinsdale and now form a part of

[1] New Hampshire State Papers, ix. 382–383, xxiv. 142, xxv. 115–123; Vermont Historical Gazetteer, vol. v. pt. ii. 251, 271, 274.

[2] Massachusetts Province Laws, xii. 55–56.

[3] xii. 197.

[4] xiii. 34–35.

[5] xviii. 44, 65. A plan of this grant is in Maps and Plans, xxxvii. 5, in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Vernon.[1] Hinsdale, Vermont, was organized at an early date, the exact time not being known, as a fire destroyed the records in 1789; but by old deeds recovered and re-recorded it appears that John Bridgman was town clerk at least as early as 1785. The western part of Falls Town Gore ultimately fell to Guilford.

Coleraine

Two townships were granted by the General Court to Boston on June 15, 1736. Number Two afterwards became Coleraine.[2] Coleraine was incorporated June 30, 1761.[3] On June 25, 1765: "On the Petition of Joshua Winslow & others, praying for a consideration for one hundred and forty five acres of Land lost by the Proprietors of Colerain so Called; the said land falling into New Hampshire on running the line between this Government & New Hampshire. [Read and] *Resolv'd* That in lieu thereof there be granted to the Petitioners their heirs & assigns One hundred & forty five acres out of a gore of six hundred & thirty nine acres adjoining to said Town: . . . and that they return a plan thereof into the Secretary's office in twelve Months."[4] A petition of Isaac Winslow, Jr., and others, a committee of the proprietors of the undivided lands in the town of Coleraine, stated that on surveying the land lost it was found that it contained 205 acres instead of 145. The Court granted them 399 acres, 210 acres in lieu of the same quantity of land lost, and 189 acres to be paid for in one year. Whether the lost tract was in the original grant of Number Two to Boston, or, more probably, in that part of Falls Fight Township which was set off to Coleraine when the latter was chartered, is not clear. In any case the tract cut off later probably became a part of Guilford, or possibly of Halifax, Vermont.

Grants to Individuals

James Kebby

Josiah Willard and Edward Hartwell, agents of the town of Lunenburg, and Zachariah Fitch guardian of James Kebby, a person

[1] John Stebbins's Narrative, in Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Proceedings, i. 148; Vermont Historical Gazetteer, vol. v. pt. ii. 275.

[2] Massachusetts Province Laws, xii. 275 and note.

[3] iv. 466.

[4] xviii. 44 (June 25, 1765).

non compos, petitioned the General Court for a tract of land in lieu of a tract which had been granted to Kebby in Lunenburg, but the proprietors did not know this and others had settled upon it and made improvements upon it. The Court granted them 400 acres to be laid out in two lots.[1] A tract of 239 acres was granted and laid out for him on the east side of the Connecticut above Northfield.[2] A second tract of 161 acres was granted April 7, 1733:

Bounded Easterly on Connecticut River, Northerly on the Equivalent Land below Fort Dummer, & every way else by unappropriated Lands; Beginning at the lower End of said Equivalent Land, where a little Brook empties itself into said River & runs down by it [Connecticut] about one Mile to a Bunch of White Woods standing on the Bank of it, thence it runs West, Twenty Perch[3] to the foot of a Mountain, then North twenty two Degrees West three Hundred & forty Perch, & then East, One Hundred & thirty four Perch to where it first began, Surveyed by Jonas Houghton, Survey[r] & two Chain Men under Oath.[4]

The plan was accepted and the grant confirmed.

JOSIAH SAWTELL

The following petition was granted June 26, 1738:

Josiah Soutel, Setting forth his Services in the late Indian Wars in which he had received a wound which must disable him a considerable time; And therefore Praying that this Court would grant him, or allow him to purchase, a piece of Province land which he has lived upon for about eighteen months past, lying on the West side of Connecticut River adjacent to Northfield, one of the new Canada Towns [Guilford] and some farms [Lunenburgh farms].

Read, and in answer to the within Petition,

Voted, that One hundred Acres of the unappropriated Lands of the Province inclusive & adjoining to the Lands improved by the Petitioner as within mentioned be & hereby is given & granted to the Petitioner in Consideration of his Services and Sufferings in the late Wars, and that he return a Plat thereof to this Court within twelve months for confirmation. June 26, 1738.[5]

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[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, xi. 619–620 (October 1, 1731).

[2] xi. 664 (June 30, 1732).

[3] A perch is equivalent to one rod, or 5½ yards. As a square measure, a perch is equal to 30¼ square yards. 160 perches make an acre.

[4] xi. 699–700.

[5] xii. 499.

A plot of one hundred acres was laid out by Josiah Willard and presented to the Court December 18, 1738, with the following bounds, on the westerly side of the Connecticut above Northfield, —

Beginning at a Bass Wood Tree being the South East corner of a farm granted by this Court to Lunenburgh; thence West, one de: South on the said farm, and Province land thirty poles to a Black Oak Tree standing about two feet to the South of the line, thence South 14° 30′ East, three hundred nine Poles on Province Land to a Pillar of Stones; thence East 7° 00′ North, on the North line of Northfield one hundred and fifteen poles to a Stake on the bank of the River; thence up the river three hundred and thirty poles to the Bass Tree first mentioned.[1]

The plat was accepted, and the grant confirmed December 18, 1738. This tract at one time seems to have received the name of Hinsdale Gore.[2] It adjoined John Bridgman's farm, and Sawtell's house was about one hundred rods northwest of Bridgman's.

The Equivalent Lands, or Dummerston

In 1642 Massachusetts employed two surveyors, Nathaniel Woodward and Solomon Saffery,[3] to locate her southern boundary as defined by her charter of 1628. This specified that it should be a line running due west from a point three miles south of the southernmost point of the Charles River. The surveyors located their first station in the town of Wrentham, three miles south of the head of a pond whose outlet was a brook flowing into the Charles River. They then sailed around Cape Cod and going to the Connecticut River proceeded up to Windsor in the colony of Connecticut, and located their western station at the house of a Mr. Bissell. To say the least this was a novel way of surveying a boundary between rival governments. The surveyors were afterwards called "ignorant sailors" and "Mathematicians." But Massachusetts stoutly maintained that they were artists of most approved and unquestioned skill.[4]

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[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, xii. 523.

[2] Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Proceedings, i. 148.

[3] Cf. Publications of this Society, xvii. 113, 115.

[4] Connecticut Colonial Boundaries, 1670–1727, Massachusetts, iii. 12 (December 12, 1695). This is a volume of manuscripts in the Connecticut State Library at Hartford relating to the Massachusetts-Connecticut boundary for the years indicated. It is hereafter cited as "Connecticut Colonial Boundaries, iii."

Connecticut would not accept this line, but it was not until July 13, 1713, that articles of agreement were drawn up and signed by the colonies to resurvey the line by a joint commission from each colony.[1] It was then agreed that a new survey should be made and marked; that all persons were to retain the grants made to them by either government; that each province should retain the jurisdiction of all towns settled by them; and that whichever province had encroached on the other should grant to the other an equal number of acres out of its unimproved lands.[2]

This agreement in effect would not have resulted in curtailing the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over one foot of territory already claimed and settled by her; for the boundary as determined by the actual settlements was to remain except where each government had granted and settled the same tract, and it was expected by Massachusetts that what she had granted in northeastern Connecticut would be offset by what Massachusetts believed Connecticut had granted near the Connecticut River north of the rightful bounds. Where each had granted the same tract it was believed that some satisfactory adjustment could be made. In any case the jurisdiction of the land to be granted by either colony to the other for an equivalent for any previous infringement would not be changed, only the ownership of the soil would be given up.

The joint commission met at Woodward and Saffery's first station in Wrentham, Massachusetts. The Connecticut commissioners were persuaded to accept that as their starting point without making any personal examination whether it was correct or not. The commissioners surveyed the line to the Connecticut and agreed that 79,785 acres were due to Connecticut and so reported to their respective governments.[3]

At a meeting of the two governors and the commissioners December

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[1] Connecticut Colonial Records, v. 399. The story of this survey and of the agreements arrived at is a long one. The documentary evidence in the Massachusetts Archives, in the Connecticut Colonial Records, and in the Connecticut Colonial Boundaries (iii), is extensive. Many of the important facts will be found in Clarence W. Bowen's Boundary Disputes of Connecticut (1882).

[2] Connecticut Colonial Boundaries, iii. 34–35c; Massachusetts Court Records, ix. 300–301; Massachusetts Archives, cxvii. 689.

[3] Massachusetts Court Records, ix. 338–339; Connecticut Colonial Boundaries, iii. 43a–43c. A list of the tracts south of the line is in iii. 45b.

28, 1713, the Connecticut officials accepted the proposition that the towns of Woodstock, Somers, and Enfield which were largely south of the true line should remain subject to Massachusetts.[1] It was also agreed that 40,000 acres were to be given Connecticut in one plot, 30,000 acres in another, and 9,785 in a third "where they can be found being located on one side of the great river [Connecticut] that they may have the neighborhood of inhabitants of Massachusetts on the other side which will make their settlements more defensible." [2]

The survey was extended west of the river in June, 1714, as far as the western limits of Westfield, Massachusetts. The commission found that there were due to Connecticut 28,008 acres, making the total due her 107,793 acres. There is clearly a discrepancy in the total amount due Connecticut in the various official papers. The itemized amounts east of the river and the amount agreed upon December 13, 1713, foot to 79,785 acres.[3] The amount west of the river is nowhere stated to be different from 28,008 acres. These amounts foot to 107,793 acres. On the other hand the amount of the first three tracts surveyed and granted to Connecticut is stated to be 95,793 acres, and the fourth tract is tabulated as 10,000 acres, making the total 105,793 acres. The total is repeatedly stated to be 105,793 acres in various official papers.[4] The smaller amount seems to have been the actual amount granted.

The survey was continued to the New York boundary and a report was made on it September 20, 1717. There were no infringing grants in this part of the line.[5]

A third report of the commission to locate and survey the lands to be granted to Connecticut was made November 10, 1715, which summarized the two former reports, the first of which had located one tract of 21,976 acres "eastward of the town of Hadley Town [Belchertown] as by our report dated May 4, 1715;" and a second tract of 29,874 acres, "north of the first surveyed piece [Pelham and Ware] as by our report dated November 2, 1715." The third tract —

[1] Connecticut Colonial Boundaries, iii. 43–45c.

[2] iii. 44, 44b.

[3] iii. 45b.

[4] As in Connecticut Colonial Boundaries, iii. 54, 81c, 81d; Connecticut Colonial Records, v. 13; Massachusetts Archives, ii. 276–276a.

[5] Connecticut Colonial Boundaries, iii. 58c–58d.

of 43,973 acres within the limits of the sd Province on the Connecticut above the former settlements [Northfield] being surveyed and laid out in manner as followeth: To Say — The north east corner boundary is the mouth of the brook, att the northward end of the Great Meadow [in Putney] where sd brook emptieth itself in Connecticut River att the foot of Taylor's Island, from whence it bounds upon the Connecticut river (as the river runs) eastwardly Down to the mouth of the Brook that emptieth itself into the Connecticut River at the lower end of the meadow about three miles southward of West River, and from the mouth of sd Brook it extends West northwest by the needle of the surveying Instrument six miles and half from thence it extends Nearest North Northeast by the needle of the surveying Instrument twelve miles which is the Westerly of sd Lands, and from thence it extends East South east by the needle of the surveying Instrument six miles and half to the mouth of the brook at the upor end of the Great Meadow. Given under our hands and scalls this 10th Day of November Anno Dom. 1715. Math[w] Allyn Ebene[r] Pomery Roger Wolcott.[1]

These three tracts foot to 95,793 acres.

The fourth and final report of the commission has not been found, but a resolution of the Connecticut Assembly tabulates the four tracts, entering the fourth as 10,000 acres according to a report of the commission of April 5, 1716. Also in the Massachusetts Archives reference is made to a report of the commission of the same date, April 5, 1715, relating to a tract of 10,000 acres on Swift River, to and along the bounds of Brookfield to Ware River.[2]

In October, 1715, the Connecticut Assembly voted to sell these lands, although only a part of them had been surveyed. The tracts were divided into sixteen shares and were sold at public auction at Hartford April 24 and 25, 1716. A deed was given by the Connecticut commissioners June 5, 1716, to twenty-one persons for £683, of which £500 was given to the Collegiate School (Yale University).[3]

The proprietors were tenants in common until a partition was made, which probably was done in Boston in June, 1718. The Connecticut River tract was held as three and one-half shares, and fell to William Dummer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, one-half share; Anthony Stoddard, one share; William Brattle, one share:

[1] Connecticut Colonial Boundaries, iii. 54.
[2] Massachusetts Archives, xlvi. 437; cxiv. 770.
[3] Massachusetts Archives, ii. 277–283.

and John White, one share; all of Boston except William Brattle, who lived in Cambridge.[1]

For a time the whole tract was known as Dummerston, taking its name from one of the proprietors.[2] According to a statement in the town records of Dummerston the tract contained 48,000 acres instead of 43,943. Deming's Catalogue quoting this statement misquotes it as 4,800 acres. Both are wrong. As late as 1734 Indians claimed a portion of this tract and the Massachusetts General Court voted to pay Ompawmet (one of their chief men at that time) £120 for land he claimed on both sides of the river.[3]

On June 24–25, 1765, the Massachusetts General Court granted to Story Daws and Peter Roberts, heirs of John White, 1,080 acres of unappropriated land in lieu of their loss of 900 acres of the Equivalent Lands.[4] Another tract of 390 acres was granted the same date to the heirs of John White in lieu of lands cut off by the Massachusetts northern line.[5] This may not have been in the Equivalent Lands.

Local historians of the towns which grew out of this tract have sometimes claimed that Massachusetts granted four townships beginning at Westminster as Number One, Putney as Number Two, and so on southward, and that these numbers ran in the opposite direction from the numbered towns on the other side of the river. This is true of Westminster only. There is no evidence of their statements as to the other towns; but quite to the contrary Massachusetts had already granted the soil to Connecticut, retaining the jurisdiction of it. The province could not grant the tract the second time, but she could have organized it into townships, though there is no evidence that she did even this. The tract was chartered as three townships by New Hampshire in 1753. Beginning at the south they were named Brattleboro, Fulham (later becoming Dummerston), and Putney.[6]

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[1] Massachusetts Archives, ii. 278; Connecticut Colonial Boundaries, iii. 194–199.

[2] B. Hall, History of Eastern Vermont, p. 106.

[3] Court Records, xvi. 70 (November 30, 1734); Massachusetts Province Laws, xii. 58 (December 2, 1734).

[4] Massachusetts Archives, xlvi. 528.

[5] xlvi. 521–522.

[6] New Hampshire State Papers, xxv. i. 51–58, 130–138, 363–369.

According to the preliminary agreement made before the surveys of 1713–1717 and the agreements made during them, Massachusetts could lose nothing and gained much. She gained the consent of Connecticut to let the first station of the Woodward and Saffery survey remain the starting point, and to let the towns largely south of the true boundary remain in Massachusetts. She granted to Connecticut 105,793 acres which were largely bought by her own citizens at a nominal price (about one farthing per acre). But after the surveys were completed and the Equivalent Lands were deeded to Connecticut, the people of the Massachusetts towns south of the true line refused to remain a part of Massachusetts, particularly Woodstock, Enfield, and Suffield, and asked to be admitted into Connecticut. This was granted, against the protest of Massachusetts. The citizens of these towns thus secured a partial rectification of the boundary which the colonial government did not seem to have the shrewdness to gain.

THE NEAR-GRANT OF FORT ANNE

On May 26, 1708, a petition for land on the Connecticut River was presented to Governor Dudley, the Council, and the House of Representatives of Massachusetts by Abraham Schuyler, Myndart Schuyler, John Abeale, David Schuyler, Peter Vanbruck, John Schuyler, Peter Schuyler, and Robert Livingston, Jr., all of Albany, in behalf of themselves and company. The petition —

Sheweth

That Whereas at the head of the Connecticut River, and about a hundred miles distant from the Town of Deerfield there is a Tract of Land called Cowassick als Cohassett within the province of the Massachusetts &c containing about Thirty miles on both sides of the River, The Native Indian Owners thereof are in and about Albany and are willing and desirous to sell and make over unto your Petitioners all their Right Title and Interest in and to the sd land for a valuable Consideration. But forasmuch as yo^{r} Petitioners are advised, That no such purchase can be made without the knowledge Leave and Approbation of the General Court or Assembly of this Province

Yo^{r} Petitioners do now therefore make this humble Application that leave may be given them to purchase the same and that upon their purchase thereof the sd Tract of land may be confirmed to them and

their associates who design with all Convenient speed to settle a Village there which will be as well for the Convenience as security of the Western ffrontiers of this Province the scituation thereof being between Deerfield and Albany and the great Lake towards Canada

And yo^{r} Petitioners (as in duty bound) shall always be assisting to, & pray for the prosperity and peace of this Province

DAVID SCHUYLER
As Attorney & in behalf of the rest.

In Council

pr^{o} June 1708.

Read a first and Second time and Ordered

That the Prayer of the Petition be Granted, Viz^{t} That there be Granted to the Pet^{rs} and their Associates a Tract of Land containing fifteen miles Square for a Plantation at Cowastick al^{s} Cohasset upon Connecticut River within this Province of the Massachusetts Bay, to Lye on both sides of the River; And that they shall have Liberty to purchase the Indian Native Right thereto; Provided They forthwith proceed to settle and build upon the said Land so as to have a Plantation of forty family's there within y^{e} Space of two years next comeing, and an able Orthodox Minister Settled amongst them; with a good Fortification to defend their Settlement. Reserving four Thousand five hundred acres to be laid out in proper places, with a proportionable Quantity of meadow, namely one Thousand acres for the use of the Province; One Thousand acres for the use of Harvard College, one Thousand acres for the Support of a good Schoole in the s^{d} Plantation, One Thousand acres for a Parsonage and five hundred acres for the first minister

And that . . . be a Committee to see and know the bounds of the said Plantation, and the Laying out of the Reserv^{d} Lands and to Inspect the Settlement. And that the Plantation be called Fort Anne.

Is^{A} ADDINGTON Secry

Sent down for Concurrance

In the House of Representatives,

June 3, 1708. Read.

9: Read a 2^{d} time.

In the House of Representatives. June 12: 1708 Read a 3^{d} time. &

Being Informed that the Petitioners have no Prospect of making any Settlement upon the Land Petitioned for during the present War: and this House is desirous to be better acquainted with the Circumstances therof

Ordered That the Petition be Referred to further Consideration,

when the Circumstances of the Land, & its situation is better understood.

THOMAS OLIVER Speaker[1]

On June 12th the Council appointed a committee to join with a committee of the House to reconsider the petition on the 14th, and on the same day (June 12) the House "Ordered a Concurrence" and the committee was appointed.

This tract was probably at the so called Fifteen Miles Falls and the Coos meadows on the upper Connecticut in the present towns of Newbury, Ryegate, Barnet, and Waterford, Vermont, and the opposite New Hampshire towns. The statement that the Indians in the vicinity of Albany owned it can be taken with a grain of salt. In all probability these Indians in some of their hunting expeditions had visited the locality and of course were ready to sell to any one their claim to the region. Nothing more is found of this proposed grant.

There is extant a deed of sale of land by Indians to Colonel Peter Schuyler and Captain John Schuyler both of Albany, New York, for a tract of land on the Deerfield River in the government of New England, extending three miles up the river and six miles on both sides of it, all for the sum of five shillings. The bounds were all in Indian names of places and designations (a characteristic of New York Indian purchases). Ten Indians made their marks in lieu of signatures, and they were witnessed by several persons, including Robert Livingston, Jr., Anthony van Schaick, Jr., and others, and certified to by Killian Van Rensselaer, all of Albany, April 30, 1708.[2]

Did this purchase made by the same Albany parties about six weeks previous to the attempt to secure the Connecticut River grant have any relation to the latter? How did these Albany men have the assumption to buy a tract of land from the Indians on the Deerfield River which assuredly was in the Massachusetts Province, and possibly in Vermont, while they felt it necessary to get the sanction of the government in order to buy a tract on the Connecticut one hundred miles distant from any Massachusetts settlement? This episode is remarkable.

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxiii. 425–427.

[2] cxiii. 431–433.

Township Grants

Captain Gallop's Grant (Guilford)

Massachusetts made three township grants in Vermont. The General Court granted four townships, called Canada Townships, June 19, 1735, in reply to the petitions of (1) Samuel Newell and others; (2) Thomas Tileston and others; (3) Samuel Gallop and others; and (4) Abraham Tilton and others. These grants were made to the officers and soldiers or their descendants who served in the expedition to Canada in 1690, hence their name. Three of these grants were in Massachusetts or New Hampshire. The grant to Captain Samuel Gallop's Company was north of the Falls Fight Township and is now wholly or largely a part of Guilford, Vermont.[1] The Province was to be at the sole charge of laying out these towns, and certain conditions were imposed, particularly, requiring a certain number of settlers to settle in the grant within five years. Committees were appointed to lay out these towns.

A member of the committee for laying out Gallop's grant was changed July 6, 1736.[2] The bounds as described December 1, 1736, were:

> East & West on Unappropriated Lands South partly on Unappropriated Lands and partly on the Townships Granted to the Soldiers in the Fall fight Northerly on the Equivalent lands and on Unappropriated Lands begining at a Stake and Stones in North field West bounds, on the West side of Connecticut River, being also the North east Corner of the Falls fight Town; Runing North 9° 00′ West One thousand three hundred & Ninety perch to a White pine tree Marked; thence West 22° 30′. North thirteen hundred & Sixty perch to a stake & Stones (which is the South bounds of the Equivalent lands) and Several trees marked; thence West Seven hundred and Seventy five perch to two hemlock trees Mark'd & a heap of Stones, between them being about 12 perch East of a large Brook Runing Southerly then South Eighteen hundred & Seventy five perch thence East two Thousand three hundred & ten perch to where it began.[3]

The tract was six miles square. The plat was accepted. Daniel Carpenter was authorized to call the first meeting of the grantees

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, xii. 142–143 (June 19, 1735), xii. 252 (March 27, 1736).

[2] xii. 289.

[3] xii. 294.

to organize the township when the committee had admitted and taken bonds of sixty persons that were entitled to the grant. I find nothing more of the grant. Probably it was never organized, possibly because not enough persons qualified to become proprietors. No mention of this grant is found in any Vermont history, general or local; nor does Mr. Hiram A. Huse mention it in his notes in the New Hampshire State Papers.[1] Massachusetts made quite a number of grants under the name Canada Townships in New Hampshire and in her own territory proper. Perhaps Captain Gallop's Company combined with some other company and settled elsewhere than in Guilford.

No other border town of Massachusetts west of the Connecticut had been chartered in 1740. No other grants have been found along the border which extended into Vermont, but it may be rash to say there were none.

NEW TAUNTON (WESTMINSTER) AND —— (ROCKINGHAM)

Massachusetts granted two Connecticut River townships. Many petitions were made to the General Court in 1735 for grants of land. Surveys were made and twenty-eight towns were laid out between the northeast corner of Rumford (Concord), New Hampshire, and the Great Falls (Bellows Falls) on the Connecticut and on the east side of the river from Hinsdale to the Great Falls. On the west side of the river also a survey was made between the Equivalent Lands and the Falls. It was ordered that one or two townships should be laid out here as the territory allowed.

Number One was later named by Massachusetts New Taunton, after the name of the home town of many of the grantees.[2] New Hampshire rechartered the town in 1752 by the name of Westminster. This charter is the earliest of any Vermont town, it being dated November 19, 1736. When the surveyor surveyed and plotted this grant he expected to find the southern boundary running due west from the river, but discovered that the northern bounds of the

[1] Vol. xxvi.

[2] Massachusetts House Journal, 1735, pp. 221, 225, 227; Province Laws, xii. 225–227 (January 15, 1736), xii. 232 (January 16, 1736), xii. 307 (December 17, 1736); Court Records, xvi. 276–277, 282, 373 (January 15, 16, November 30, 1736).

Equivalent Lands ran 22° 30′ north of west, and he had to plot the new town accordingly.[1]

Number Two lay against the Great Falls and extended some miles north of it. The grant was made to Palmer Goulding of Worcester, who had been an officer in the Indian wars, and to a Mr. Stevens, perhaps Phineas Stevens of Rutland, Massachusetts, who later became noted as the commander of Number Four (Charlestown, New Hampshire),[2] and to fifty-eight others whose names are not known. Goulding was authorized to call the proprietors together to organize the township. The tract went by the name of Goldenstown previous to 1750. No further record of the grant is found in the Massachusetts records. No actual settlement is known to have been made under this grant. Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire in regranting the tract December 28, 1752, named it Rockingham, after the Marquis of Rockingham, Charles Watson-Wentworth, a relative of the Governor, and who was Prime Minister of England in 1765–1766.

The Massachusetts grants in this vicinity were made in similar terms. The township was divided into sixty shares or rights. Two rights in each town were set apart for the first and second ministers who should settle there, and one right for school purposes. Each settler was required to give a bond of forty pounds as security for performing the conditions enjoined, and to pay the expense of surveying and laying out the township. Those who had not received a grant within the previous seven years were admitted as proprietors; but in case not enough of such persons could be found then others were admitted, who, having received a grant elsewhere, had fulfilled the conditions required of them. The grantees were required to build a dwelling house eighteen feet square and seven foot stud at the least on their house lot; fence it in; break up for plowing, or clear and stock with English grass five acres of land; and cause their lots to be inhabited within three years after becoming a proprietor. They were further required within the same time to build and furnish a convenient meeting-house for the public worship of God, and to settle a learned orthodox minister. On failing to perform these

[1] Province Laws, xii. 292 (November 30, 1736).

[2] For Phinehas (Phineas) Stevens, see Publications of this Society, vi. 260, 260 note, 261 note 2.

terms their rights were forfeited and were to be granted again to such settlers as would fulfil the same conditions within one year after receiving the grant. The land in New Taunton was divided into house lots and interval lots [1] each of a given number of acres, and one lot of each kind was included in the right of each grantee.

As to the remainder of the land, after the original proprietors had received a right, an agreement was made that it should be shared equally and alike by all the settlers when divided. In January, 1737, the General Court passed a vote to the effect that as soon as there were twenty families settled in either of the two upper towns, Westminster and Rockingham, and a corn (grist) mill and a saw mill were built, a new truck house would be built north of the town for its security and for the public stores for the Indian trade which should be moved there from Fort Dummer. The object of the act was to advance the truck house northward from Fort Dummer as the settlements advanced. Neither of the towns ever secured this advantage. The frontier trading house became Number Four, on the other side of the river. These two townships specifically were included in Hampshire County on February 2, 1737.[2]

THE LYDIUS GRANT

There is yet another grant a Massachusetts governor, serving as a special royal agent, it is claimed, took a part in granting. Many of the statements which follow are taken from a pamphlet inspired or issued under the supervision of Colonel John Henry Lydius, printed in 1764, with the title Some Reflections on the Disputes between New-York, New-Hampshire, and Col. John Henry Lydius, and signed "Philadicaios." Its authorship is attributed to Dr. Thomas Young,[3] a native of the New York Province,who at different dates among other places lived at Albany, Boston, and Philadelphia.[4]

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[1] Cf. Publications of this Society, vi. 137–151.

[2] Province Laws, xii. 342.

[3] For a memoir of Young, see Publications of this Society, xi. 2–54.

[4] The pamphlet is no. 9889 in Evans, under Young's name; no. 42758 in Sabin, under Lydius's name; and no. 1405 in Trumbull's List of Books printed in Connecticut, 1709–1800 (1904), under the title. The title reads:

Some Reflections on the Disputes between New-York, New-Hampshire, and Col. John Henry Lydius Of Albany. Qui ab altero fere tuleris, re inferes ipse.

John Henry Lydius was born in Albany in 1694; a son of a Dutch minister, he became an Indian trader; lived in Montreal in 1725–1730; was brought to book for carrying on illicit trade with the English through the Indians and banished. He returned to Albany and continued his relations with the Indians. In 1732 he obtained from the Mohawks, whose possessions he professed to believe extended north and east to the St. Francis Indians on the St. Lawrence in the vicinity of Quebec, a deed for two tracts of land, dated February 1, 1732, one on Wood Creek, southwest of Lake Champlain, and the other on Otter Creek in Vermont, extending from the mouth of the Creek eastward 6 Dutch miles (24 English miles) and southward to the uppermost falls of the Creek, 15 Dutch miles, more or less (60 English miles), thence westward 6 Dutch miles, thence to the starting point. He lived on the Wood Creek tract, and his house was near Fort Edward, New York.[1]

To make his possession doubly secure, he applied to the King through the Massachusetts colonial agent for a confirmation of his grant. He claimed that Governor Shirley was authorized to investigate his claims and to grant to him a royal charter if his representations were satisfactory; and that a charter was issued to him by Shirley under date of August 31, 1744, which began thus:

I Do in Obedience to His Majesty's Command of the fifth of *October* last, whereby I am commanded to inform myself of a certain deed of covenant, executed by His Majesty's subjects the *Mohawk Indians*, in consideration of the pious services therein mentioned, unto *John Henry Lydius*, dated the first day of *February*, 1732; as said deed is *bona fide* the voluntary act and deed of the said *Indians*, for two certain tracts of land *&c.* lying on *Otter-Creek* and *Wood-Creek*; I do Declare and Grant unto the said *John Henry Lydius*, and to his heirs

To these Reflections are added, Some Rules of Law, fit to be observed in purchasing Land, &c. New-Haven: Printed and Sold by Benjamin Mecom. 1764.

Title, 1 leaf; Reflections, &c., pp. 3–21. The copy in the Boston Public Library ends on p. 21, the verso of which is blank. The copies in the New York Public Library and in the Henry E. Huntington Library have an additional leaf, the verso of which is blank, while the recto (in verse) is headed: "From an Old Book. Rules of Law, fit to be observed in purchasing Land, &c." Cf. Publications of this Society, xi. 26 note 1.

[1] It is No. 49 on the map in Documentary History of the State of New York (1849), i. 556.

and assigns, to be the absolute owner and proprietor of the said two tracts of land.[1]

About the beginning of the summer of 1760 Lydius issued leases for several townships of land, the first to Connecticut people, and others to New York and Rhode Island people, including Dr. Thomas Young, then living in Albany,[2] on the moderate rent of five shillings sterling per 100 acres improvable land. The first payment was to be made twenty years after the date of the lease. After the lessees vigorously began to settle on their lands, Lieutenant-Governor Colden of New York issued a proclamation after this manner: "Whereas *John Henry Lydius*, of the city of *Albany*, claimed property in two large tracts of land, lying within this His Majesty's province of *New*: *York*; . . . That the said *John H. Lydius* presumed, in his doings thereupon, to the disturbance of the *government*," and all persons were warned not "to enter into, or take possession of the said lands, or any part or parcel of them, *&c.*"[3] This proving of no effect the Attorney General of New York filed a declaration in the Supreme Court for a trial between the city and county of Albany against Lydius, charging him with cutting and destroying thousands of valuable trees and the grazing of some hundreds of oxen, etc., on his Majesty's lands. "To which *declaration Lydius* plead the general issue; and first plead in bar to the government's jurisdiction to the premises, which, as that not yet got over, we shall wave at present to observe, that, during this contest, *P. Skeene, major of brigades*, on pretence of *General Amherst*'s encouragement to use his interest to procure part of this tract on *Wood-Creek* for him (as conquered land) settled many people thereon without right or authority from *New-York*, or any other government."[4] Or in other words; Lydius denied the truth of the general charge and maintained that the government lacked jurisdiction over the tracts, and as this defence has not yet been answered he will dismiss the matter at present to observe, that during this prosecution Major Philip Skene, on the pretence of having received encouragement to use the in-

[1] Some Reflections, etc., pp. 12–13.
[2] Id. p. 4.
[3] Id. pp. 4, 5.
[4] Id. pp. 5–6.

fluence of General Amherst in order to procure a part of this tract on Wood Creek for himself, has settled many people on it without right or authority from New York or any other government. Meanwhile New York has never treated Skene as an intruder, for he is opposing Lydius; also New York has patented some of Lydius's land to J. Bradshaw & Co., and also more recently has issued a patent for a township by the name of Argyle, to some Scotchmen brought over by Captain Laughlin Campbel, assuming the land to be in the county of Albany. This is according to a statement signed by Duncan Read & Co. in the New York Gazette, no. 275, published by Weyman.

And again, the previous winter (December, 1763), New York issued a proclamation claiming the west bank of the Connecticut River to be the eastern boundary of the province, alleging that New Hampshire had intruded on New York by issuing land grants, and warning the unwary from purchasing the New Hampshire titles. New Hampshire issued a counter proclamation upholding its right to issue grants in the disputed territory.

After making the above statements the writer of the pamphlet argues his case thus: Title originates from pre-occupancy or first discovery. It is admitted by all that the Indians have the first right to American soil occupied by them. No English king ever assumed he had a full right to the land occupied by Indians until their claim was satisfied. Lydius's title to his tracts is unassailable, as he has a title from the Indians reinforced by that of the King. If his title is questioned on the ground of jurisdiction, the writer says that the charters of Connecticut and Massachusetts are older than that of the Duke of York; and in any case the Duke's title has reverted to the Crown, so that it remains for the King to define the boundary between New York and New Hampshire, for both are royal provinces.[1]

In the suit against Lydius for trespass at Albany in 1761–1763 the judges were withholding judgment, apparently because of their doubt about the true extent of Albany County, for by the law dividing the Province into shires Albany County extended northward only to the uttermost end of Saraghtoga (Saratoga). If Lydius's tracts were not in Albany County, then they were not in the

[1] This boundary was determined in July, 1764, and became known in New York the following February or March.

Province.[1] When Lydius was first summoned to court the writer says Lydius replied that the season's inclemency prevented his attendance, then when he is charged with trespass, judgment is suspended.

A confirmation of some of these statements is found in New York records.[2] A letter from Lydius giving a description of his land claims was presented to the New York Council February 4, 1761. It was referred to a committee.[3] A report was made on the claims February 18, and a proclamation against him was ordered to be issued accordingly.[4] Proceedings were taken against him December 15 of the same year for contempt and intrusion on the crown lands. Then Lydius produced copies of his Indian deeds and his grants from Governor Shirley of Massachusetts for lands from the Saratoga patent to the northern limits of the Province. He was discharged on the following day on giving bonds to stand trial in the Supreme Court.[5] A hearing on the memorial of the Attorney General against him was deferred March 8, 1762; and on the 17th the Attorney General was ordered to file a second information against him.[6] Banyan, a New York official, writes May 31, 1762, that he is to be in Albany in June to testify against Lydius for intrusion on crown lands between Saraghtoga and Fort Edward, and above, and on a tract on Otter Creek opposite Crown Point. J. T. Kempe on May 9, 1763, asks for aid in getting witnesses against Lydius for intrusion on the King's lands near Fort Edward.[7]

A final trial and verdict of Lydius's case has not been found; but

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[1] The New York law of 1691 establishing counties left the northern extension of Albany County east of the Hudson indeterminate: "The County of Albany [to containl] the Manour of Renslaerswyck, Schenectady and all the villages neighbourhoods and Christian plantacons on the East side of Hudson's River from Roeloffe Jansens Creeke and on the west side; from Sawyers Creeke to the utmost end of Saraghtooga" (Laws of New York, 1894, i. 268).

[2] Particularly in the Calendar of the [New York] Council Minutes, 1668–1783 (1902), pp. 414–466; and in the Calendar of the Sir William Johnson Manuscripts in the New York State Library compiled by R. E. Day (1909).

[3] Calendar of the Council Minutes, p. 452.

[4] Calendar of the Council Minutes, p. 452; Calendar of New York Historical Manuscripts (1866), p. 719.

[5] Calendar of the Council Minutes, p. 456.

[6] Calendar of the Council Minutes, p. 457; Calendar of New York Historical Manuscripts, p. 729.

[7] Calendar of the Sir W. Johnson Manuscripts, pp. 136, 169.

we know that after New York's bounds were extended to the Connecticut River he was unable to secure any recognition of his claims from the Province. He went to England in 1767 or 1768 in the interests of these claims, but with what success we do not learn. He never returned to America, dying abroad in 1791.

It is very evident that the New York officials and influences were against Lydius, including the Lieutenant-Governor, the court, and all who stood in favor of the officials, particularly the land speculators. Sir William Johnson, the Indian Commissioner, charged Lydius with fraud in his dealings with the Indians.

On the other hand Lydius was a trusted agent of the Massachusetts government for a number of years. Several times the General Court voted funds to pay him for services in connection with Indian affairs. He served with Captain Ephraim Williams to investigate certain Indian claims in 1748, and again he was paid for "securing the Indians of the Six Nations in the English Interests." He served Massachusetts in other ways.[1] The English Government had confidence in him.[2]

Lydius undoubtedly had secured an Indian deed for the two tracts of land he claimed, one on Wood Creek southwest of Lake Champlain, and the other on Otter Creek in Vermont. We find incorporated in a deed dated December 20, 1763, for one eighty-seventh part of the township of Boxford (in or near Hancock, Vermont) a copy of his Indian deed, apparently from a sworn copy of the original deed, the sworn copy being dated Albany, November 8, 1761.

The paper reads as follows:

Indenture February 1, 1732 between Cauegohe Teyonyguawe [etc. several other Indian names follow] Chief Mohawks with their people and John Henry Lydius of Albany son of Rev. John Lydius in consideration of services among them [etc.] grants two tracts lying to the northward of the English colonies of New England near Lake Champlain namely one tract lying on Otter Creek containing about six Dutch miles in width and fifteen in length and bounded as follows: beginning at the mouth of Otter Creek thence running six Dutch miles easterly thence southerly to the uppermost falls of Otter Creek about 15 Dutch

[1] Province Laws, xiii. 543; xiv. 79, 592; xv. 105, 281; House Journal, 1745, p. 179; 1747, pp. 21, 175, 179; 1748, pp. 14, 56, 67, 114; 1755, pp. 233, 239.

[2] New York Colonial Documents, vi. 561, 569, 577, 650; vii. 456; ix. 1019–1020.

miles then westerly six Dutch miles thence northerly to the first mentioned point.[1]

The other tract was on Wood Creek: "beginning two and a half Dutch miles due north from the place called Cingequartmock or falls in Wood Creek, running 10 Dutch miles westerly to the falls on the Hudson River going to Lake Sacrament and from thence down the river Hudson five Dutch miles." Signed by three Indians by their marks and figures of animals of deer, etc. Witnessed by Barret Uromcon, Jr., and Valkort Dowe. Sworn to before Byer Garret, Justice, August 5, 1736; witnesses also sworn. Copy of the original sworn to November 8, 1761, at Albany.

The deed, a printed blank form, is in part substantially as follows:

20 December third year of the reign of George the Third. John Henry Lydius of Albany sells to Samuel Avery of Groton, County New London, Connecticut one eighty-seventh part of township number 20 called Boxford about 30 miles south-east and east from Crown Point and about six miles east of Otter Creek beginning at the south-east corner of Milford, then east two miles 54 chains to the north-east corner of Pomfrett thence south bounded by Pomfrett six miles to south-east corner, thence east two miles, 24 chains thence north 16 degrees east nine miles and ten chains to the south-east corner of Yorkshire thence west 27 degrees north six miles to south-east corner of Bradford, thence west two miles 38 chains to north-east corner of Milford thence running south six miles abutting on said Milford to first mentioned corner.

We find in the Military Patents of New York[2] a petition which states that one hundred and twenty persons, who had bought two townships from Lydius which he claimed to have bought from Indians in 1736 and had received a royal confirmation in 1744, had petitioned New York in 1772 for this same tract, but before the grant and survey could be completed it was impossible to have it done. They renewed the petition August 16, 1774. The tract lay 19 miles and 50 chains distant from the mouth of Otter Creek. Another mention is made of a Lydius claim on Otter Creek[3] in a patent which

[1] New York Land Papers, xxxiv. 10–11, in the Land Bureau of the Secretary of State of New York.

[2] New York Land Papers, xvi. 396–405.

[3] Military Patents, xvi. 418–421.

Humphrey Avery and twenty-seven others received for a grant of 28,000 acres from New York, September 6, 1774.[1] This tract had been claimed by Lydius.

Lydius divided his Otter Creek tract into thirty-five townships (on paper). Number 7 is called Durham. The first settlers of Clarendon, Vermont, came from Rhode Island and were lessees of Lydius in 1768.[2] When the New Hampshire grantees and they came into conflict the lessees made common cause with the New York land speculators and through James Duane secured a New York patent in 1772 for Durham covering the towns of Clarendon and Wallingford. The Green Mountain Boys, an organization formed to resist New York claims, in that vicinity were determined not to permit any one to hold land titles under New York. The result was that the Rhode Island people found for a second time that they needed to get another title in order to hold their farms, as neither Lydius nor the New York sharps could protect them from the Green Mountain Boys. The latter were not severe with them only so far as they became political partizans of New York.

Thus we find that Massachusetts made a number of land grants in what is now Vermont. There were grants in her own territory which were found to extend over the boundary of 1740. There were the individual grants, the Equivalent Land grant, and the township grants, which she assumed were within her limits, and the curious near-grant of Fort Anne on the upper Connecticut. Finally, we have described the Lydius grant, which it is possible that Governor Shirley, as a special royal agent, granted.

[1] In or near Lincoln, Vermont.

[2] Documentary History of New York (1851), iv. 956; Hall, Early History of Vermont, p. 169.

APRIL MEETING, 1920

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. Henry Herbert Edes, at No. 62 Buckingham Street, Cambridge, on Thursday, 29 April, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Dr. CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, and Messrs. RICHARD CLIPSTON STURGIS and JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. JOHN ELIOT THAYER and JOHN LOWELL.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL AGASSIZ accepting Corresponding Membership.

The PRESIDENT announced the death at Cambridge on the 29th of March of ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, a Resident Member.[1]

[1] At a meeting of the Council held 1 April, 1920, the following minute was adopted:

The Council have learned with sorrow of the death of their honored colleague ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, the Senior Vice-President of the Society, and for many years a member of this Board. Although the state of Mr. Davis's health has deprived us of his presence at our meetings during the past three years, his wise counsel has always been at our service, and his kind and cordial greeting has been sent to us on more than one occasion. We shall long miss him, and we deplore the loss of his advice and coöperation in the varied interests of the Society. Nor can we say farewell to our old associate without an especial tribute of gratitude and appreciation for his unfailing loyalty and help in the early days of the Society before it had attained the recognized position which it now enjoys.

Mr. Henry H. Edes read the following letter:

3, Buckingham Gate, S. W.
25th March, 1920.

Dear Mr. Johnson

Thank you for your letter. I am greatly interested to hear of the progress you are making with the celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims. That event is one of the great events in the history of the English-speaking world, which well deserves to be commemorated, and I heartily hope that the spirit shown by the Pilgrims will maintain itself on both sides of the Atlantic, in your people and in ours.

I wish I could think that that particular spirit was having the influence in Continental Europe among the new states that are rising there, which I see that you wish it should have. Some of them, so far, at any rate, do not seem to me to have imbibed or to be giving effect to the great principles for which the great minds of both Britain and America have so long stood. We must hope that this will come in due course.

Believe me,
Faithfully yours,
James Bryce.

Alfred Johnson, Esq.

Mr. Albert Matthews made the following remarks on —

A GHOST BENEFACTOR OF HARVARD COLLEGE

As there are ghost words and ghost books — that is, words and books which have no real existence[1] — so too are there ghost benefactors of Harvard College. Writing about 1831 Peirce remarked:

A legacy of £40 was bequeathed to the college by Deacon William Trusdale, and one by Mr. Henry Ashworth[2] of £100 sterling. Whether these two legacies were received, it does not appear.[3]

In 1840 Quincy, after naming certain benefactors, went on to say:

Besides the above, the following donations appear on the books of the College, from which it is not known that any thing has been received, viz. . . .

1693. Deacon William Trusdale, . . . £40 0 0[4]

[1] Cf. our Publications, xiv. 268–281.

[2] Oddly enough, "Ashworth" was also a ghost benefactor, the name evidently being an error for "Henry Ashurst:" cf. our Publications, xx. 201–202.

[3] History of Harvard University (1833), p. 50.

[4] History of Harvard University, i. 510.

In his pamphlet on Harvard College and its Benefactors, published in 1846, Samuel A. Eliot was silent as to such a legacy; but in a book published two years later, he recorded the following:

1683 Deacon William Trusedale bequeathed £40 — "and still remains due to the College," says the record.[1]

These statements had for their basis three items found in the College records. The first item, appended to "Sundry Donations to the Colledge received by Cap^{t} John Richards Treaṙ.," reads as follows:

1683 More Donations not containd in Cap^{t} Richards Account. & are yet resting due to the Coll.
Deacon William Trusedales legacy . . . . . 040 00 00[2]

The second item, dated March 5, 1683, in "An Acco^{t} of the Estate belonging to Harvard Colledge under the Care of Sam^{l} Nowell Esq^{r}. delivr^{d} unto him by Thomas Danforth," is this:

Legacy of Deacon Trusedall. Exc^{r}s of W^{m} Gilbert . . 040 00 00[3]

The third item reads:

1683 Deacon William Trusdale bequeathed forty pound.
M^{r} Henry Ashworth bequeath'd one hundred pounds Ster^{g} in Coll Book N^{o} 3 p 59, These two Legacys are mentioned as Remaining due to the Colledge Viz^{t} 1683 nothing is afterwards said about them[4]

No trace of a William Trusedale can be found in New England at that time.[5] But the designation of "Deacon," applied to Trusedale in all these items, sufficiently proves that the person meant was not William Trusedale but Richard Trusedale, who joined the First Church on July 27, 1634,[6] became a deacon of that church in 1650,[7]

[1] Sketch of the History of Harvard College (1848), p. 166.
[2] College Book, iii. 60.
[3] iii. 83.
[4] Donation Book, i. 19. This was compiled about 1773.
[5] There was a William Trusedale in England, who never came to this country. He is supposed to have been a brother of Deacon Richard Trusedale and the father of the Richard Trusedale who died in 1676 or 1677: see 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, iv. 78.
[6] Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 335.
[7] A. B. Ellis, History of the First Church, p. 328.

in 1669 was one of the seceders to the Third (Old South) Church,[1] and died in 1671. But in his will, dated September 9, 1669, and proved January 4, 1671, there is no mention of a legacy to Harvard College.[2]

But if Deacon Richard Trusedale was not the benefactor, who was? Previous to 1834, only three Trusedales are to be found in the Suffolk Probate Files. On January 30, 1677, "Power of Administracon to the Estate of the late Richard Truesdail of Roxburough dec^{d} is granted unto Katharin his Relict." [3] This Richard Trusedale was a nephew of Deacon Richard Trusedale; but, like his uncle, could not have been the benefactor.

There remains Mary Trusedale, the widow of Deacon Richard Trusedale. Her will, without specific date but drawn up in 1672 by John Hull, contains these items: ". . . morover I doe give unto Harvard Colledge at Cambridge forty Pound in money . . . Moreover I doe ordaine Constitute & appoint my Couzen William Gilbert sole Exec^{r} of this my will . . . I do Desire that all my Legacies may be paid in money & within six months after my decease." [4] Here, then, is revealed the identity of the benefactress who for two hundred and thirty-seven years or more has masqueraded as "Deacon William Trusedale." Even if the money — as in the case of too many other legacies in the early days — was never received, it is just that in future the name of Mary Trusedale should take its place beside those of Lady Ann (Radcliffe) Mowlson, Bridget Wines, Judith Finch, Mary Anderson, and perhaps one or two others, as one of the few benefactresses of Harvard College during the seventeenth century.

Mr. Arthur Lord exhibited a forgery which purported to be a document signed by Myles Standish and remarked upon its having been facsimiled by John Fiske and Woodrow Wilson in their historical publica-

[1] Hill, History of the Old South Church, i. 117–118.

[2] Suffolk Probate Files, vii. 176, 177. That this Richard Trusedale was the deacon is shown by the fact that he is so called in several depositions and in the inventory.

[3] Suffolk Probate Files, no. 885.

[4] Suffolk Probate Records, v. 230, vi. 73.

tions before the spurious character of the paper was discovered. Mr. Lord also discussed several signatures of John Robinson, claimed to be autographs of the Rev. John Robinson, and announced the recent discovery in Holland of a letter bearing what is probably a genuine autograph of the Leyden pastor.

Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD remarked upon the injury which can be done by the suppression of names that occur in diaries and letters through a mistaken oversensitiveness for the feelings of the persons mentioned or of the members of their families, and cited instances that occur in the Life and Letters of John Hay and in Colonel Thomas L. Livermore's Days and Events, 1860–1866.

Mr. PERCIVAL MERRITT gave an account of a hitherto unnoted clergyman of King's Chapel in Boston — the Rev. Robert Boucher Nickols, who was curate to Dr. Caner just before the Revolution and was subsequently settled in Salem. Mr. Merritt traced his later career in England until his death in 1814.

Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE made the following communication, written by Professor Howard J. Hall of Stanford University:

TWO BOOK-LISTS: 1668 AND 1728

A search of the Suffolk County Probate Records for the first forty years has brought to light some interesting book-lists. The recorded wills and inventories of these years show the high importance of books in the minds of the planters and their children. Generalities and statistics both are liable to mislead, but it may be noted that a search for book items through year after year of this period shows books mentioned in between forty-five and fifty per cent of all the inventories, including those lumped under such inclusive heads as personal and real property and those itemized in painful detail, with a range in value from a few shillings to thousands of pounds. To the searcher it is rewarding to come across two or three books in inven-

tories revealing the utmost poverty; and it is tantalizing to find other property lists that show a high degree of comfort and the beginning of luxury in which the books are merely appraised at twenty-five or a hundred pounds. Among these early inventories with book lists two seem worthy of especial mention.

The Ratcliff Invoice, 1668

An early document of the Boston book trade is an inventory of Thomas Ratcliff, stationer, of Wapping, England, covering books and stationer's goods in the hands of John Ratcliff, of Boston, stationer. John Ratcliff appears as binder of Eliot's Indian Bible [1] in 1664. To him and Alice, his wife, are born sons John and Thomas and a daughter Elizabeth in 1664, 1666, and 1669.[2] He is one of those citizens of Boston who in 1664 petition the General Court on October 19 that the Charter rights of the Colony be confirmed and continued.[3] In 1667 he is a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.[4] Samuel Sewall in a commonplace-book notes, "Samuel Sewall, his Booke, Decemb. 29, 1677. Bound by Jno. Ratcliff." [5]

Thomas notes him as a bookseller for whom was printed Cotton Mather's youthful poem upon President Urian Oakes, and for whom and John Griffin was published the Rev. Joseph Rowlandson's last sermon.[6] These were printed in 1682. Thomas further says that Ratcliff did little work as a bookseller, but that a few pamphlets were printed for him. After 1682 John Ratcliff apparently disappears from Massachusetts. It seems likely that he removed with his family from the vicinity of Boston, for outside the present entry the name of Ratcliff, in any form, does not again appear in the Suffolk County Probate Records for more than two hundred years.

The inventory that follows, together with the preamble and the attached power of administration, explains itself. The books are of the class to be found on the shelves of the colonists generally, not alone in ministers' libraries. The consignment was treated appar-

[1] Our Publications, v. 390, 391; W. C. Ford, Boston Book Market, pp. 43, 72; Memorial History of Boston, i. 469.

[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 93, 101, 112.

[3] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, lii. 315.

[4] Roberts, History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, i. 209, 210.

[5] Diary, ii. 12.*

[6] History of Printing in America (1874), ii. 207, 208, 242.

ently by the court as if to have been sold on commission as the venture of Thomas Ratcliff, of Wapping, and not as an order at the risk of John. The binding materials John would of course buy for his own use; the books he would sell on commission. It will be noted that the items on seamanship and navigation are usually of several copies each, but that the books of divinity are usually of a single copy. It would be interesting to know whether these latter represent a special order sent to England or whether they are wholly a venture on Thomas Ratcliff's part to feel the Boston market. Such ventures were not unknown.[1]

An Inuentory of Certaine parcells of Bookes pasboards parchments &c sent ouer by the late m^r^ Thomas Ratlife of Wapping station^r^ sent over to his Brother John Ratlife of Boston station^r^ &c as found in the Dep^ty^ Gov^rs^ Warehouse, Taken and Apprized by m^r^ Hezekiah Usher as they cost in England, as neere as he could: 15 July 1668

	£ s d
3 dozen of duble pasboards	000:12:–
8 dozen & ½ of single pasboards	000:05:6
1 doz:of barromes	000:07:–
1 doz:of Parchment	000:05:–
1 doz:of red ship skins	000:08
1 diodates Annotius in folio bound	000:19:–
1 newmans Concordance in folio bound	000:18:–
1:vollume of Pembles workes in folio bound	000:08:–
2:gunters workes bound	000:16:–
12:seamans Callenders in sheets	000:16:–
6:seamans seacrets	000:06:–
6:seamans glass	000:06:–
12:seamans Practises	000:18:–
6:norwoods Epitamy	000:09:–
5:nauagat^rs^	000:07:6
1 Geometricall seaman	000:01:6
2:norwoods Doctrin of Dryangles in sheets	000:09:–
4:Allens vindication in Octauo	000:08:–
2:Beuis on Religeon in Octauo	000:01:6
6:norwoods Epittamy bound	000:09:–
2:smiths on Rethorick in Octauo	000:02:–
4:of the Godlimans Portion in Octauo	000:04:9
3:Bookes of m^r^ Hennings, Things worth Thinkinton in Octauo	000:04:6
6 Dyers Cabbinet of Jewells in 12	000 06
2:Jacksons Enottomy in 12	000:04:–
2:Goldberryes on Prodiges in Octauo	000:03:–

[1] Ford, Boston Book Market, p. 12.

	£ s d
2:Bookes of Kings in Octauo	000:03:–
1:Brookes his Ark	000:01:4
1:doctrine of Law & grace in Octauo	000:01:4
1:Predix Compendium in quarto	000:05:–
1:Baker vpon Gardening in quarto	000:04:–
1:Arons Rodd quarto	000:04:6
1:Simson on vnbeleife:quarto	000:04:0
1:Swinnock on faith in q^{r}to	000:13:06
1:Mecouia Pedamea in q^{r}to	000:05:–
1:streets soliectall motions q^{r}to	000:02:06
1:Griffith sermons q^{r}to	000:02:06
1:Hollinger Historagraphæ q^{r}to	000:02:06
1:Watsons Cordiall Octauo	000:01:06
1:Hoddars Arethmatick:12	000:01:00
1:Triggs secrets	000:01:00
2:Brownes Rules	000:02:–
1:Phillips Patterne	000:01:–
2:streets Appendix to Astronomy in q^{r}to	000:06:–
1:Lattin brooke in quarto	000:00:00
1:Jewell of Arethmaticque in q^{r}to sticht	000:03:–
1:doz bound Paper Books in q^{r}to	000:10:–
6:in parchement in q^{r}to:1 quire	000:03:06
2:doz bound Paper Bookes in Octauo:20:sheets	000:10:–
1:doz:in leather half quires	000:07:06
2:doz:bound in Leather:12	000:14:–
1:Roswells Case & Cure in 12	000:01:–
	017:03:08

Att a meeting of the major Generall John Leveret & Edw: Tyng Esq^{r} with the Record^{r} in Boston this : 24 : July : 1668

Power of Administration to the Estate of the late m^{r} Thomas Ratlife, of Wapping station^{r} as found in this Jurisdiction is granted to John Ratliffe his Brother in right & behalfe of the children left by the sajd Thomas Ratliffe, hee giuing Bond to Administer there vpon According to Law.

As Attests: Edw Rawson Record^{r}

24 July 1668

John Ratliffe deposed that this paper contains a just & true Inuentory of soe much of his late Brother Tho: Ratlife his Estate, as is come to his hands & knowledge that when hee knowes more hee will discouer the same

p Edw Rawson Record^{r} [1]

[1] Suffolk Probate Files, no. 486.

THE GREENE INVENTORY, 1728

Judge Sewall in his Diary, August 9, 1714, wrote "Last night our neighbour Green died."[1] This neighbor was Nathaniel Greene, a prosperous young merchant, a grandson of John Greene who was an associate of Roger Williams in the Providence settlement, 1638, and nephew of James Greene from whom descended General Nathaniel Greene of the Revolution. He was born at Warwick, Rhode Island, April 10, 1679. On February 27, 1704, he was married in King's Chapel to Ann, daughter of Thomas and Frances (Robinson) Gould, of Boston, about eighteen years of age. In his will written two days before his death he mentions five children to whom he leaves one hundred and fifty pounds each with equal shares in Rhode Island land. His wife he makes residuary legatee and "full and sole executrix." The widow Greene increased the property; and by her will of November 27, 1727, in which she describes herself as "widow and shopkeeper," she leaves all of the property to her five sons equally, the eldest of whom, Thomas, she makes sole executor. The total estate as inventoried four months later sums up to more than £7000, consisting of shop and household goods, books, and the Rhode Island land still undivided and much increased in value. It was the children of Thomas Greene who left to Trinity Church in Boston the "Greene Foundation" of £500 for the maintenance of assistant ministers.[2]

In the long and minutely detailed inventory of the property left by Mrs. Greene in 1728 the books are of chief interest, one hundred and twenty-four titles from folios to unnamed pamphlets. They are mostly works of divinity, to be sure, but a careful look down the columns shows to one who has become familiar with seventeenth century book-lists that here is something different. Even the divinity is of lighter type. "Pilgrims Progress" and "Grace Abounding" appear, surprisingly rare in New England lists for a generation after Bunyan's death, when compared with the frequent appearance of such books as "Caryl on Job" and Mr. Preston's and Dr. Sibbs's works. For a library of this size the folios are fewer and less profound than in those of a generation before. The quartos and octavos have a fair proportion of history, and the list ends with a group of a

[1] Diary, iii. 14.
[2] The Greene Family (1901), p. 50.

dozen titles of fiction and romance that would indicate that the widow Greene and her family had found that books might serve for delight. Of all her books one quarter, including history, may fairly be called books of diversion or of diverting information.

An Inuentory & Apprizement of the House & Land Plate Wearing Apparel and Household Goods belonging to the Estate of Ann Green late of Boston deceased as taken Accompt of & apprized by Mess^{rs} Zechariah Thayer, Benj^{a} Simpson & Philip Bongarden the 8th day of March 1727/8 Viz^{t} . . .

Books in Folio viz^{t}

Henry on the Bible 6 Vol	£24		
Perkins's works 3 Vol	3		
Ambros's works	3		
Caves Lives	3	10	
Taylers Exempler	4		
Cambridge Concordance	3		
Clarkes Martirology	1	10	
a Quarter Wagginer	1		
Herberts Travels		10	
Hookers Eclesiastical Politie	1		

Books in Quarto

1 Holy Bible old		8	
1 Family ditto most new	2	5	
The History of the old and new Testaments wth Maps	2	10	
Patricks Parrable of y^{e} Pilgraim		10	
a Collection of Sermons by Thomas Cartwright		15	
The Christian Compleatly armd		5	
	51	3	
Calfs Wonders of the Invisible World		2	
The History of the Knight of the burning sword		3	
The History of Parismus		5	

Octavos &c

Y^{e} History of England 4 Vol^{s}	3		
Athenian Oracles 4 Vol^{s}	3		
Beveridge on the 39 articles		15	
on Prayer & Communion		1	
Thoughts on Religion		2	6
Sheerlock on death		10	
on Judgment		12	
on Religious assemblys		8	
on the Immortality of the Soul		12	
Nelson's Rules to Live above the World		14	
Address to Persons of Quality		5	

Down's exposition of the book of Common Prayer			16
Ray's wisdom of God in the Works of Creation			15
Horneck's Crucified Jesus			16
Great Assize			8
Jenkins on the Christian Religion 2 Vol^{s}		1	10
The Bulwark storm'd			8
The Life of Leopold Emperour of Germany			5
The Life of the Rev^{d} m^{r} George Trosse			3
Drelingcourt on death			6
Cole on Regeneration			5
Josephus History of the Jews			8
Articles & Canons of the Church			6
Janeway's Heaven upon Earth			7
his life		2	6
Token for Children			6
Telemachus 2 Vol^{s}		15	
State Worthies 5/Grainger's Life 2/		7	
Wadsworth on y^{e} Immortality of y^{e} Soul		4	
12 Sermons		2	6
Gods terrible Voice in the City		2	
Foxcroft's cleansing our way in Youth		3	
Patrick's Advice to a Friend		4	
a Believer's Golden Chain		4	
Taylor's Contemplations		3	
Bunyan's Sighs from Hell		2	
Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners		2	6
Davids Repentence 4/ The Wars of England & 2/		6	
Meat out of the Eater		2	
	£	20	5 6

Books in Octavo &c

Colman's Incomprehensibleness of God		2	
Sermons		2	6
Funeral Sermon on Grove Hirst		2	
Grailes holy History 18^{d} Crisps Sermons 18^{d}		3	
Allin's alarm to unconverted sinners		2	
Smiths great assize 3/ a spelling book 2/		5	
A young man's conflict with y^{e} Devil		1	8
a Catechism & Confession of Faith		2	6
The Life of the Lady Margaret de la Musse		1	6
Doolittle's Call to Delaying sinners		1	6
a prospect of Eternity		1	6
Lives of the Primitive Christians		2	
Hayward's blood of the son of God sheed		1	6
Russel's 7 Sermons 2/6 Jacob's Ladder 2/		4	6
Flavel's Token for Mourners		2	6
The Lama Sabacthany 2/ Francis Spira		4	6
The Pattern of mans Imperfections		1	
Mather's Life of M^{r} Cotton &c		2	6

Pilgrims Progress 2/ The barren figg Tree 2/			4
a Guide to Eternal Glory			2 6
The youth summon'd to appear at Christ's barr			1 0
Testament of the 12 Patriarchs			1 6
The History of the holy Jesus			2
An Ark for all good Noahs			3
Christ's sudden appearance to Judgment			3
The Existence & Omniscience of God			2
Two Journeys to Jerusalem			2
The Truimph of mercy			3
a New England Psalm book 2/8 a Ditto 1/6			4
S^{r} Francis Drake 2/ 9 Worthies 2/			4
Maynes Practical Gaguer 12^{d} Cromwell's Life 2/			3
English Rogue 18^{d} French Rogue 18^{d}			3
Queen Elizabeth & Essex 18^{d} Fortunatus 12^{d}			2 6
Argalus & Parthenia 18^{d} Valentine & Orson 2/			3 6
7 Wise masters 2/ 7 wise Mistresses 2/			4
Destruction of Troy 18^{d} Fair Rosamond 18^{d}			3
The English Empire in America			2
Laugh & be fat 18^{d} Amadis de Gaul 18^{d}			3
Guy Earl of Warwick			1 6
a parcel of Pamphlets &c			5
		£5	6 2
7 Champions of Christendom			1 6
1 Book, Kempis on the Christians Exercis			15

[Then follows attestation] Boston March 8th 1727/8 [1]

Mr. M. A. DeWolfe Howe exhibited two volumes — one a collection of printed tracts, which once belonged to Judge Samuel Sewall and containing his book-plate and notes in his hand; the other a copy of Officia Sacrata, printed in 1742.

Mr. Matthews read the following —

NOTE ON ROBERT ELLISTON (1680–1756)

The second volume exhibited by Mr. Howe raises biographical and bibliographical problems of some interest. The title-page reads:

Officia Sacrata: or, Devotional Offices in the Retired Acts of Divine Adoration. With Pious Instructions prefixed, for Rectifying the Dispositions therein: And useful Sentences adjoin'd, Concluding the Parts thereof. Collected from the Sacred Writings, and Orthodox Writers of the Church. Deus Religione intelli-

[1] Suffolk Probate Files, no. 5574.

gendus, Pietate profitendus, Sensu vero persequendus non est; sed adorandus. S. Hilar. de S.Trin. MDCCXLII.[1]

Following the title-page is this dedication:

To the Worthy Professors of the Church of England, these Offices Are inscrib'd by Robert Elliston, the Compiler, In regard of their Orthodox Character.

The binding is modern. There are two fly-leaves of modern paper, and then a fly-leaf which belonged to the original volume. The recto of this fly-leaf is marbled, and on the verso is pasted a book-plate. Mr. Elliston used two book-plates, very similar but not identical. In each is a coat of arms, but slightly different in each case. Over the arms in one book-plate is the date "M. DCC. XXV." and under the arms the motto "Bono Vince Malum." Underneath are the words: "Robert Elliston Gent. Comptrol. of his Majestie's Customs of New York in America." In the other book-plate the arms are somewhat different, there is no date at the top, the motto at the bottom is the same, but the words underneath read: "Robert Elliston Gent Comptrol. of his Majesties Customs, of New York in America." It is the latter book-plate which is pasted into Mr. Howe's volume.[2] Underneath the book-plate is written in Mr. Elliston's hand:

By whom these Devotional Offices unto Benjamin Franklin Gent: of Philadelphia in Pensilvania are in respectfulness given.[3]

Of this book there is a copy in the Columbia University Library[4] and another in the library of the General Theological Seminary.[5]

[1] Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Dedication, 1 leaf; "Officia Sacrata: or, Devotional Offices. In Three Parts" (half-title), 1 leaf; "View of H. Duties" (half-title), 1 leaf; "A General View of the Christian Duties, the Compiler's Preliminary to the Retired Acts thereof," pp. [i]–vii; Contents, pp. [viii]–[xi]; "Daily Offices. Part the First" (half-title), p. [1]; text, pp. [3]–56; Appendix to these Retired Acts, pp. [57]–80; "Eucharistical Offices. Part the Second" (half-title), p. [81]; text, pp. [83]–119; "Occasional Offices. Part the Third" (half-title), p. [121]; text, pp. [123]–224.

[2] It is also the book-plate that I have found in all copies of the Elliston books that I have seen. Both book-plates are reproduced in facsimile in A. B. Keep's History of the New York Society Library (1908), the 1725 one on p. 38, the later one on p. 41.

[3] I do not find the name of Robert Elliston in the index to any volume by or about Franklin.

[4] For information about this library I am indebted to Mr. Isadore G. Mudge.

[5] Before I had an opportunity of examining the copies in the library of this institution, Mr. George Dobbin Brown kindly sent me information.

The former I have not seen, but the latter on examination proved to be bound in its original leather binding, handsomely tooled, the back being labelled "Officia Sacrata," in two lines. On the inside of the cover is marbled paper, which extends over the recto of the first fly-leaf — thus explaining the condition of the fly-leaf in Mr. Howe's copy, remarked upon above. Pasted on the verso of that fly-leaf is the same book-plate as that in Mr. Howe's copy and underneath is written in Mr. Elliston's hand: "By Whom these Devotional Offices are in beneficence given to the Parochial Library of Holy Trinity Church in N. York City."

Of a second book compiled by Mr. Elliston, the only copy I have run down is in the library of the General Theological Seminary. This is also in its original leather binding, with marbled paper on the inside of the cover and extending over the recto of the first fly-leaf. The back of the cover is labelled "Religious Instructions," in two lines.

The title-page reads as follows:

Cognitiones Christianismi: or, Religious Instructions, Expressive in some Strictures of Christianity, conducing to Holiness & Happiness, from Holy Church her Writings. Ut Deus piisimè colatur, hæce, animum virtute benedictâ erudiendi certitudo sint. MDCCXLII.[1]

The "Address Dedicatory, to the Worthy Professors of the Church of England," is signed —

Recte legit,
qui
in opera vertit.
Robert Elliston
ΦΙΛΟΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ.

Fest. Epiphaniæ,
MDCCXLII.

On page 243 is printed the following:

ΕΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΗΣΤΟΥ. | Ex His, | Solamen ac Salutem | Contemplatori | Equidem Optat. | Answering To The English; | Philochrestus His Peroration. | Unto the Observer | He | doth truly wish | from these, | the means of | Comfort & Salvation.

[1] Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Address Dedicatory, pp. iii–vi (misprinted iv); General Matters in the Religious Instructions, pp. vii–xi; Version of the Mottos, pp. xii–xiv; Cognitiones Christianismi, pp. 1–242; Ἐπίλογος φιλοχρήστου, p. 243; Narratus, etc., pp. [244–245].

On pages [244–245] is this printed inscription:

Narratus Quidam | De | Roberto Elliston Generoso. | Ipse Middlesexiæ Natus, | Æra Salutis | MDCLXXX. | In Aula Civica Minutariorum: | Post | Conflagrationem Londinensem, | Annis XIV. Consummatis,| Istoque Diei Articulo. | Et | Proxima Ineunte Centuria, | Unus E Scripturariis: | Ad Quoddam Tempus, | V. Honorabili Edvardo Harley Armigero | Regio Computatori, | Subfuerat:[1] | Inde Usque Ad | MDCCXLII. | Regii Telonii Custos | In Portu Neo-Eboracensi In America, | Fuit. | Laus utique sit omnis | altissimo.[2]

Of a third book compiled by Mr. Elliston I have seen three copies, there being a fourth in the Columbia University Library. The copy in the library of the General Theological Seminary is in its original leather binding, with marbled paper inside the cover and extending over the recto of the first fly-leaf. Underneath the book-plate is written in Mr. Elliston's hand, "By Whom this Manual is in," the remainder being erased. The title-page reads:

Enchiridium Polychrestum: or an Useful Manual; Containing Religious Instructions, Expressive in Some Strictures of Christianity: Extracted from Several Writings of Holy Church. In v. Partitions. Ut Deus piissimè colatur, hæce, animum virtute benedictâ erudiendi certitudo sint. MDCCXL.[3]

"An Address Dedicatory" begins "To You, the Worthy Professors of Our Holy Church, is an Offering of this Manual, which doth contain Religious Instructions as the Title sets forth;" is signed "Sic,

[1] P. [244] ends with this word.

[2] "Some account of Robert Elliston, gentleman. He was born in Middlesex in the year of salvation 1680, in Haberdashers' Hall, fourteen full years after the Great Fire of London and on that very day; and at the beginning of the next century he had been for a time one of the clerks under the Hon. Edward Harley, Esq., Royal Auditor; then up to 1742 he was Comptroller of his Majesty's Customs in the port of New York in America. All praise be assuredly to the Most High!" The building in which Mr. Elliston was born stood on the present site of Haberdashers' Hall at no. 33 Gresham Street and Staining Lane, behind the General Post Office, and was erected immediately after the Great Fire from designs by Wren. Wren's building was in turn in large part burned in or about 1840. Cf. Brayley, Londiniana, 1829, iv. 149, 151–152; Wheatley, London Past and Present, ii. 176; W. C. Hazlitt, Livery Companies of London, p. 289; P. H. Ditchfield, City Companies of London, pp. 115–116. For the translation of this inscription and of the dedication below, together with the comments, I am indebted to Professor Kittredge.

[3] Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Address Dedicatory, 1 leaf; Contents, 1 leaf; Enchiridium Polychrestum, pp. [1]–[84].

Vota efferimus Deo; Amen. R.E.;" and is dated "Fest. S.Matthæi. MDCCXL."

Another copy of this book, once owned by the General Theological Seminary, is now owned by the New York Historical Society. It also is in its original leather binding, with marbled paper on the inside of the cover and extending over the recto of the first fly-leaf. Underneath the book-plate is written in Mr. Elliston's hand: "By Whom this Enchiridium is in respectfulness given to the Rev^{d} M^{r} Jonathan Arnold Curator of S^{t} Andrews's Church on Staten-Island New York." But it has two leaves not in the copy already described. Following the Address Dedicatory is a leaf containing this printed dedication:

D.

IOHANNI DUPUY

M. & C.

PROFESSORI LITERATO;

HÆCE

PRÆCEPTIONES CHRISTIANISMI,

PER

R. ELLISTON EJUS SOCERUM

INSCRIPTÆ:

HINC EXOPATUR UT

IPSIMET

PLACITÆ ERINT PLURIMÆ.[1]

Vigil. Omn. Sanct.
MDCCXLI.

[1] "M. & C." is probably an abbreviation for "Medicinae et Chirurgiae." "Hinc . . . Plurimae" is unintelligible. *Exopatur* would be an easy misprint for *exoratur*, but *exoptatur* seems more likely, since *exoratur* means not to "ask" but to "obtain one's request." *Erint* is somebody's blunder (Elliston's or his printer's); sense and grammar require *sint*. With these corrections it is possible that Elliston's Latin was intended to signify: "To Mr. John Dupuy, scholarly physician and surgeon, these Instructions of Christianity are inscribed by R. Elliston his father-in-law. Hence it is earnestly desired that very many [of these Instructions] may be acceptable to him." *Ipsimet* is so emphatic a word that one is tempted to guess that Elliston meant it to refer to Christ; but it is to be noted that in the other inscription he employs *ipse* where a mere "he" would be expected in English.

And at the end of the book, following page 84, is a leaf which contains this printed inscription:

Narratus [1] quidem [2] | de | Roberto Elliston generoso. | Ipse | Middlesexiæ natus, | ærâ salutis | MDCLXXX; | in Aulâ Civicâ Minutariorum:| post | conflagrationem Londinensem, | annis XIV. consummatis, istoque diei articulo. | Et | proximâ ineunte centuriâ, | unus è scripturariis; | ad quoddam tempus, | V. Honorabili Edvardo Harley armigero | regio computatatori,[3] | subfuerat: | à quo,' tam hactenus | MDCCXLI, | regii telonii custos | in portu Neo-Eboracensi in America, | fuit. | Laus utique sit omnis | altissimo.

The third copy also once belonged to the General Theological Seminary, but is now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to whom it was given by the late Charles R. Hildeburn on October 31, 1892. It, too, is in its original leather binding, with marbled paper inside the cover and extending over the recto of the first fly-leaf. Underneath the book-plate is written in Mr. Elliston's hand: "By whom this Enchiridium is in benevolence given unto Richard Nicholls Gent. Attorney at Law in New-York Province." This copy also has the two leaves not found in the copy now in the library of the General Theological Seminary.

It thus appears that the book itself is dated MDCCXL, while those two leaves are each dated MDCCXLI; and that some copies have, while other copies lack, the two leaves. These facts perhaps indicate that the book was originally issued without those two leaves, which afterwards were printed off and inserted in the copies not previously bound. The discrepancy between the date on the titlepage and the date on those two leaves is not without precedent.

The existence of three such books, compiled and distributed by an ardent Episcopalian in New York between 1740 and 1742, prompts the questions: Who was Robert Elliston? Where were the books published? By whom were the books printed?

From the inscriptions quoted above, we learn that Robert Elliston was born in London, England, on September 2, 1680; that he

[1] This inscription is printed wholly in capital letters.

[2] Doubtless a misprint for "Quidam" (see the inscription of 1742, above).

[3] Corrected with a pen to "Computatori."

was employed under Edward Harley; and that in 1741 he was Comptroller of the Customs in New York. His patron in England was Edward Harley (1664–1735), a brother of Robert Harley (1661–1724, first Earl of Oxford), an uncle of Edward Harley (1689–1741, second Earl of Oxford), and the father of Edward Harley (1699–1755, third Earl of Oxford), and who in 1702 obtained the lucrative office of auditor of the imprest, which he held during life. Exactly when Elliston came to this country has not been ascertained, but he was in New York as early as 1711, in which year he contributed £1 towards the building of a steeple to Trinity Church.[1] Nor is it known precisely when he became Comptroller of the Customs, but apparently he held that position in 1720 and retained it until 1755. The allusions to him are scanty and chiefly in connection with Trinity Church, of which he was a vestryman from 1713 to 1726, again in 1736, and from 1740 to 1756.[2] In 1736 he gave £8 for enlarging Trinity Church,[3] and (whether earlier or later does not appear) "an altar piece was prepared, according to the plan of Mr. Robert Elliston, towards which he himself contributed £20."[4] He was likewise the donor of "a very handsome silver basin . . . to receive the offerings at the Communion;"[5] and on several occasions gave books to the parish library.[6] This library was largely destroyed in the fire of 1776, but the books which remained were later given to the General Theological Seminary. His death was recorded in two London magazines for July, 1732;[7] but, as in the case of Mark Twain, the report was "grossly exaggerated," since he lived until March 20, 1756, as appears from a notice in the New York Mercury of March 22d:

> The same Day, departed this Life in the 76th Year of his Age, Mr. Robert Eliston, a Gentleman, who for many Years past has been Comptroller of his Majesty's Customs in this City; very remarkable for many

[1] W. Berrian, Historical Sketch of Trinity Church (1847), p. 322.
[2] Id. p. 355.
[3] Id. p. 340.
[4] Id. p. 55.
[5] Id. p. 55 note.
[6] Id. p. 57; Keep, History of the New York Society Library, pp. 33–35.
[7] "*Robert Ellison*, Esq; Collector of the Customs at *New-York*" (London Magazine, July, 1732, i. 207). A similar item appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for the same month (ii. 877).

shining Virtues, which makes his Death much lamented by all his Acquaintance.

His wife Mary, whose maiden name is unknown, survived him for nearly twenty years, dying in February, 1775, in her eighty-eighth year. Their only child, Frances, was married first to Dr. John Dupuy, to whom the Enchiridium Polychrestum was dedicated and who died in July, 1745;[1] and secondly, on January 6, 1757, to the Rev. John Peter Tetard, who died December 6, 1787. She died August 2, 1808, in her ninety-second year.[2]

On the questions as to where the three Elliston books were published and by whom they were printed, no light is thrown by the title-pages, which, as we have already seen, give neither place of publication nor publisher's name nor printer's name. But two suggestions have been made, — one by the late Charles R. Hildeburn, the other by Mr. D. Berkeley Updike.

In 1889, when he compiled his List of the Issues of the Press in New York, 1693–1752,[3] Hildeburn was silent as to the Elliston books. Perhaps at that time he did not know about them. However that may be, in 1892, as stated above, he gave to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a copy of the Enchiridium Polychrestum. Three years

[1] The New York Weekly Post Boy of July 22, 1745, stated that "Last Night, died . . . Mr. *John Dupuy*, M.D. and man-midwife; in which last Character it may truly be said here . . . There is none like him" (in C. M. Dupuy, Genealogical History of the Dupuy Family, p. 20).

[2] For references to Elliston, other than those already cited, see: New York Colonial Documents, v. 774 (where "R[ll] Elliston" clearly stands for "R[t] Elliston"); Calendar of New York Historical Manuscripts (1866), ii. 465, 543; Ecclesiastical Records State of New York (1902), iv. 2927; Memorial History of New York City, iv. 113–114; Calendar of [New York] Council Minutes (1902), pp. 288, 316; Abstracts of Wills (Collections New York Historical Society), iii. 97, 283, iv. 327, viii. 254, 295, 369; M. Dix, History of the Parish of Trinity Church, i. 220, iv. 575; W. Berrian, Facts against Fancy (1856), p. 61; W. Berrian, Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, pp. 85, 334; Keep, History of the New York Society Library, p. 122; H. B. Dupuy, The Huguenot Bartholomew Dupuy and his Descendants (1908), p. 391 (where the name is wrongly given as "Ellister"); C. M. Dupuy, Genealogical History of the Dupuy Family (1910), pp. 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 155.

My particular thanks are due to Mr. Robert H. Kelby of the New York Historical Society, who has kindly sent me some data which were collected by his brother, the late William Kelby.

[3] Pennsylvania Magazine, xiii. 207–215; also separately printed the same year.

later (1895), speaking of the New York printer James Parker, he wrote:

> Parker's first work was "Enchiridium Polychrestum," privately printed for the author, who, according to his book-plate, was "Robert Elliston Gent Comptrol[r] of his Majesties [*sic*] Customs of New York in America." The title-page is dated 1740, the dedication Vigil. Omn. Sanct. [November 1] 1741, but the typography is neither Bradford's nor Zenger's, and is Parker's; besides which the printer's "flowers" used throughout it all appear in works from no other American printing-office than the latter's. The work is highly mystical, and the author probably insisted on preserving in print the dates he affixed to his manuscript, though the book was not printed until 1742.[1]

This passage contains several statements that are open to challenge. First, the assertion that the book was "not printed until 1742" is a pure assumption, no evidence in its support being adduced. Secondly, the statement that the typography "is neither Bradford's nor Zenger's, and is Parker's" is questionable in the extreme. To my eye the typography of all three of the Elliston books by no means resembles the typography of the few books I have seen which were printed by Parker in 1743–1746.[2] Thirdly, the statement that "the printer's 'flowers' used throughout it all appear in works from no other American printing-office than" Parker's is difficult to understand. If this means that the use of "flowers" was confined in this country to Parker's press, the statement is of course erroneous, since flowers appear in many American books of that and of an earlier period. If it means that the particular flowers "used throughout" the Enchiridium Polychrestum "all appear in works from no other American printing office than" Parker's, I can only say that apparently none of those particular flowers appear in any of the books printed by Parker which I have examined.

Nor must the fact be overlooked that the Elliston books are dated 1740–1742, while it is questionable whether Parker established his press before 1743. Hildeburn does indeed say that Parker's "first

[1] Sketches of Printers and Printing in Colonial New York (1895), pp. 37–38.

[2] These are: E. Pemberton, Sermon Preached . . . On Occasion of the Death of John Nicoll, M.D. (1743); D. Horsmanden, "Negro Plot" (1744); and E. Pemberton, Sermon Delivered at the Presbyterian Church in New-York, July 31, 1746 (1746).

production was the votes of the Assembly for the latter part of 1742,"[1] though according to Evans's American Bibliography Parker did not print the Journal of the Votes and Proceedings until November, 1743. But however that may have been, no book is known to have been printed by Parker previous to 1743.[2]

Two years ago, after examining Mr. Howe's volume, Mr. Updike threw out the suggestion that the book may have been printed in London by William Bowyer the younger, the "learned printer," a notion which seems not improbable. This question can of course be determined only after a careful comparison of the Officia Sacrata and the other Elliston books with books printed by Bowyer[3] — a task so tedious that the result would hardly warrant the labor.[4]

Meanwhile those who — like Mr. Updike, Mr. Robert H. Kelby, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, and the present writer — have examined one or all of the Elliston books, agree that in typography, in binding, and in paper,[5] they were doubtless of English manufacture.[6]

[1] Sketches, etc., p. 35.

[2] Hildeburn (Pennsylvania Magazine, xiii. 209) assigns to Parker's press the Rev. John Beach's "Sermon on Eternal Life" (1745). According to Haven and to Evans this book was printed at Newport, R. I. I have found no copy of the 1745 edition in the libraries about here, but the title-page of a later edition reads in part: "A Sermon shewing, that Eternal Life Is God's Free Gift, Bestowed upon all Men who obey the Gospel. . . . Newport: Printed by the Widow Franklin, at the Town-School-House. 1745. Newport: Re-printed at the Office of the Newport Mercury 1806."

[3] See J. Nichols, Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer, Printer, F. S. A. (1782), and J. Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (1812), ii. 1–461. Elliston's name apparently does not appear in either of these works.

[4] A border frequently employed in the Officia Sacrata — it is found on pp. 18, 20, 23, 39, 41, 77, 99, 107, 112, 114, 158, 183, 207, 209 — appears to be identical with a border in Roger North's Examen, printed by Bowyer in 1740 (Advertisement, signature b). It should be added that no copies of the Elliston books are in the British Museum, nor do I find them recorded in Watt or Lowndes.

[5] The paper on which the Officia Sacrata is printed has no water-mark. The paper on which the Enchiridium Polychrestum is printed has a singularly distinct water-mark: a figure of Neptune and his trident, the words "Pro Patria," and the name "J: Evers Vierevant." Perhaps Vierevant was a Continental paper-maker. The water-mark of the paper on which the Cognitiones Christianismi is printed is not easy to read, but the words "Pro Patria" are clear.

[6] The Enchiridium Polychrestum is entered in Evans's American Bibliography (no. 4941), doubtless, as Mr. Evans writes me, on the authority of Hildeburn. Mr. Evans now thinks that the book must have been printed in England.

The TREASURER announced the receipt of $2000 on account of the bequest of Horace Everett Ware, which is to accumulate till 1930, when the amount, with any additions which may be made from other sources, is to be used by the Society for the erection of some memorial to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay and the transfer of the Colony charter to New England. He also reported the receipt of $30,000 from the executors of the will of George Vasmer Leverett in satisfaction of his bequests. These additions bring the total amount of the Society's endowment up to something more than $100,000.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE made the following communication:

THE BUILDING OF MASSACHUSETTS HALL, 1717–1720

Massachusetts Hall was completed in 1720, and was first occupied by students in the fall of that year. The story of its building is told briefly in this paper, and in the pages following are printed the documents upon which that story is founded.

It was in November, 1717, that the need for a new building to provide lodging for students first found public expression. An inspection of the Quinquennial Catalogue shows that at just this time there had been a sudden increase in the number of students. The class of 1721, which entered in 1717, graduated with 37 members, and the five classes, 1721 to 1725, averaged 39 in number. The previous five classes, 1716 to 1720, averaged only 18. Previous to the autumn of 1717 the number of students in residence must have been well under one hundred, for the four classes, 1717 to 1720, graduated with only 80 members altogether. In November, 1718, however, it is explicitly stated that there were 124 students, graduate and undergraduate, in residence. At this time the College had only two buildings in which students lodged — that which stood on the present site of Harvard Hall and was burned in 1764, in which, it is stated, there were twenty chambers in the upper story, and Stoughton College, built in 1700, containing sixteen chambers.[1] These thirty-six chambers probably each contained two studies or closets, about five feet

[1] See the Columbian Magazine, December, 1788, ii. 673.

square, partitioned off from them, and accordingly would accommodate seventy-two students. There may possibly have been room for a few more than seventy-two, since the chambers in Stoughton, or some of them, may have had three studies, for in one of the plans for the new building it was proposed that three studies might be contrived in some of the chambers, which were of the same size as the chambers in Stoughton; but in any case it is evident that the supply had come to be far short of the demand.

The first step toward obtaining a new building was taken on November 14, 1717, when at a meeting of the Overseers[1] the President stated the difficulties of the situation, and moved that the Overseers would consider and advise what should be done. The Overseers having thereupon voted that a memorial should be presented to the General Assembly, the President read the draught of a memorial which he had prepared. This was approved and referred to a committee of six, with instructions that it be transcribed, signed by the clerk of the Overseers, and presented to the Governor and Council as soon as possible.

The committee met the next day, November 15th; the memorial was read and approved, and Tutor Flynt, the clerk of the Overseers, was directed to get it transcribed while the committee adjourned for half an hour. Upon meeting again the memorial was duly signed by the clerk and the committee immediately waited upon the Governor and Board, who agreed to send it down recommended to the House of Representatives, whereupon a joint committee was appointed by the Council and the House to consider what might be proper to be done, and to make their report at the next session.

The memorial[2] should be read in extenso. It set forth the early provision made by the Government for the College, the "more Capacious & sumptuous Habitation" (the second Harvard College) which had been built later, and the "Large College built & finish'd at his own sole Cost & Charge" by the "truely Honorable & Conspicuously learned and religious W^m^ Stoughton Esq^r^." It went on to state

[1] At this time the Board of Overseers was composed of the members of the Governor's Council, and the teaching elders of Boston, Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Roxbury, and Dorchester, with the Governor (Samuel Shute), the Lieutenant-Governor (William Dummer), and the President of the College (John Leverett).

[2] See no. ii, pp. 89–90, below.

that while hitherto there had been "sufficient Apartments for y^e^ Students" yet "the Numbers of y^e^ Sons of y^e^ Prophets are now so increas'd, that the Place where they were wont to dwell is become so Streight as not to be capable of receiving y^m^" and that many of the students having to take lodgings in the town, the Government "do already feel a great Concern in y^r^ Minds & have but uncomfortable Views of Mischeifs impending," since many are "necessitated to be so much & so far from their constant Inspection, & y^e^ Slender Authority y^e^ College is capable of Exerting in the Town."[1]

During the recess the joint committee of the General Court and the committee of the Overseers sat together, and when the Court met again, on February 6, 1718, were ready to report without delay. Governor Shute in his opening speech directed attention to the College's needs and recommended prompt action. The committee handed in their report that it was "necessary that some further Building be erected for the Making Provision of Forty or Fifty Studies more, that all the Students may be entertain'd within the College."

This report was sent down to the House, which ordered, the next day (February 7), that the committee "be desired to prepare & lay before the Court a Projection of such Additional Buildings, as they think necessary . . . & a Computation of the Charge it will probably amount to." The Council concurred, and in the afternoon of the same day a draught of the proposed building was presented to the House, the committee recommending as "the most frugal method of Building . . . to Erect a double House, somewhat conformable to the Draught herewith exhibited, to be plac'd pretty near the Southwest Corner of *Stoughton College*, and thence to extend its length Westward in a parallel Line to *Harvard College*," thus forming three sides of a square open toward the West. The charge, they gathered from skilful workmen, would amount to about three thousand pounds.

Among the College papers there are two plans evidently connected with Massachusetts Hall. One (reproduced facing page 94) may well be the draught presented at this time, since it does not correspond very closely with the building as actually erected, especially in the position of the chimneys. On the back is a brief description[2] in the hand of Benjamin Wadsworth, a member of the Overseers' committee at this time,

[1] See p. 90 note 1, below.

[2] See p. 95 note 1, below.

one of the Fellows of the Corporation, the minister of the First Church in Boston, and later the successor of President Leverett in the Presidency. It proposes a building 98 feet long and 43 feet wide, three stories high, and containing in each story eight large chambers 20 feet square. Cut off from each chamber are either two or three studies (each five feet by four and a half) giving 60, 66, or 72 studies in all, and accommodating that number of students.

Evidently this seemed to the House a large undertaking, and on February 12, when the report was read again, it was voted that "inasmuch as the charge of the said Buildings is like to be very considerable, and a great part of this House is absent," consideration be deferred to the next session of the Court in May.

No further step was taken until June 19, 1718, when a new committee composed of thirteen members was appointed to go to Cambridge, and choose a site for the new building. The next day the committee reported in agreement with the previous committee as to site, but limited the building to not more than fifty feet in length, with three upright stories and a convenient roof of a suitable pitch.[1] On July 4, the sum of fifteen hundred pounds was appropriated toward the cost of the building, and a committee consisting of Jonathan Remington, Charles Chambers, and Andrew Bordman (the Steward of the College) was named "to take care for the carrying on and effecting the said Building."

The reduction of the new building to half the size originally planned must have been a sore disappointment to the government of the College, but apparently no record exists of any further plans or discussions until we find in President Leverett's Diary, November 3, 1718, his statement that the Governor had agreed that there should be a meeting of the Overseers on November 7, when a second memorial might be presented "for the carrying on the begun building . . . to the length of one hundred feet."

The meeting of November 7 proved abortive, as objection was made that the ministerial portion of the Board had not been duly notified, so that the meeting was not regular, and "that it was not proper for the Council to address themselves." Leverett says that "thô these objections were accounted but frivolous ones, yet, this meeting

[1] See the other plan (reproduced facing page 100) and the note in regard to it, p. 95, below.

dropt without any effect" except to prepare the way for another meeting on the 12th of the same month. On that day everyone had been duly notified and the clerk made formal statement of the fact, so there was no ground for objection on the score of regularity, but it is evident that a hostile element had prepared to take advantage of the occasion to attack the President. The President, at the Governor's invitation, set forth the business of the meeting, namely to prosecute "their former Memorial with a Second" praying for an enlargement of the building already under construction. At the Governor's invitation, he presented the memorial which had been prepared, praying that the Court would be "pleas'd to carry out y^{e} begun additionall building to y^{e} Length first proposed."[1] The Governor spoke in favor of it, and was about to put the question when Mr. Paul Dudley asked to be allowed to look upon the memorial, and while he was doing so, thus delaying action, Judge Sewall rose and began to ask how the worship of God was carried on in the College, and whether the President expounded the Scriptures regularly; he had heard that it had not been done, and he apprehended that this was an affair of greater moment even than the erection of a new building. The President protested that this was not the proper time or place to raise the question, "that he was surprized and little Expect^{d} Such a treatm^{t} from the Hon^{ble} person that moved it." The Governor declared "that the Motion . . . was very improper and altogether

[1] Among the reasons set forth are that the number of resident students, graduates and undergraduates, amounted to 124, that the studies to receive them when the smaller building was finished would amount to but 116, or eight less than the number of students at that time, while the larger building would accommodate 134, or only ten more than the present number. These figures are puzzling. Why should the building when doubled in size contain only 18 additional studies? One would expect the number to be 32, for the building when actually completed in its larger form contained 64 studies altogether, or two in each of the 32 chambers. The explanation may be something like this. Harvard and Stoughton are supposed to have contained 72 studies. The fifty-foot building then under way, with four large square chambers on each floor, each having windows on two sides, may well have had three studies to each chamber, as proposed in Wadsworth's draught plan. This would give us twelve studies on each floor, and if in the roof story only eight studies (two to a chamber) were provided, we should have the forty-four which, added to seventy-two, gives the 116 mentioned in the report. On extending the building to the 100-foot length, the plan was in fact changed so far as to give but two studies to each chamber, or 64 in all. This would give 136 for the three buildings, which is only two in excess of the number mentioned in the committee's report.

out of Course." Sewall, giving a spicy account of the affair in his Diary, says: "Many spake earnestly that what I did was out of Season. Mr. Attorny [Paul Dudley] stood up and Seconded me very strenuously. When I was fallen so hard upon, I said I apprehended The not Expounding the Scriptures was a faulty Omission, and I was glad I had that Opportunity of shewing my dislike of it." Sundry motions were made again by Mr. Dudley "tending to, if not designing for a diversion," but at length votes were passed directing the memorial to be presented to the General Assembly in the name of the Overseers, and in conclusion it was voted, "That the President shal Entertain the Scholars in the College Hall with Frequent Expositions of the holy Scripture."

The memorial was accordingly presented in the House on November 13, but on being brought up for consideration on the 28th, the House voted down the motion to grant the enlargement asked for. Again the reasonable and urgent petition of the College failed to gain support.

At the next session of the Court the subject was pressed again, and this time with success. On May 29, 1719, Charles Chambers and Andrew Bordman of the building committee presented a further memorial recommending that the building should be carried out to its full length. "First, Because it will save considerable Charge if the Building be carried on entire; Secondly, Because the Building will be much stronger as well as much more beautiful; Thirdly, Because the proposed Building of fifty feet long will not be sufficient to accommodate the Students." They report that the master workmen compute that the sum of three thousand five hundred pounds, with what the President's old house will sell for, will complete the building. The House was now favorably inclined and the same day ordered, that the building extend in length 100 feet, that an additional two thousand pounds be appropriated, and "that the Rent paid by the Students that shall be entertained in the said Building shall not exceed Twenty shillings per Man per Annum." In these votes the Council concurred the following day, and the work evidently proceeded thereupon without further interruption.

On May 24, 1720, the new college was so far finished[1] that the

[1] On July 29, 1720, Judge Sewall recorded (Diary, iii. 259) that he waited "on the President, and Chuse a Chamber in the New-College for Cousin Quincey, and

Corporation desired the President to acquaint the Overseers with the fact and take their advice in regard to returning thanks to the General Court.

The Overseers having advised (June 23) that an address of thanks be presented in the name of the Corporation, the Corporation (June 28) appointed two of the Fellows, Benjamin Colman and Joseph Stevens, and the Treasurer, John White, a committee to prepare the draught of an address. The Corporation also voted, "That the New College be kept securely shut up, and no Use made of it, either of Chambers or Cellars, for the Next Cōmencm^{t} [July 6] to prevent the Damage that will otherwise necessarily be, while the house is new & Green," but two days later President Leverett records in his Diary that "upon the representation of the great disappointm^{t} it was like to prove to Sundry of the Cōmencers not to emprove some p^{ts} of the New Building, and the Intimation of the Disposition of some at least of the Cōmittee for the Inspecting that Building to have the house stand open for the publick View," the matter of opening or shutting was left to the discretion of the President and the committee, and "Accordingly It was Advised and agreed that the West half of the House sh^{d} be Open'd and Improved by Cōmencers as far as was requisite for their Accōmodation."

On July 18 the House appointed a committee of seventeen to visit Cambridge, view the building, and examine and audit the accounts of the building committee. The committee made its report November 4, "That they had attended that Service, and find it a well Built and Finisht House, and well adapted to the Reception of Students;" also that the accounts were correct and satisfactory, "And that the Ballance due from the Committee to the Province is *One Hundred* and *Sixteen Pounds*, and *One Peny*." They also reported that they had received the keys of the building and had delivered them to the President, and with him had named the building Massachusetts Hall. The balance of one hundred and sixteen pounds and one penny, the House handsomely presented to the committee for their good service in taking care of the building.

The time had now come for the College to present its formal thanks to the Province, and on November 18, 1720, the President with the

Sam. Hirst," the latter his grandson. The youths were Edmund Quincy of the class of 1722 and Samuel Hirst of the class of 1723.

Rev. Mr. Wadsworth and the Rev. Mr. Colman, Fellows of the Corporation, were admitted into the House, and presented an address which was read by the President. This address (written doubtless by Benjamin Colman) gratefully and piously declares that the "fine and goodly House . . . will be a lasting Monument, if God please, of the Just Regards of the Present Government for the Support of Religion and Learning amongst us in time to come."[1]

The documents follow.

I

Overseers' Meeting, November 14, 1717

The Presid^{t} representing to the Overseers that Considerable Numbers of the Stud^{ts} of the College were obliged to take up Lodgings in the Town, for want of Accom̃odation in the College, and thereupon the necessity of an Addition Building to the Colleges that now are, moved that the Overseers w^{d} be pleased to take the matter into consideration, and Advise what may be pper to be done in that behalfe. And the s^{d} Overseers taking the matter into their Consid^{r}ation, and debated the same, and advised

That a Memorial signed by the Clerk of the Overseers be presented to the Gen^{l} Assembly in the Name of the Overseers importing the Same with M^{r} Presid^{ts} Representation.

M^{r} Presid^{t} in his place read the draught of a memorial w^{ch} he had form'd, which was approv'd of, and a Committee of the Overseers appointed viz^{t} The L^{t} Gov^{r} W^{m} Tailer Esq^{r} Sam^{l} Sewal Esq^{r} Elisha Cook Esq^{r}. The Presid^{t} M^{r} Wadsworth & M^{r} Coleman, to take care that the s^{d} Memorial be transcribed, and to be signed by the Clerk of the Overseers, and further was agreed, that the s^{d} Com̃ittee sh^{d} present the s^{d} Memorial to His Exc$\bar{y}$ & Council as Soon as possible it could be made ready & Sign'd.

The Overseers being dismiss'd, withdrew to attend the Funeral of Maj^{r} Generall Winthrop.

The Com̃ittee agreed to meet to morrow at 11 of y^{e} Clock.[2]

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[1] The address was printed in full, by special vote of the House, in rather handsome typography, in its Journal. It has been reprinted at the Harvard University Press in broadside form, following carefully the style of the original, for the Harvard Memorial Society, in honor of the two hundredth anniversary of the day on which it was first presented.

[2] President Leverett's Diary, p. 133.

II

Meeting of the Committee of the Overseers, November 15, 1717

The Comittee of the Overseers. viz^{t} The L. Gov^{r} Col^{o} Tailer, Cap^{t} Sewall, the Presid^{t} M^{r} Cook, M^{r} Wadsworth & M^{r} Coleman, being met, the Memorial was read. It was conciev^{d} in these Terms.[1]

To the Great & Generall Assembly of his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New Engl^{d} now sitting in Boston

The Memoriall of y^{e} Overseers of Harvard College in Cambridge in y^{e} County of Midd^{l} within y^{e} Province afors^{d}

Sheweth

That whereas it pleased Almighty God to inspire y^{e} first Heroick Adventurers into a Wast & howling Wilderness wth Piety & Wisdom early to contrive a Seminary for the Preserving propagating and advancing Learning & Religion, and p y^{e} Liberal Assistance of many well dispos'd & generous psons, The Government w^{ch} then was but in it's Infancy, was pleas'd to erect a College, and pvide Accomodation of Buildings for y^{e} Reception both of a presid^{t} & Stud^{ts} proportionable to y^{e} first Numbers y^{t} offer'd themselves to be educated in good Letters & Piety; and in after Times w^{n} the first Edifices were become too Streight or unfit for y^{e} Scholars to dwell in, the same publick Spirit Discended upon y^{e} Successors of y^{e} first Patriots: Insomuch as a more Capacious & sumptuous Habitation was provided p y^{e} Publick for them.

And yet Later even in y^{e} Rembrance & View of the Youngest in This Gen^{l} Assembly, The truely Honorable & Conspicuously Learned & religious W^{m} Stoughton Esqr (who is to be held in everlasting remembrance by all Learned & Good Men) built & finish'd at his own sole Cost & Charge an intire Large College for the Accomodation of y^{e} Stud^{ts}

The Memorialists cant but take it to be y^{e} most agreable Thing in y^{e} World, as to represent to you the great & Generous the Wise & pious things done p yo^{r} blessed Predecessors y^{e} Fathers & Founders of this Country, so to psent to you the Oppertunity & Occasion, of convincing all mankind, That y^{t} Excellent Spirit is not intomb'd wth our fathers, but still survives in this Gener^{on} and is vigorous in y^{s} great general Assembly. — Now thus it is may it please

This honor^{le} Court

That althô p y^{e} Accomodat^{s} & provisions before mentioned there have been sufficient Apartments for y^{e} Students wthin y^{e} College hitherunto, yet thrô the Blessing of God upon y^{e} Land, & upon y^{e} College;

[1] President Leverett's Diary, p. 134.

The Numbers of y^e^ Sons of y^e^ Prophets are now so increas'd, that the Place where they were wont to dwell is become so Streight as not to be capable of receiving y^m^. There are Considerable Numbers especially that were admitted this Year, who are oblig'd to take Lodgings in y^e^ Town; upon w^ch^ not only they themselves complain of great Difficulties & Inconveniencies, but y^e^ Gentlemen y^t^ have y^e^ Goverm^t^ of y^t^ Society do already feel a great Concern in y^r^ Minds & have but uncomfortable Views of Mischeifs impending; w^ch^ y^y^ fear they shall not be able to avert, by reason of many being necessitated to be so much & so far from their Constant Inspection, & y^e^ Slender Authority y^e^ College is capable of expecting from y^e^ Town.[1]

Wherfore y^e^ s^d^ Overseers have tho't themselves under Indispensible Obligations both out of a just regard to y^e^ Honour of this Court, and a Tender Concern for y^e^ most Important Interests of Religion & Learning, to lay y^e^ Premises before this Great & General Assembly hoping y^t^ you will be pleased to take y^e^ same into your most serious Consideration & do therein as shall seem good in your great Wisdom & Piety, under y^e^ benign Influence of y^e^ Excellent Spirit transmitted to you, together w^th^ y^e^ Blessed Fruits of it, from your Ancestors: That so your Names as well as theirs may be consigned w^th^ y^e^ Like Odours to y^e^ Latest Posterity

p Order of y^e^ Overseers

H FLYNT Cler Inspect[2]

The Com̃ittee directed M^r^ Flynt the Clerk of the Overseers to get the Memorial Transcrib'd, & adjourn'd for half an hour.

The s^d^ Com̃ittee met and the Clerk of the Overseers Signed the Memorial as above.

And the s^d^ Com̃ittee Waited upon his Ex̄cy & Board, and the L^t^ Gov^r^ present^d^ the s^d^ Memoriall, w^ch^ was read by y^e^ Secretary & agreed to Send it down recom̃ended to the House of Representatives. According the s^d^ Memorial was Sent down Recom̃ended to the House, and the s^d^ House appointed Maj^r^ Hab. Savage M^r^ Tim̃^o^ Lyndal, and Cap^t^ Jon^a^ Dows to Join others of the Board to be a Com̃ittee to consid^r^ what may be proper to be don upon the s^d^ Memorial, to w^ch^ the Council joyn'd Cap^t^ Sewal, Maj^r^ Fitch & Cap^t^ Tho. Hutchinson.[3]

[1] In President Leverett's Diary (p. 135) this phrase reads: "the Slender Authority the College is capable of Exerting in the Town." Cf. no. iii, p. 91, below.

[2] This memorial is entered in Leverett's Diary, pp. 134–136, but as printed in the text is copied from College Book iii. 164–163, which differs in some minor points of phrasing and spelling.

[3] President Leverett's Diary, p. 136.

III

Council Meeting, November 15, 1717

A Memorial of the Overseers of Harvard College in Cambridge shewing that the Number of the Students in the said College is of late so much encreas'd that the Place where they were wont to dwell is become so streight as not to be capable of receiving them, That there are considerable Numbers (of those especially that were admitted this year) who are oblig'd to take Lodgings in the Town, Upon which not only they themselves complain of great Difficulties & Inconvencies, but the Gentlemen that have the immediate Government of the Society do already feal a great concern in their Minds & have but uncomfortable Views of Mischiefs impending which they fear they shall not be able to avert, by Reason of so many being necessitated to be so much & so far from their constant Inspection & the slender Authority the College is capable of Exerting in the Town, wherefore the said Overseers think themselves under indispensable Obligations both out of a just Regard to the Honour of this Court & a tender Concern for the most important Interests of Religion & Learning to lay the Premises under their Consideration, Praying that they would do therein as shall seem best in their great Wisdom & Piety. Read & sent down recommended.[1]

IV

House Journal, November 16, 1717

A Memorial Sign'd by *Henry Flint* Clerk of the Overseers of *Harvard College* in *Cambridge* which was sent down from the Board yesterday. Read. Moving this Court to make further Provision for the Reception and Entertainment of the Students in that Seminary, the present Edifices not being sufficient to accommodate them.

Ordered, That Major *Habijah Savage*, Mr. *Timothy Lindal*, and Capt. *Jonathan Dowse*, with such as the Honorable Board shall appoint be a Committee in the recess of this Court to consider what is proper to be done in answer to the said Memorial, and make their Report at the next Session. Sent up for Concurrence.[2]

V

Council Meeting, November 18, 1717

A Memorial of the Overseers of Harvard College in Cambridge, As Enter'd Nov. 15. In the House of Represent^ves^ Nov. 16. Read &

[1] Court Records, x. 188–189.

[2] House Journal (1919), p. 249.

Ordered that Major Habijah Savage M^r^ Timothy Lindal and Capt. Jonathan Dowse with such as the Hon^ble^ Board shall appoint be a Committee in the Recess of this Court to consider what is proper to be done in Answer to this Memorial, And make their Report at the next Sessions: Sent up for Concurrence.

Read & Concur'd, And the Hon^ble^ Samuel Sewall, Thomas Hutchinson & Thomas Fitch Esq^rs^ are added to the Committee.

Consented to Sam^ll^ Shute.[1]

VI

Council Meeting, November 19, 1717

Advised that the Committee of both Houses do meet & sit with the Committee of the Overseers of the College to advise about the Subject of the Memorial of the said Overseers.[2]

VII

Governor Shute's Speech to both Houses, February 6, 1718

Gentlemen, I had not given you or myself the Trouble of a Winter Session, but that thrô the Providence of God in the late Sickness, we were oblig'd to break up the last Session before some affairs of Importance were finishd, And among others a Proposal that was then made for some Additional Building to your College at Cambridge. I doubt not but it was very acceptable to Hear the Sons of the Prophets say, The Place where we dwell is so streight for us. You are very much in the Right to have the Interest of Learning much at Heart, And therefore if any further Buildings for that Purpose be intended the Next Summer, You must make the proper Provision for it this Session.[3]

VIII

Council Meeting, February 6, 1718

The Committee of both Houses appointed to Consider what is proper to be done by the Generall Court in Answer to the Memorial laid before them by the Overseers of Harvard College (as enter'd Nov. 18) gave in the following Report; Viz.

We whose Names are underwritten being a Committee appointed by the General Court to consider what is proper to be done in Answer to the

[1] Court Records, x. 190.

[2] Court Records, x. 195.

[3] Court Records, x. 206. The same text is found in House Journal (1919), pp. 261–262.

Memorial laid before them by the Overseers of Harvard College at their last October sessions, Having mett at the College in Cambridge Dec. 27, 1717 & Enquired into the Accomodations that are there at Present for the Students (Graduates & Undergraduates) Do find it necessary that some further Building be erected for the Making Provision of Forty or Fifty Studies more that all the Students may be entertain'd within the College. All which is humbly Submitted by Your most humble & obedient Servants

Habijah Savage	Sam^{ll} Sewall
Jonathan Dowse	Tho^{s} Hutchinson
	Thom^{s} Fitch

In Council Read & Sent down Recommended.[1]

IX

House Journal, February 6, 1718

The following Report, Brought down from the Board by *Benjamin Lynde, John Clark, Addington Davenport,* and *Adam Winthrop* Esqrs; *viz.*

We whose Names are underwritten being a Committee appointed by the General Court to Consider, what is proper to be done in answer to the Memorial laid before them by the Overseers of Harvard College at their last *October* Sessions, having met at the College in *Cambridge, Decemb.* 27th 1717. And Inquired into the Accomodations that are there, at present for the Students, Graduates and Undergraduates do find it necessary that some further Building be Erected for the making Provision of Forty or Fifty Studies more, that all the Students may be Entertain'd within the College, all which is humbly Submitted by your most humble and obedient Servants.

Samuel Sewall, Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Fitch, Habijah Savage, Jonathan Dowse. In Council Read, and sent down Recommended. Read.[2]

X

House Journal, February 7, 1718, A.M.

The Report of the Committee entered Yesterday, relating to Erecting additional Buildings at *Harvard College,* further considered, and

Ordered, That the said Committee be desired to prepare and lay before the Court a Projection of such additional Buildings, as they think necessary to be Erected at present, and a computation of the Charge it

[1] Court Records, x. 207.

[2] House Journal (1919), pp. 262–263.

will probably amount to, that further consideration may be had thereof. Sent up for Concurrence.[1]

XI

Council Meeting, February 7, 1718

The Report of the Committee appointed to Consider about Erecting an Additional Building to Harvard College, As Enter'd Feb. 6.

In the House of Representat^ves; Read & Ordered that the above mentioned Committee be desired to prepare & lay before the Court a Projection of such Additional Buildings, as they think necessary to be erected at present, & a Computation of the Charge it will probably amount to, that further Consideration may be had thereof.

In Council; Read & Concur'd, Consented to, Sam^ll Shute.

A Message went down to the House of Representatives by Coll Tayler Coll Byfield Coll Payne M^r Lynde & M^r Davenport, To acquaint them That it is the Opinion of the Board that the Committee upon the Affair of the College should immediately proceed to lay before the Court a Projection of the Additional Building to the said College, & an Estimation of the Charge it will probably amount to.[2]

XII

House Journal, February 7, 1718, A.M.

Upon a Motion being made, Mr. President *Leverett* was again admitted into the House and Informed them of the great necessity of further Buildings being speedily made for the Entertainment of Students at *Harvard College.* And withdrew.

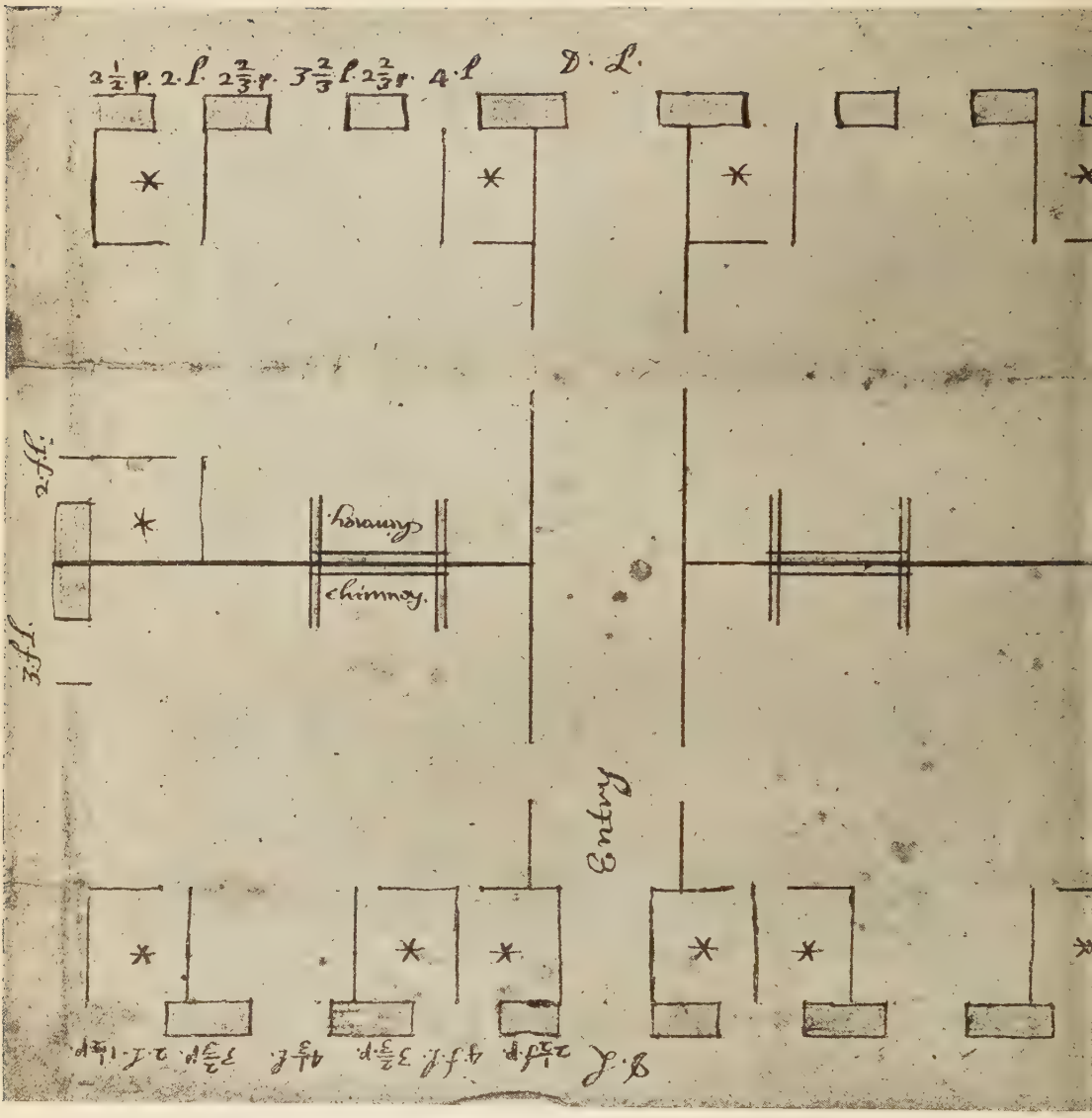
A Message from the Board by *William Tailer, Nathaniel Byfield, Nathaniel Paine, Benjamin Lynde* and *Addington Davenport,* Esqrs; That the Council had concurr'd the Vote of this House of this Day, on the Report of the Committee, relating to additional Buildings to be made to *Harvard College,* and desired that the Committee might meet thereon forthwith.[3]

XIII

House Journal, February 7, 1718, P.M.

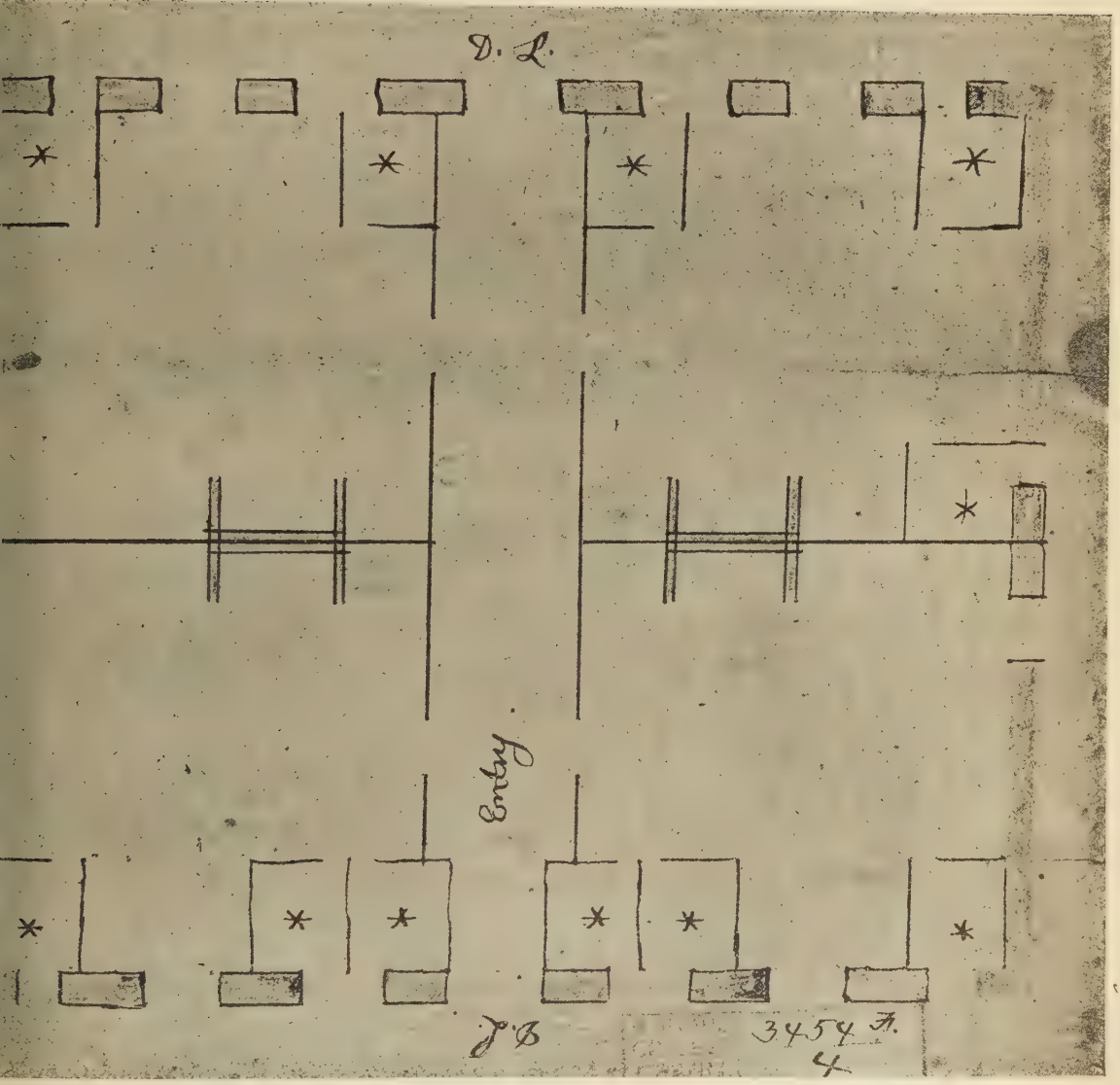
A Message from the Board by *William Tailer, Nathaniel Byfield, Addington Davenport, Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Fitch,* and *Adam*

[1] House Journal (1919), pp. 263–264.
[2] Court Records, x. 210.
[3] House Journal (1919), p. 264.



A DRAUGHT FOR THE NEW

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSAC



GE BY BENJAMIN WADSWORTH

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

Winthrop, Esqrs with the Report of the Committee concerning an additional Building to be made at Harvard College, A Draught [1] of such Building and a Computation of the Charge, Shewing the present necessity thereof, and moving the House now to Proceed in the affair: And Left the further Report of the said Committee which was Read, *viz.* In Pursuance of the within Order, The Committee are humbly of opinion, that as it's the most frugal method of Building, So it will best answer the present Occasions, to Erect a double House, somewhat conformable to the Draught herewith exhibited, to be plac'd pretty near the Southwest Corner of *Stoughton College,* and thence to extend it's length Westward in a parallel Line to *Harvard College.* The Charge thereof by what we

[1] A plan, reproduced facing page 94, made apparently by Benjamin Wadsworth, since the words and figures on it are in his hand, still remaining in the Library files (M3454F.4), may well be the draught mentioned in this vote. On the back of the plan is written, also in Wadsworth's hand, the following:

Some model for a College

A College 98 Feet Long 43 wide. Walls 2 & half bricks thick. Two Entry-ways, each 7 feet wide. one solid brick a foot thick athwart in y^e^ middle. Three stories high, 8½ feet each, and so 8 foot in y^e^ clear between y^e^ floor & cieling. 8 chambers in a story, each of them 20 feet square, excepting what's taken up by y^e^ chimneys. 3 studies in every front-chamber, by borrowing 3 foot 4 Inches out of y^e^ Entry way; and two studies in each of y^e^ Rere-chambers viz 60 in all. Every studie to be five feet long, four & an half wide, or there may be three studies in each of y^e^ Rere-end chambers, by reason of y^e^ end-lights, then y^e^ whole number will be 66. The * or stars are studies. *D.L.* is a Door way in y^e^ first story, & *Lights* in ye higher ones.

If y^e^ middle, as well as y^e^ end, chambers, in y^e^ Rere, have three studies each, yn y^e^ whole will be seventy two. And if it be thus contriv'd, each chamber (besides Lights for y^e^ studies) may have one window 6 foot deep, 4 foot 4 Inches wide, which will have more than 16 square feet of Glass, and yt surely will be enough to Inlighten one chamber.

Another plan (reproduced facing p. 100, below), more like the building finally erected, is in Harvard College Papers, i. 16. On the face of the plan is written in ink "A Plan for the New College," and in pencil "This is the hand of Thomas Prince J W." The latter words were written by the late Justin Winsor. On the back of the plan is written in ink "Plan of the New College" — these words being also in the hand of Thomas Prince. Exactly when Prince made these endorsements it is impossible to say, but presumably it was after October 1, 1718, on which day he became an Overseer by virtue of his ordination as colleague pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

The lettering of this plan is identified by Mr. Albert Matthews as doubtless in the hand of President Leverett. At first glance this plan would seem to be designed for the smaller building, which was all the House would consent to at first. In fact, however, the outline of the whole building is given, but only one half is filled in. The disposition of the chimneys agrees with the building as carried out.

gather from Skilful Workmen, may probably amount to *Three Thousand Pounds*, or thereabouts.[1]

XIV

House Journal, February 12, 1718

The Report of the Committee for making an Addition to the Buildings of *Harvard College*, entred the 7th Currant, read again.

Upon Consideration, of that part of His Excellency's Speech, which relates to making additional Buildings to *Harvard College*.

Ordered, That the Thanks of this House be returned to His Excellency the Governour for his Care to promote good Literature, without which Religion will not be upheld amongst us:

But inasmuch as the charge of the said Buildings is like to be very considerable, and a great part of this House is absent.

It is further *Voted*, that the Consideration of the said Affair be Referr'd, to the Session of this Court in *May* next, when a full House may be expected.

Sent up for Concurrence.[2]

XV

Council Meeting, February 14, 1718

In the House of Representat^ves^ Feb. 12 Upon Consideration of that Part of his Excellencys Speech which relates to the making Additional Buildings to Harvard College; Ordered that the Thanks of this House be return'd to his Excellency the Governour for his Care to promote good Literature, without which Religion will not be upheld amongst us; But in as much as the Charge of the said Building is like to be very considerable, And a great Part of this House is absent, It is further Voted that the Consideration of the said Affair is refer'd to the Sessions of this Court in May next when a full House may be expected.

In Council; Read & Concur'd, Consented to Sam^ll^ Shute.[3]

XVI

House Journal, June 19, 1718

Ordered, That Col. *Hutchinson*, Col. *Thaxter*, Capt. *Whippel*, Capt. *Osgood*, Capt. *Chambers*, Mr. *Remington*, Mr. *Porter*, Mr. *Thomas*, Capt. *Gorham*, Mr. *Turner*, Capt. *Throop*, Capt. *Bane*, and Mr. *Coffin*, be a *Committee*, to go to *Cambridge*, this Day view and consider the most

[1] House Journal (1919), p. 265.
[2] House Journal (1919), p. 269.
[3] Court Records, x. 220–221.

convenient place whereon to erect an additional Building to Harvard College, and make report to the House.[1]

XVII

House Journal, June 20, 1718

Col. *Hutchinson*, from the Committee appointed Yesterday to go to *Cambridge*, view and report the most Convenient place where to Erect an additional Building to *Harvard College*, reported their opinion, That the most convenient place is opposite to said *College* on the South side, beginning about Six Foot from the South West end of *Stoughton* House, and to extend Westward, which was accepted by the House.

Ordered, That an additional Building of Brick, be made to *Harvard College*, to begin about six Feet from the South West end of *Stoughton* House, and to extend in length Westward Forty seven and half Feet, or thereabouts, not exceeding Fifty, of the same breadth with *Harvard College*, of a suitable height, not exceeding the heighth of said *Harvard College*, with three upright Stories, and a convenient Roof of a suitable Pitch.

Sent up for Concurrence.[2]

XVIII

Council Meeting, June 24, 1718

In the House of Representat^ves^ June 20. 1718 Ordered that an Additional Building of Brick be made to Harvard College to begin about six Feet to the South West of Stoughton House & to extend in Length Westward Forty seven & half Feet or thereabouts not exceeding Fifty, of the same Breadth of Harvard College & of a suitable Heighth, not exceeding y^e^ Heighth of Harvard College, with three upright Stories & a convenient Roof of a suitable Pitch.

In Council Read & Concur'd: Consented to Sam^ll^ Shute.[3]

XIX

House Journal, July 4, 1718

Resolved, That a Sum not exceeding Fifteen Hundred Pounds be at this time allowed and paid out of the Publick Treasury, towards Erecting an Additional Building to *Harvard* College. And that *Jonathan Reming-*

[1] House Journal, p. 19.
[2] Id. p. 21.
[3] Court Records, x. 267.

ton, Charles Chambers, Esqrs; and Mr. *Andrew Bordman,* be a Committee to take care for the carrying on and effecting the said Building.

Sent up for Concurrence.[1]

XX

Council Meeting, July 4, 1718

In the House of Representat^{ves} Resolved that a sum not exceeding Fifteen Hundred Pounds be at this Time allowed & paid out of the publick Treasury towards Erecting an Additional Building to Harvard College, And that Jonathan Remington & Charles Chambers, Esq^{rs} & M^{r} Andrew Boardman be a Committee to take Care for the Carrying on & Effecting the said Building.

In Council Read & Concur'd; Consented to Sam^{ll} Shute.[2]

XXI

President Leverett's Diary, November 3, 1718

A particular history of that affair[3] may, if God directs and Sp^{ts} the Presid^{t} therto, may hereafter be given. In the meantime, It shalbe onely remember'd here that his Exc$\bar{y}$ had agreed with the Presid^{t} that there sh^{d} be an Overseers meeting on the 7th of Nov^{r} for the prefering a Second Memorial to the Gen^{l} for the carrying on the begun building of a College to the length of one hundred foot. On the w^{ch} day the Presid^{t} with M^{r} Wadsworth & M^{r} Coleman waited on his Exc$\bar{y}$ and the board in the Council Chamber, and a Draught of a Memorial was read, but Mr. Dudley objecting that the ministers that are Overseers of the College being not duely warn'd, it w^{d} not be deem'd a regular Meeting and that it was not pper for the Council to address themselves: thô these objections were acc^{ted} but frivilous ones, yet, this meeting dropt without any effect, Save that it was agreed that there sh^{d} be an Overseers Meeting on the 12th day of Nov^{r}, and the Presid^{t} was desired to Give Order that the Ministers sh^{d} be notify'd. An his Exc$\bar{y}$ directed the Council to attend on that Service at 3 of the clock that day.[4]

XXII

Overseers' Meeting, November 12, 1718

The ministers Overseers of the College having taken their places on Each hand of the Presid^{t}, his Exc$\bar{y}$ ask'd the Presid^{t} Whither Notifica-

[1] House Journal, p. 33.

[2] Court Records, x. 283.

[3] This relates to the trouble caused by Ebenezer Pierpont in 1718 and the various meetings of Corporation and Overseers held to consider it.

[4] Diary, pp. 152–153.

tions had been sent out to the psons that had right to be at the Meeting; The Presid^{t} inform'd his Exc̄y that he had Ordered the Clerk of the Overseers to do so, and M^{r} Flynt the Clerk of the Overseers being present, and called upon by the Presid^{t} to say what he had don in that behalf, declared he had don as he had been Order'd by the Presid^{t}.

Then upon his Exc̄y's direction the Presid^{t} open'd the Occasion of the Meeting, representing, That the Gen^{l} Court at their Session in May Last pass'd had, upon the Memorial of the Overseers Seting forth the want of accom̄odation for receiving and entertaining students admitted into the College, Granted, that an additional building sh^{d} be Erected not exceeding fifty foot in Length Westward; which upon Computation is found Short abundantly of what is necessary for the Ends ppounded, and therefore there is need of further application for an Elargm^{t} and that as the Overseers has begun and brôt forward what was obtain'd, So it is thôt, that nothing is So likely to bring the begun good work to pfection, as their prosecuting their former Memorial with a Second; and that this might be done at the present Session of the General Court is the business of this Meeting. And hereupon the Presid^{t} moved, that his Exc̄y & the Hon^{ble} & Rev^{d} Overseers w^{d} give their advice hereupon.

After this his Exc̄y desired the Presid^{t} to lay before the Overseers a draught of a Memorial, if he had form'd one. Upon w^{ch} he read in his place a Memorial he had prepar'd in the Words following, Viz^{t}[1] . . .

When the Presid^{t} had read the above Memorial, he deliver'd it into his Exc̄ys hand, who discoursed in short in fav^{r} of it, and seem'd to be ready to put it to Vote. But M^{r} Dudley pray'd he might look upon it, to w^{m} it was handed, and while he was looking on it, there was an Interval of Silence. In which Space Judg Sewall Stood up and said to this Effect, While we are considering to Enlarge the College for the reciving Stud^{ts} I desire to be inform'd how the Worship of God is carry'd on in the Hall, and to ask M^{r} Presid^{t} whither there has not bin som Intermission of the Exposition of the Scriptures of late? The Presid^{t} after a short pause, Answer'd, that he thôt the present business of the Meet^{g} was to be attended, and not to be Interupted by any Surmise of a neglect in the Administration of the Affair of the College, and that the place the Overseers were now Conven'd was not the pper place for such an Enquiry. That if the Overseers, who are the Visitours of the College, had any informations laid before 'em of Omissions or Neglects of Duty or Maladministration by any of the psons that had the Im̄ediate Admin̄on of the College in their hands that the Overseers sh^{d} make a visitation, and Inquire into those Matters upon the Very place, either in the College

[1] For the memorial, see no. xxiii, pp. 101–102, below.

Hall or Library. And the Presid^{t} Added he did not Expect Such a Question sh^{d} Have bin Moved at this time in interruption of the busieness before the Overseers, and for the Considring & advising upon w^{ch} this meeting was called; and that he was surprized and little Expect^{d} Such a Treatm^{t} from the Hon^{ble} pson that moved it, having never once Suggested any th^{g} of his Suspicion or apprehension of any failure in his duty from his hon^{r}

His Ex$\bar{c}$y took up the Matter, and declared that the Motion, whatever Occasion there might be for it, thô he knew none, was very improper and altogether out of Course, and the whole Board Seem'd to be of the same opinion: Except M^{r} Dudley, (who It may be Supposed, by Concert with somebody it may be then not present, contriv'd the Interval of Silence by poring on the Memorial, that So the Zealous Judge might have the Opportunity to make his Impertinent (not to say in him Invidious) Motion) raised his head & Eyes from the paper hee seem'd to be intent in reading, s^{d} he for his p^{t} Seconded his Hon^{r} the Chief Justice's Motion. However this Motion was put by, and the business of the Meeting was reassumed. And yet Sundry Motions were made again by M^{r} Dudley tending to, if not designing for a diversion, but at length the

1. Question was put, Whither it be the Mind of the Overseers of Harvard College, That the Generall Assembly be address'd to p̄fect the New Building of a College in Cambridge to One Hundred foot in length? Which pass'd in the Affirmative.

2. Q. Whither the Address shalbe in the Name of the Overseers? Pass'd in the Affirmative.

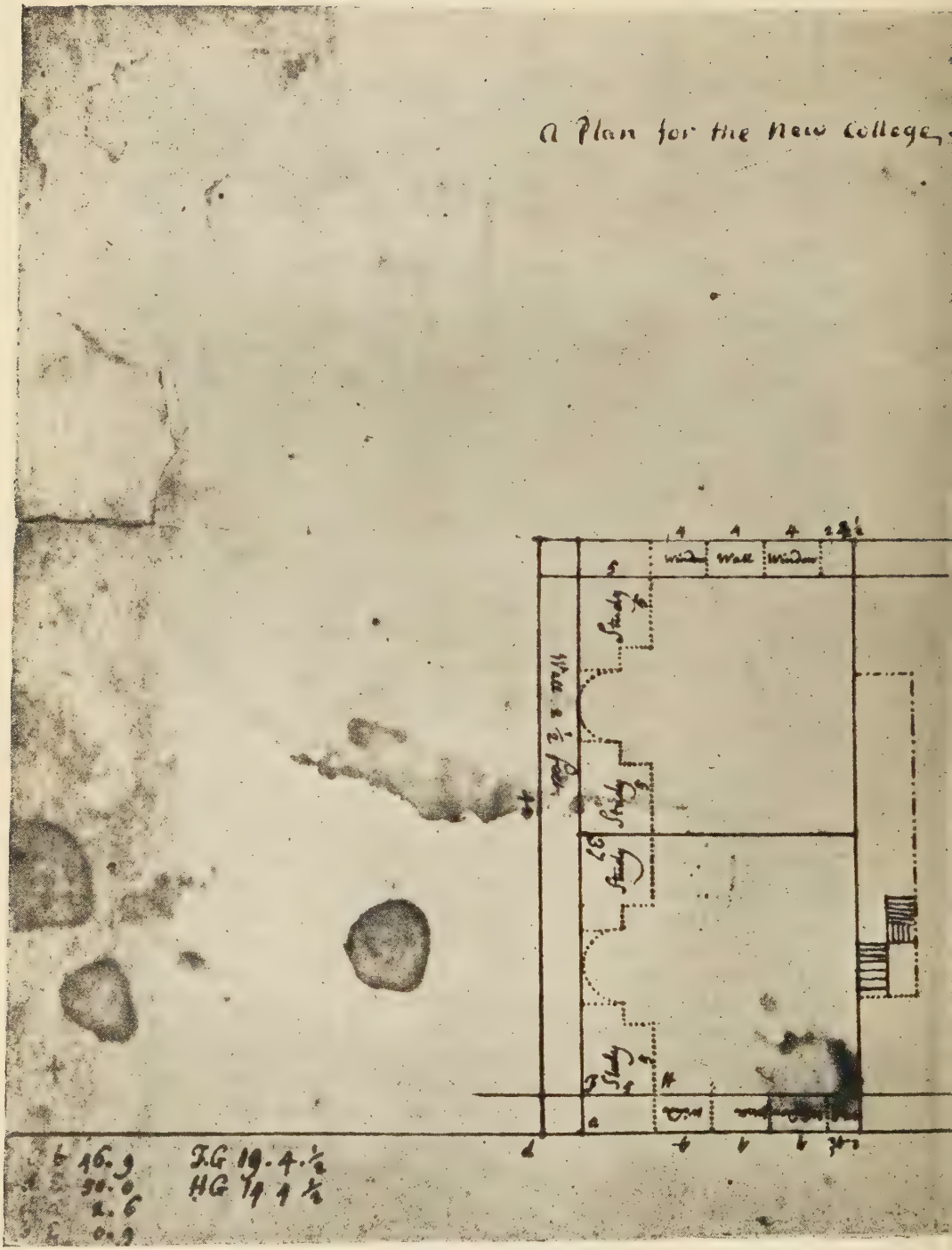
3. Q. Whither the draught of a Memorial now read by the Presid^{t} shalbe presented to the Gen^{l} Assembly? Pass'd in the Affirmative.

Then the Presid^{t} presented at the Board a Transcript of the s^{d} Memorial, and compar'd by the Clerk of the Overseers. And the 4th Question being put, whither the s^{d} Memorial sh^{d} be sign'd by the Clerk by the Order of the Overseers? It pass'd in the Affirmative. And the s^{d} Memorial was Sign'd at the Board by Order of the Overseers H. Flynt Cler̄ Inspect.

5. Q. Whither his Hon^{r} the L^{t} Gov^{r}[1] Col^{o} Tailer, Judge Sewall, Col^{o} Byfield, M^{r} Belcher, the Rev^{d} M^{r} Benjamin Wadsworth & M^{r} B. Coleman be a Com̄ittee to present the Memorial to the General Court? It pass'd in the Affirmative.

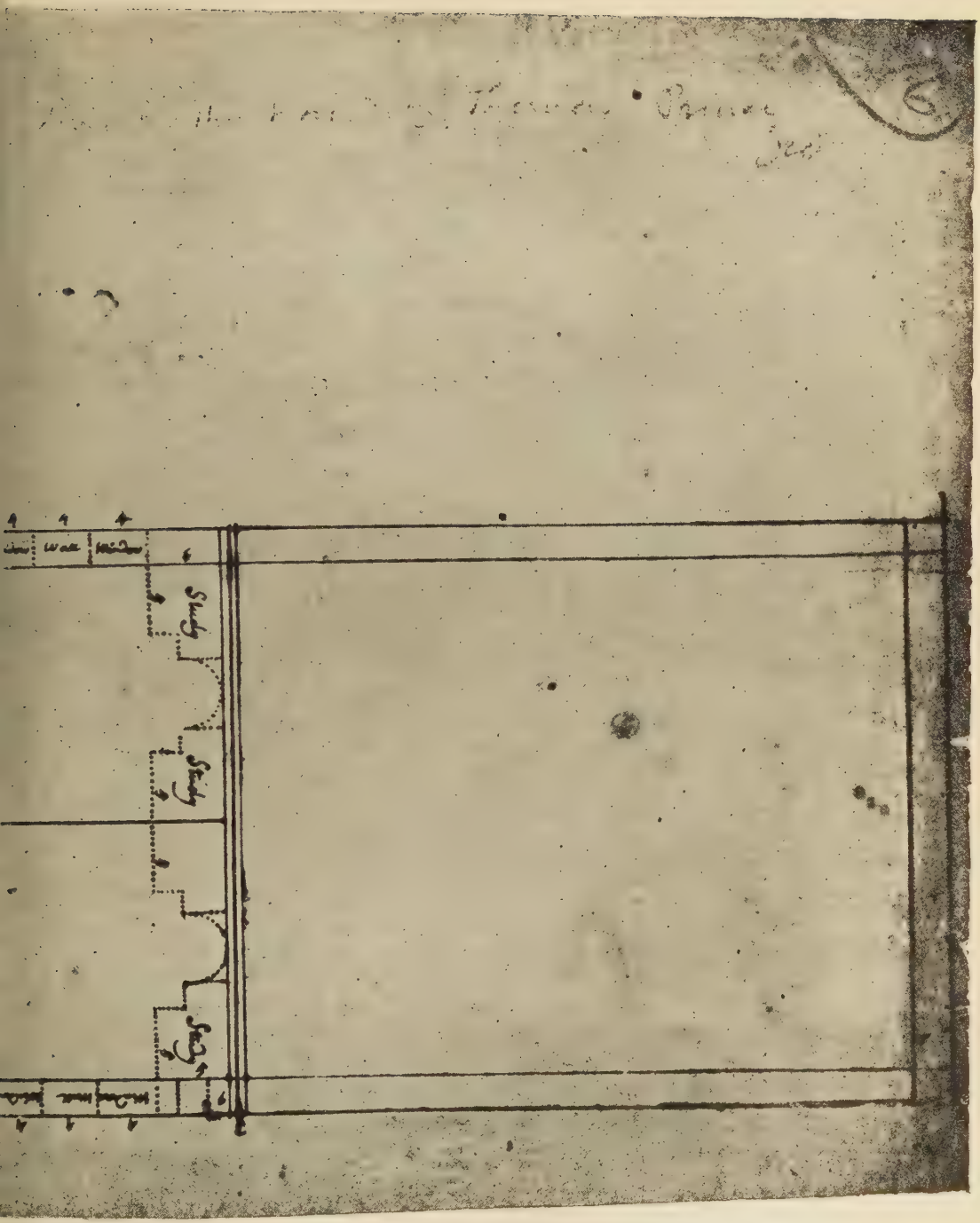
6. Q. Whither it be the mind of the Overseers, That the Presid^{t} shal Entertain the Scholars in the College Hall with Frequent Expositions of the holy Script^{rs}? pass'd in the Affirmative.[2]

[1] William Dummer. [2] Leverett's Diary, pp. 153–154, 156–159.



A PLAN FOR THE NEW

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSA



E BY PRESIDENT LEVERETT

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

XXIII

Overseers' Memorial, November 12, 1718

To the Great & Generall Assembly of his Maj^{tys} Province of the Massachusetts in New England now sitting in Boston, The Memoriall of y^{e} Overseers of Harvard Colledge in Cambridge in the County of Middlesex with in y^{e} Province afores^{d}

May it please this Hon^{ble} Court

Forasmuch as upon y^{e} memoriall prefer'd by the same body that now lays this before you, You have bin pleased to take into your Consideration the Necessity of Providing for y^{e} reception & accommodation of y^{e} Students admitted into Harvard College in Cambridge; & Thereupon at y^{e} Session of this Hon^{ble} Court in May last past, Order'd an Additionall Building to be Erected at the South West Angle of Stoughton College of y^{e} same width wth that called Harvard College, & to Extend Westward in Length Fifty foot, The foundation of w^{ch} is already Laid; On the Account whereof the Memorialists do most heartily thank this Hon^{ble} Court & most religiously acknowledge y^{e} goodness of Almighty God in inclining your hearts to so Good a worke.

So Ready a Coming into this Important Affair, & so Generous A begining of this Pious work, so highly conducing to your own honour & y^{e} Interest of your Countrey are an ample Testimony y^{t} y^{e} Motion made for it was not disagreeable to you; & y^{e} Memorialist cannot but believe, y^{t} this, their Second request w^{ch} is for y^{e} carrying on and perfecting of y^{e} Same in a manner worthy y^{e} noble beginnings, will be as acceptable to this Hon^{ble} Court.

As it was Meer necessity y^{t} obliged y^{e} memorialist to make y^{e} first motion, & y^{e} belief y^{t} it was so, y^{t} induc'd you [to] Come into y^{e} affair of y^{e} College & to make y^{e} beginnings that have bin made; so there is nothing in y^{e} world y^{t} Could produce this Second Motion, but y^{e} certainty, That that necessity can't be answered and Supply'd unless this Hon^{ble} Court will be pleas'd to carry out y^{e} begun additionall building to y^{e} Length first proposed in y^{e} Plan laid before you, That is, to one hundred foot in length.

This will be plain Demonstration if it be considered.

1 That y^{e} number of y^{e} now resident Stud^{ts} Graduates & undergraduates am^{ts} to one-hundred & Twenty four.

2 That y^{e} Studys to receive them even when y^{e} building founded shall be finish'd will amount to but one Hundred & Sixteen w^{ch} is Eight less then are absolutely necessary to Entertain y^{e} present resid^{ts}

3 That if you shall be pleased to carry on y^{e} s^{d} additionall building

to y^e^ length of one hundred Foot as Above mentioned y^e^ Studies then will am^t^ but to one Hundred & Thirty Four w^ch^ will afford but Ten supernumerary studys, & these will not be like to remain So, But in all probability will be taken up as soon as ready, if not by new admissions Yet by y^e^ return of Graduates who are now non-resd^ts^ onely for want of Studys to receive them.[1]

The Memorialists therefore Pray this Hon^ble^ Court to take y^e^ Premises in to your Serious Consideration, & do there upon according to yo^r^ Great wisdom, w^ch^ always resolves to pfect a great & good work by making it to answer all it's necessary Ends & Intentions

HENRY FLYNT Cler: Inspectorū[2]

XXIV

Sewall's Diary, November 12, 19, 1718

Nov^r^ 12. Overseers Meeting, to petition the Court to make the College 100 foot long. One calling for the Memorial to the end of the Table, I stood up, and said what the hon^ble^ Comissioners had in hand was of great moment, but I apprehended there was an affair of greater moment. I had heard Exposition of the Scriptures in the Hall had not been carryed on, I enquired of the President whether 'twere so or no. Was silence a little while; then the President seem'd to be surprised at my Treating of him in that mañer; I did not used to do so; neither did he use to Treat me so; This Complaint was twice at least. Many spake earnestly that what I did was out of Season. Mr. Attorny[3] stood up and Seconded me very strenuously. When I was fallen so hard upon, I said I apprehended The not Expounding the Scriptures was a faulty Omission, and I was glad I had that Opportunity of shewing my dislike of it. President said, he had begun to take it up agen; I said I was glad of it. At another time said, If he were to Expound in the Hall, he must be Supported. It went over. The Memorial was voted: Then Mr. Belcher stood up, and mov'd earnestly that Exposition might be attended. At last Mr. Wadsworth stood up and spake in favour of it, and drew up a vote that the president should *as* frequently *as he could* entertain the students with Expositions of the holy Scriptures; and read it. I mov'd that *as he could* might be left out; and it was so voted. Mr. President seem'd to say softly, it was not till now the Business of the President to Expound in the

[1] In regard to the number of studies, see p. 85 note 1, above.

[2] College Book, iii. 162–161. The memorial is also given in Leverett's Diary, pp. 154–156.

[3] Paul Dudley.

Hall. I said I was glad the Overseers had now the Honour of declaring it to be the President's Duty.

Nov^{r} 19. *mane.* Mr. President spake to me again pretty earnestly; and intimated that twas not the President's Duty to Expound before this Order: I said Twas a Shame that a Law should be needed; meaning *ex malis moribus bonae Leges.*[1]

XXV

House Journal, November 13, 1718

The Honourable Lieut. Governour *Dummer, William Tayler, Samuel Sewall, Nathaniel Byfield, and Jonathan Belcher* Esqrs; and the Reverend Mr. *Benjamin Wadsworth,* and Mr. *Benjamin Colman* were Admitted into the House and presented a Memorial of the Overseers of *Harvard College* in *Cambridge,* and withdrew.

The said Memorial Signed by *Henry Flynt,* Clerk of the said Overseers. Read, Moving the Court to Extend the additional Building to be Erected to said Harvard College, to the length of 100 feet, the Buildings already there, and that last ordered to be made when finish'd not being sufficient to Entertain the Students belonging to that Society.[2]

XXVI

House Journal, November 28, 1718

The Memorial of the Overseers of *Harvard College,* Moving as is entred the 13th Currant. Read again.

And the Question being put, *Whether the Additional Building ordered to be Erected at Harvard College be Inlarged, as proposed in the said Memorial?*

It pass'd in the Negative.[3]

XXVII

House Journal, May 29, 1719

A Memorial of *Charles Chambers* and *Andrew Bordman,* of the Committee for building an addition to *Harvard College,* presented to the House and Read, shewing the conveniency, and Reasonableness that the Building already begun should be enlarged, and moving that the Memorial of the Overseers of the said College, that was Presented to this Court, at their last Session, to the same purpose may be Read.

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[1] Diary, iii. 402–403.

[2] House Journal, p. 45.

[3] House Journal, p. 56.

The said Memorial of the Overseers moving as entered the 13th of *November* last. Read.

Ordered, That Mr. *Cooke,* Mr. *John Pain,* Mr. *Lindal,* Mr. *John Barker* and Mr. *Stone* be a Committee to whom the said Memorials are referred, to consider and make Report to the House what they think proper to be done in answer thereto. . . .

Mr. *Cooke* from the Committee to whom the Memorial of the Overseers of *Harvard College,* and the Memorial of *Charles Chambers* and *Andrew Bordman* were this Day referred, offered their Reports to the House, which was accepted and addition made thereto by the House, and accordingly,

Ordered, That the additional Brick Building to *Harvard College,* for the suitable Reception and Accommodation of the Tutors and Students there shall extend in length 100 Feet.

That two Thousand Pounds over and above the *l.* 1500. already Granted, be Allowed & Paid out of the Publick Treasury to the Committee appointed for the Effecting of the said Building.

That the Rent paid by the Students that shall be Entertained in the said Building, shall not exceed 20 *s. per* Man *per Annum.*

And that the said Rents from time to time shall be Improved for no other use than the Repairs of the said Building, unless by Direction from this Court. Sent up for Concurrence.[1]

XXVIII

Council Meeting, May 30, 1719

A Memorial of the Overseers of Harv[d] College Shewing that for as much as upon their former Memorial, the Court were pleased to take into Consideration the Necessity of Providing for the Reception & Accomodation of the the Students admitted into Harvard College in Cambridge; & thereupon, at the Session in May last ordered an additional Building to be erected at the South west Angle of Stoughton College of the same Breadth with that called Harvard College & to extend Westward in length fifty feet, the Foundation of which is already laid; On the Account of which the Memorialists do heartily thank this Hon[ble] Court, & most religiously Acknowledge the Goodness of God in inclining their Hearts to so good a Work: So ready a Coming into so important an Affair & so generous a Beginning of this pious Work gives Encouragem[t] to the memorialists to make this their second Request; which is to carry on this Work in a Manner worthy of these noble Beginnings;

[1] House Journal, pp. 3–4.

That as it was meer Necessity that obliged the Memorialists to make their first Motion, & the Belief that it was so that induced the Hon^ble^ Court to come into that Affair of the College, & to make the Beginnings that have been made, so there is Nothing in the World that could produce this second Motion but the Certainty that that Necessity cannot be answered & supplied unless the Hon^ble^ Court will be pleased to Carry out the begun additional Building to the Length at first proposed in the Plan laid before this Hon^ble^ Court that is to One hundred feet in Length; which will be plainly demonstrated, If it be considered that the Number of now resident Students, Graduates & Under Graduates, amounts to One hundred & twenty four, That the Studies to receive them, even when the Building now founded will be finished, amounts to but One hundred & sixteen, which is eight less than is absolutely necessary to entertain the present Residents, That if the Court should please to carry on the said Additional Building to the Length of One hundred feet as above mentioned, they will amount to but One hundred & thirty four; which will allow but ten supernumerary ones; And these are not like to remain so, but in all Probability will be taken up as soon as ready, if not by new Admissions, yet by the Return of Graduates, who are now Non-Residents only for Want of S[t]udies to receive them; And therefore Praying that this Hon^ble^ Court would take the Premises into their serious Consideration & upon fuller Views of the Necessity of the Matters & Things therein demonstrated, act therein according to their great Wisdom and Goodness.

A Memorial of Charles Chambers Esq^r^ & Andrew Boardman appointed by the Court for building an Addition to Harvard College, Shewing that they think they shall be wanting in their Duty to this Hon^ble^ Court if they do not inform that there is now an Opportunity to carry on the whole Building to its full Length as first proposed; Which they think proper & necessary to be done for the following Reasons, First, Because it will save considerable Charge if the Building be carried on entire; Secondly, Because the Building will be much stronger, as well as much more beautiful; Thirdly, Because the proposed Building of fifty feet long will not be sufficient to accomodate the Students that are already belonging to the College, & residing in the Town of Cambridge, That they have desired the Master Work men to make a Computation of the Charge in building the whole House; who say that the sum of Three thousand five hundred Pounds, with what the Presidents old House [1] will sell for, will compleat the whole Building; However that the said Master Work men are willing to indent for Four thousand Pounds; which

[1] The house in which President Leverett lived was taken down.

does not so much exceed the sum for carrying on the Building of fifty Feet long, but it will prove to be Money well laid out: For which Reason the Memorialists propose to this Hon^ble^ Court that the said Building be carried out to the said Length of one hundred Feet.

The above said Memorials were read in the House of Represent^ves^ May 29, 1719;

And Ordered that the additional Brick Building to Harvard College for the suitable Reception & accomodation of the Tutors & Students there, shall extend in Length One hundred Feet; That two thousand Pounds, over & above the Fifteen hundred Pounds already granted, be allowed & paid out of the publick Treasury to the Committee appointed for the effecting the said Building That the Rent paid by the Students that shall be entertained in the said Building shall not exceed Twenty shillings per Man per Annum; And that the said Rents from time to time shall be inproved for no other Use than the Repairs of the said Building, unless by the Direction of this Court.

In Council: Read & Concur'd; Consented to, Sam^ll^ Shute.[1]

XXIX

Corporation Meeting, May 24, 1720

Mem^o^ The Presid^t^ is desired to acquaint the Hon^ble^ the Overseers, that the New College is near Finish'd, and the Corporation is ready either to Wait on their Hon^rs^ or by themselves to return thanks to the Generall Court for that their Noble Munificence to this Society, as they shall advise.[2]

XXX

Overseers' Meeting, June 23, 1720

The Presid^t^ by the desire of the Corporation acquainted the hon^ble^ and Rev^d^ Overseers, that the new College is near finished, and that it was Supposed 'tw^d^ be proper to express their Sense of the Noble munificence of the Gen^l^ Court to the College in that building, and on behalf of y^e^ Corporation pray'd the Advise of the Overseers, Whither the Corporation sh^d^ wait upon their hon^rs^ in rendring thanks, or whether they sho^d^ offer their Address of thank in their own Name. Advised, That the Address of thanks to the Gen^l^ Court be in the Name of the Corporation.[3]

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[1] Court Records, x. 350–352.

[2] College Book, iv. 66.

[3] Leverett's Diary, pp. 173–174.

XXXI

Corporation Meeting, June 28, 1720

The Presid^{t} acquainted the Corporation, that at Late meeting of the Hon^{ble} & Rev^{d} Overseers, He had ꝑposed to them, whether They w^{d} be pleased to address the Gen^{l} Court wth thanks for the Additionall Building to the College, which they have bin pleased lately to Erect, and that they had refer'd that affair to the Corporation.

1. Voted, That M^{r} Colman, M^{r} Stevens and the Treasurer be desired to prepare a Draught of an Address in the Name of the Corporation returning thanks to the Hon^{ble} Gen^{l} Court for the s^{d} Building. . . .

4. Voted, That the New College be kept securely shut up, and no Use made of it, either of Chambers or Cellars, for the Next Coñencm^{t} to prevent the Damage that will otherwise necessariely be, while the house is new & Green.[1]

XXXII

Leverett's Diary, June 30, 1720

Upon the representation of the great disappointm^{t} it was like to prove to Sundry of the Coñencers not to emprove some p^{ts} of the New Building, and the Intimation of the Disposition of some at least of the Coñittee for the Inspecting that Building to have the house stand open for the publick View the Gentlñ of the Corporation Advise to the superseding the 4th Vote of their meeting the 28th Curr^{t} And refer the Opening or Shutting up that house either in p^{t} or in whole to the Presid^{t} & Fellows with the Advice of the s^{d} Coñittee. Accordingly It was Advised and agreed that the West half of the House sh^{d} be Open'd and Improved by Coñencers as far as was requisite for their Accoñodation, the s^{d} Coñencers to Stand Oblig'd to render the Chambers and Studys impved by them to the Coñittee in as good Order and Condition as they were at their Entry on them. And the South and North West Chambers are reserv'd and to be kept lock'd up.[2]

XXXIII

House Journal, July 18, 1720

Ordered, That Mr. *William Clark,* Maj. *Chandler,* Capt. *Throop,* Capt. *Gardner,* Col. *Somersby,* Maj. *Bond,* Capt. *Rouse,* Capt. *Brown,* Mr. *Foster,* Maj. *Stoddard,* Mr. *Clap,* Capt. *Gorham,* Maj. *Bourn,* Mr.

[1] College Book, iv. 67.

[2] Leverett's Diary, p. 178.

Croseman, Capt. *Pepperell,* Mr. *Bunker,* and Mr. *Mayhew,* be a Committee, to go to *Cambridge,* & Veiw the Additional Brick Building at *Harvard-Colledge,* Lately Errected there at the Province Charge, and Report how they find the same Effected.

And to Examine and Audit the Accompts of the Committee that had the care of Building the same, and make Report thereon.[1]

XXXIV

House Journal, November 4, 1720

Mr. *William Clark* from the Committee appointed the 18th of *July* last, to go to *Cambridge,* and view the additional Brick Building at *Harvard* Colledge, Erected at the Province Charge, and Report how they find the same effected, and to Examine, and Audit the Accompts of the Committee that had the care of Building the same. Made Report, That they had attended that Service, and find it a well Built and Finisht House, and well adapted to the Reception of Students.

And that they had Examined, and Audited the Accompts of the Committee that had the care of Building the same, and find them well Voucht, and rightly Cast; and the several Charges in the many Tradesmen's Bills, are no more than what is usual and customary: And that the Ballance due from the Committee to the Province is *One Hundred* and *Sixteen Pounds,* and *One Peny.*

And that they had Received the Keys of said Building, which with the Præsident, they named *Massachusetts-Hall,* and Delivered said Keys to the Præsident, as to the Præsident and Fellows of *Harvard* Colledge. Read and

Ordered, That the said Report be Accepted, and that the said Sum of *One Hundred and Sixteen Pounds, and One Peny,* the Ballance in the hands of the said Committee, be Presented to them for their good Service in taking care of the said Building.

Sent up for Concurrence.[2]

XXXV

House Journal, November 18, 1720

The Reverend Mr. *Leverett,* President of *Harvard-Colledge,* and the Reverend Mr. *Wadsworth,* and Mr. *Colman,* Fellows of the said Colledge, were Admitted into the House; and Mr. President *Leverett* Ad-

[1] House Journal, p. 10.

[2] House Journal, p. 6. The Council concurred on November 5th (Court Records, xi. 41–42).

drest the House in thankful Acknowledgment of the Favour of this Court to the said Colledge, in Erecting an additional Brick-Building, for the reception and Accommodation of the Students there; and leaving a Copy of the Address, they Withdrew.

Ordered, That the said ADDRESS, which is well Accepted by this House be Printed in the Votes of this Day.

The said ADDRESS is as follows, *Viz.*

To his Excellency

Samuel Shute Esqr.

Captain General and GOVERNOUR in Chief, in and over His Majesties Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*.

And to the Honourable His Majesty's Council, and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled, at *Boston*, *Nnvember* 2*d*. 1720.

THE Humble Address of the President and Fellows of Harvard College in Cambridge.

Sheweth,

THat Wheras it pleased the Great and General Assembly of this *Province*, in Answer to the Memorials of the Honourable and Reverend the Overseers of the said College, laid before them at their Sessions November, the 15th 1717. and November, 13th 1718. To Grant and Order an additional Brick-Building to Harvard-College, for the Reception and Accommodation of the *Tutors* and *Students* there; and most Generously from time to time to Allow, Grant and Order, to be Paid out of the Publick-Treasury, to the Committee Appointed for the Effecting the said Building, such Sums of Money, as in your Great Wisdom and Goodness you saw necessary, for so great and good a Service.

And Whereas it hath Pleased *Almighty God* (to whose Honour and Glory, our Fathers first Founded the said College, & who has made it a singular *Blessing* and *Honour* to the Province unto this day) so far to smile upon your Pious Expence in this Additional Building, and to Prosper the Faithfull Cares of the Worthy *Gentlemen* of the Committee appointed to Oversee the same, as that we now see with Joy a fine and goodly House Errectd and Finished,

such as doth every way answer the then Views and Proposals, of the *Honorable* and *Reverend* the *Overseers* your late Memorialists, and will be a lasting Monument, if GOD please, of the Just Regards of the Present Government for the Support of Religion and Learning amongst us in time to come.

We the President and Fellows of the College, do therefore hold our selves Indispensibly Obliged, from the Relation we stand in to the College, as well as the affection we bare to the Churches of our *Lord Jesus:* First of all to give Thanks unto *Almighty* GOD, who has inclined and Led the Government into and thro so great and Noble a Work, and then also to make our acknowledgements to your *Excellency* and *Honours* for this great Benefaction to the College, Beseeching the *Lord* GOD of our *Fathers*, graciously to Accept of, and abundantly to Reward unto his People, this their Offering to his Name.

And as to our selves, who have the Pleasure and the Honour, to *Address* your *Excellency* and *Honours* upon so happy Occasion, we beg Leave to say that under the *Influence* and *Assistance* of the Divine Grace in our respective Capacities according to the Trust reposed in us, shall always Exert our selves as we are in Duty bound, to Preserve and advance that Society, in the *principles* and *practice* of Piety, and Loyalty, and all Vertue, as well as in good Literature, which we know will be the most acceptable acknowledgment from,

May it please Your Excellency and Honours,
Your most Dutiful and Obedient Servants,

John Leverett,

In the Name of the Præsident, and Fellows
of *Harvard-College*.[1]

[1] House Journal, pp. 31–33.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1920

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, 22 November, 1920, at half past six o'clock, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were approved without being read.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death since the meeting in April of CHARLES ARMSTRONG SNOW on the 1st of September, and of WINTHROP MURRAY CRANE on the 2nd of October, both Resident Members; and of FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER on the 13th of August, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. ALFRED LAWRENCE AIKEN of Worcester was elected a Resident Member.

The Annual Report of the Council, written by the Rev. Dr. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK, was presented and read:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

A brief statement will suffice to cover the activities of the Colonial Society during the year just ended. Outwardly the year has been marked by strong feelings, by regrets and hopes and reactions, culminating in a presidential election of unprecedented decisiveness. Little if any of this outer turmoil has disturbed the admirable calm of our own doings as a society for historical study.

The fact that this year 1920 marks the tercentenary of the voyage of the Mayflower was signalized by our associate Mr. Winslow Warren in a notable paper on the Pilgrim Spirit read at the February

meeting. The year has been rich in many other papers of commanding interest and value.

The Treasurer announced at the April meeting that $2000 had been received on account of the bequest of Horace Everett Ware, which, as the Society will remember, is to accumulate until 1930, and then, with any possible additions, be spent in erecting a suitable memorial to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay and the transfer of the Colony Charter to New England. The Treasurer also announced the receipt of $30,000 in satisfaction of the bequest of George Vasmer Leverett, this bequest to be added to the Publication funds of the Society, whose endowment now amounts to $111,000. Mr. Leverett's noble testamentary remembrance of the Society, in which he took the deepest interest, is peculiarly welcome at this time when the enormous increase in the cost of printing, paper, and all materials used in our Publications has made an unusually heavy demand upon our treasury. Without this substantial addition to our resources, the Society's work of publication must have been seriously curtailed.

The Society has again enjoyed the hospitality of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in whose comfortable house four of our meetings were held. The April meeting was held in the home of our Treasurer and was made memorable by the gracious welcome we have learned to expect under that hospitable roof.

The trials and tribulations of the Editor have been unusually severe, as, for a good portion of the year, he has had to divide his attention among no less than seven volumes, all in the process of completion. Three of the seven have been finished during the year: Volume XX, Transactions, has been distributed; Volume XXI, Transactions, and Volume XXII, Plymouth Church Records, are at the binders.

Of the four volumes left on the Editor's hands, Volumes XV and XVI, containing the Records of the Corporation of Harvard College to 1750, are well advanced. Volume XXIII, also containing the Plymouth Church Records, which were found far too voluminous for a single volume, is complete in text, and awaits the completion of the index. Volume XXIV, Transactions, is in type to page 110.

During the year the following gentlemen have accepted membership in the Society:

Resident Members:

Charles Francis Jenney,
George Henry Haynes,
Edward Mussey Hartwell.

Corresponding Member:

George Russell Agassiz.

And during the year the Society has lost by death the following associates:

Franklin Carter, President of Williams College; an educator of wisdom and discernment, sensitive to truth and nobility, whose labors were inspired by deep solicitude for humanity, and who gave generous portions of his time and strength to many missionary and philanthropic enterprises.

Andrew McFarland Davis, one of the incorporators of this Society, beloved by his associates in the Society as one of their most active and interested fellow-members; and no less beloved and admired by a wider circle of friends as a man of high character and strong affections; blunt, witty, sagacious, generous, tender-hearted, and dependable.

Charles Armstrong Snow, widely learned in the law of public service corporations, and in the laws of inheritance and taxation. A man of great industry and moral probity, who earned in life a well-merited success, and who enjoyed life to the utmost. A great lover of nature and of mankind; ever ready to help; a charming companion, a loyal and generous friend.

Winthrop Murray Crane, a faithful servant of the Commonwealth and the Nation, within whose frail body were stored abundant resources of political wisdom and moral power. His counsels exerted a quiet but potent influence in shaping aright the policies of our generation, while his unfailing human sympathy prompted him to countless acts of unostentatious kindness and endeared him to an entire country side.

Franklin Bowditch Dexter, teacher of American history and Secretary to the Yale Corporation for thirty years. To the undergraduate a strange and awe-inspiring figure, he proved upon closer acquaintance that the angularities of his tall and ungainly form had no counterpart in the genial and kindly simplicities of his spirit.

He loved to delve in the records of the past, and to find there names and memorials which his active sympathy at once clothed with the warmth and animation of real human beings, with real human emotions.

The TREASURER presented his Annual Report:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 16 November, 1920.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 17 November, 1919		$784.25
Admission Fees	$30.00	
Annual Assessments	590.00	
Commutation from one member	100.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	69.10	
Sales of the Society's paper	16.50	
Contribution from a member	5.00	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	1,800.00	
Interest	6,872.42	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan	4,000.00	
Mortgages, discharged or assigned	20,050.00	
$5,000 General Electric Company's 6's, sold	4,993.75	
Horace Everett Ware Fund, received from Mr. Ware's executors	1,608.36	
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, received from Mr. Leverett's executors	30,000.00	70,135.13
		$70,919.38

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press	$6,196.31
A. W. Elson & Company, photogravure	1,159.57
Folsom Engraving Company	120.13
Notman Photographing Company	6.00
Consolidated Index to Volumes 1–20	551.00
Salary of the Editor	1,000.00
Andrew Stewart, auditing	10.00
Postage, stationery, and supplies	82.71
Clerk hire	121.57
Mary A. Tenney, indexing	200.00
William B. Browne, copying and proof-reading	79.30
Sarah L. Patrick, typewritten copy of the Plymouth Church Records	325.00

J. Franklin Jameson, annual subscription toward the Bibliography of American Historical Writings	$50.00	
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fuel, light and janitor service	20.00	
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	25.50	
Union Safe Deposit Vaults	15.00	
Miscellaneous incidentals	469.51	
$10,000 Western Telephone & Telegraph Company's 5% bonds of 1932	8,070.00	
5,000 New England Telephone & Telegraph Company's 5% bonds of 1932	3,915.00	
5,000 Western Electric Company's 7% notes of 1925	4,925.00	
5,000 Union Pacific Railroad Company's 7% Equipment Trust bonds of 1932–1934	5,000.00	
5,000 Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company's 7% bonds of 1935	4,775.00	
5,000 New York Telephone Company's 4½% bonds of 1939	3,937.50	
5,000 Detroit Edison Company's 5% bonds of 1940	4,397.50	
10,000 General Electric Company's 6% bonds of 1940	9,718.75	
5,000 Wickwire-Spencer Company's 7% bonds of 1935.	5,000.00	
5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards 5% bonds of 1940	3,762.50	
2,000 United Electric Securities Corporation 5% bonds of 1935 and 1939	1,500.00	
Mortgages bought	4,500.00	
Interest in adjustment	810.15	
Deposited in Provident Institution for Savings	50.00	70,793.00
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 16 November, 1920		126.38
		$70,919.38

The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$52,450.00	in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin on improved property in Greater Boston
58,897.50	in Bonds elsewhere described in this Report having a face value of $67,000
250.00	on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
$111,597.50	

The mortgage investments yield an income averaging 5.67% and the investments in bonds 6.40%, the whole endowment of the Society earning an average of 6.03%.

The bonds bought during the year are all of high grade, and many have been purchased at prices ranging from eighteen to twenty-five

per cent below par, so that at maturity these securities will furnish an addition of upwards of $8,000 to the principal of the Society's endowment.

TRIAL BALANCE

DR.

Cash		$126.38	
Income		3,873.62	$4,000.00
Mortgages		$52,450.00	
Provident Institution for Savings		250.00	
$20,000	Western Telephone and Telegraph Company's bonds	16,960.00	
5,000	New England Telephone and Telegraph Company's bonds	3,915.00	
5,000	Western Electric Company's notes	4,925.00	
5,000	Union Pacific Railroad Equipment Trust bonds	5,000.00	
5,000	Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company's bonds	4,775.00	
5,000	Wickwire-Spencer Company's bonds	5,000.00	
5,000	New York Telephone Company's bonds	3,937.50	
5,000	Detroit Edison Company's bonds	4,397.50	
5,000	General Electric Company's bonds	4,725.00	
5,000	Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company's bonds	3,762.50	
2,000	United Electric Securities Corporation bonds	1,500.00	111,597.50
$67,000			$115,597.50

CR.

Henry H. Edes		$4,000.00
Editor's Salary Fund	$1,400.00	
Publication Fund	10,000.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	
William Watson Fund	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund	2,361.00	
General Fund	16,836.50	
George Vasmer Leverett Fund	30,000.00	111,597.50
		$115,597.50

HENRY H. EDES
Treasurer

BOSTON, 16 November, 1920

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 16 November, 1920, have attended to their duty and report, that they find the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to them.

This Report is based on the examination of Andrew Stewart, Certified Public Accountant.

JOHN E. THAYER
JOHN LOWELL
Committee

BOSTON, 19 November, 1920

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE presented the following candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected.

PRESIDENT
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

VICE-PRESIDENTS
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG
GEORGE FOOT MOORE

RECORDING SECRETARY
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER
HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR
ALFRED JOHNSON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS
MORRIS GRAY

Mr. HENRY H. EDES read the following letter:

November 9th, 1920.

DEAR MR. EDES

The invitation that you have conveyed to me has given me the greatest pleasure and I heartily wish it were in my power to cross the Atlantic and find myself among my Boston friends at your Tercentenary Celebration. Since that cannot be, may I send you the cordial greetings of one who remembers with delight his many visits to New England and cherishes the memory of the friendships he formed there ever since the now distant days of Longfellow and Emerson, James Russell Lowell and Oliver Wendell Holmes? May there never be wanting a due succession of bright and noble spirits like theirs — men honoured here as you honoured them in their old Bay State.

The event you are celebrating this year stands out as a great event in the history of the world. It was the consecration of a continent to civil and religious liberty. The little band of humble men who landed in wintry weather on the bleak Plymouth coast planted among you those principles of ordered freedom and self-government which have spread from ocean to ocean and become a beacon light to the nations of two worlds. Your whole history is a witness to their powers. The common faith of the American and the English peoples in those principles — I speak of peoples not of Governments, for Governments sometimes misrepresent their peoples and make them misjudged — the common devotion of these peoples to the same ideals of justice and liberty as the foundation of peace, mark them out as specially called to stand side by side in trying to rescue the world from the abyss of calamity into which the War has plunged it. Everything depends on their friendship, and we prize the influence America can exert, not only because she is strong, but because she is impartial, raised above the jealousies and ambitions that vex this distracted Europe. In the cordial coöperation of these two peoples, animated by the same high traditions, lies the best hope for the future peace of the world.

Believe me

Very faithfully yours

JAMES BRYCE[1]

Henry H. Edes, Esq.

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[1] In a private note of the same date Lord Bryce says: "The Pilgrim Fathers Celebrations have passed off with keen interest and great success in many parts of England, and a remarkable display of fraternal feeling towards America in general, and New England in particular."

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Rev. Dr. Kirsopp Lake, and Messrs. Wilbur Cortez Abbott, George Pomeroy Anderson, George Hubbard Blakeslee, Cyrus Edwin Dallin, John Henry Edmonds, Frederick Lawton, Clifford Herschel Moore, Edward Sylvester Morse, Arthur Stanwood Pier, William Thompson Sedgwick, Philip Leffingwell Spalding, and Harry Walter Tyler. The PRESIDENT presided.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1920

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 December, 1920, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter accepting Resident Membership had been received from Mr. ALFRED LAWRENCE AIKEN.

The PRESIDENT announced his appointment of Messrs. EDWARD CHANNING and ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE as delegates from this Society to the annual Conference of Historical Societies to be held in Washington this month in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association.

The PRESIDENT also announced that Mr. Morris Gray was unable to accept his election by the Society at its annual meeting as a member of the Council for three years, and that the Council had filled the vacancy by the choice of Mr. ALLAN FORBES.

Mr. PERCIVAL MERRITT read a sketch of the Rev. Stephen Christopher Lewis, rector of Christ Church, Boston, from August, 1778, to October, 1784.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

WRITINGS OF GEORGE WARE BRIGGS (1810–1895)

The first volume of the Plymouth Church Records contains a bibliography of the writings of the settled pastors and associate

pastors of the church from 1620 to 1859.[1] Dr. Briggs[2] was associate pastor from January 3, 1838, to the end of 1852.[3] The list of his writings included in that bibliography[4] necessarily ended with the year 1859. Inasmuch, however, as various books, pamphlets, and articles published during the years 1835–1859 have been brought to my notice since that list was printed last summer, and inasmuch as Dr. Briggs published much during the years 1860–1891, it seems advisable to print in our Transactions a complete list of his writings. In the preparation of the present list I am under the deepest obligations to his daughter, Mrs. George G. Barker of Bournedale, but for whose assistance the list could not have been made.

In addition to sending me two pamphlets (nos. 7 and 81 in the list) of which the libraries here contain no copies, Mrs. Barker also sent me four volumes, as follows:

(A) A small memorandum book in Dr. Briggs's own hand labelled on the cover "Account of Sermons &c. printed," the first page being headed "List of Printed Sermons." This contains sixty-six titles. Some of these have been difficult to run down; but all have now been identified except two,[5] in regard to which even Mrs. Barker is unable to render help. Dr. Briggs's list is by no means complete, and to the 64 identified titles given in (A) have been added 19 others, making 83 in all.

(B) A leather bound blank book with the word "Records" printed on the back, containing a list (wholly in Dr. Briggs's hand) of sermons preached during the years 1853–1867 when he was settled at Salem. On a fly-leaf is written "Catalogue of Sermons, Jan. 1853." Each sermon is numbered and the time and place of preaching it entered. Thus no. 1 was preached at Salem on January 9, 1853, and at New Salem on April 18, 1855, and had been preached at Plymouth on December 26, 1852; and no. 474 (the last one in the book) was preached at Salem on December 23, 1866. If a sermon was printed,

[1] Our Publications, vol. xxii. pp. lv–lxii.

[2] Though not entitled, strictly speaking, to be called Dr. Briggs until 1855, I have uniformly applied that title to him.

[3] Cf. our Publications, xxiii. 600–603, 710–712.

[4] Our Publications, vol. xxii. pp. lx–lxi.

[5] These two, if I have read them correctly, are thus entered:

1851 Prize Diss. Christ with the Doctors.

1890 Privilege of life to-day in unity.

the fact is stated, the place where printed is given, and the entry is crossed out. Whether Dr. Briggs kept similar records during his pastorates at Fall River and Cambridge has not been ascertained, but he certainly did while at Plymouth, for no. 1 in (B) is labelled "Plymouth, No. 577." Hence while there he must have preached 577 sermons. It does not follow that during the years 1838–1867 Dr. Briggs wrote 1051 sermons, for many of those entered in (B) had been previously preached at Plymouth.[1]

(C) A scrap-book bound in half leather with the word "Miscellanies" printed on the back. In it are pasted several of Dr. Briggs's pamphlets, which have of course been cut up for the purpose, but chiefly newspaper clippings extending from 1825 to 1870. Some of these clippings contain addresses and articles by Dr. Briggs which have not been found elsewhere; but as the name of the paper and the date are not always given, several have been difficult to run down.[2]

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[1] Most of the sermons were preached more than once, many of them several times. Thus no. 238 was preached twenty-five times between 1840 and 1862, no. 3 twenty-seven times between 1852 and 1863, and no. 55 twenty-nine times between 1845 and 1863. Dr. Briggs frequently preached elsewhere than in his own pulpit. He pretty well covered the eastern part of Massachusetts, and sermons are recorded as having been preached in Baltimore, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Keene, New York, Portsmouth (N. H.), Providence, St. Louis, and Washington (D. C.).

[2] Many clippings in (C) are taken from The Christian Inquirer (New York) for 1848, and from these it appears — though his name is nowhere mentioned — that Dr. Briggs was editor of that paper for about three months in that year. A brief editorial in the issue of April 15th, headed "Our Present Number," states that "The present editor has been unable to give as much attention as he hopes to bestow, in future, to the paper of this week. A part of the copy was made up before his arrival. Perhaps it might be proper to apologize for what he has done, rather than for what he has not inserted. The entire charge of the paper, in future, for a few weeks, will devolve upon himself." Then follows a long "Introductory," beginning as follows: "The temporary editor of the Christian Inquirer would have greatly preferred to enter upon his brief service, without any special introduction. Indeed, he did not fully realize that he should have any claim to the title of editor until he found himself thus announced. The readers of the paper, therefore, may begin to imagine, though they cannot really apprehend his dismay as he read the Valedictory of his predecessors." A long valedictory in the issue of July 8th, headed "Editorial," begins with this paragraph:

"In consequence of the somewhat oppressive kindness of our predecessors' introduction of us to the readers of the Inquirer, we were compelled to take the editorial chair in form three months ago, instead of sliding into it, unobserved,

(D) A volume bound in half calf with the label "Miscellanies G. W. Briggs" printed on the back, and a list of the contents in Dr. Briggs's hand on fly-leaves at the beginning. The volume contains twenty-nine pamphlets and articles printed during the years 1835–1871, though sometimes a pamphlet is not complete.[1]

George Ware Briggs was born at Little Compton, Rhode Island, April 8, 1810; in 1821 at the age of eleven entered Brown University, graduating in 1825;[2] graduated from the Harvard Divinity School in 1834; was ordained pastor of the Unitarian Society at Fall River September 24, 1834;[3] was installed associate pastor of the First Church in Plymouth January 3, 1838;[4] was installed pastor of the First Church in Salem January 6, 1853;[5] received the honorary degree

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as we had hoped. The same original sin of our friends makes it necessary, now that our brief engagement has closed, distinctly to state that fact also. Our connection with the paper does not entirely close; but as we cannot be an Editor in New York, while on the sea-shore in Massachusetts, the special charge of its columns will pass into other hands."

Clippings from every issue of the Christian Inquirer from July 15th to December 30th, 1848, are pasted into (C), but how many of the articles were written by Dr. Briggs himself it is impossible to say, as none are signed with either his name or his initials. But an article entitled "Present Experience of Immortal Life," in the issue of July 29th, has at the bottom "G. W. Briggs" written in ink in his own hand.

[1] Thus (D) contains only pp. 23–49 of no. 1; only pp. 25–36 of no. 21; and only pp. 41–52 of no. 54. See pp. 126, 132, 139, below.

[2] Pasted into (C) is a clipping from the Microcosm of September 9, 1825, giving an account of the Commencement exercises at Brown University on September 7th. From this it appears that no. 7 on the programme was "A Greek Oration on Grecian Literature. By *George W. Briggs*."

[3] For the title of the sermon preached on this occasion, see no. 1, p. 126, below.

[4] See our Publications, xxiii. 591–596.

[5] The sermon preached on this occasion was published with the following title:

A Sermon, preached at the Installation of Rev. George W. Briggs, as Pastor of the First Church in Salem, January 6, 1853. By John Hopkins Morison, Pastor of the First Church in Milton. Salem: . . . 1853.

Title, 1 leaf; Sermon, pp. [3]–28; Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Dr. Flint, of Salem, pp. [29]–32; Notices of the First Church in Salem and its Ministers, 1629 to 1853, by a Member, pp. [33]–62; Index, p. [63].

The cover reads: "Sermon at the Installation of Rev. George W. Briggs, as Pastor of the First Church in Salem, by Rev. Mr. Morison, of Milton. Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Dr. Flint, of Salem. With Notices of the First Church and its Ministers by a Member." The Notices were written by Daniel Appleton White, as appears from Dr. Briggs's Memoir of Judge White, p. 43: see no. 63, p. 140, below.

of D.D. from Harvard University in 1855; was installed minister of the Cambridgeport Parish (later the Third Congregational Society) April 3, 1867;[1] and died at Plymouth September 10, 1895.[2] Of him his son Professor LeBaron R. Briggs has written:

He was naturally diffident, especially in his own home, and so fearful of taking a place too large for him that he refused several calls to more important pulpits and to higher salaries. His strength showed itself when people were in trouble, and quite as much in what he did not say as in what he said. . . . As a preacher, he was earnest and at times eloquent; but his greatest strength in and out of the pulpit was in seeming less a minister than a man. His every-day intercourse with his parishioners was altogether free from professional affectation. It was also devotedly faithful. . . . Though of small conversational skill and of unyielding principle, he made friends everywhere, and kept them always. He was not a learned man, and was still less a pedantic one. He read much, but showed few of the ordinary effects of wide reading, whether good or bad. What he read sank into him somehow, and rarely came out again. For theology he had little regard; and when a reporter asked him whether he was radical or conservative, he answered, "Both." His habit of life was simple; and his heart — in some ways like that of a little child — could yet feel intensely without expressing what it felt in words. . . . He was a strong, loyal, single-hearted man.[3]

Though Dr. Briggs's writings are chiefly concerned, as one might expect, with the various aspects of his profession, their character being generally sufficiently indicated by their titles, yet this is not always the case, and in a few instances the titles convey no adequate idea of the contents. Hence it has seemed advisable to quote ex-

[1] "On Wednesday evening last, the installation of Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D., as pastor of the Cambridgeport Parish (Austin Street Unitarian Society) took place at the church" (Cambridge Chronicle, Saturday, April 6, 1867, p. 2/1). Dr. Briggs remained sole pastor until April 11, 1889: "The installation of the Rev. John Tunis as associate minister of the Third Congregationalist Society took place Thursday evening at the church on Austin street, . . . Rev. George W. Briggs made the address to the people" (Cambridge Chronicle, Saturday, April 13, 1889, p. 3/1). Cf. General Catalogue of the Divinity School of Harvard University (1910), p. 122.

[2] This account is based on Professor Briggs's sketch of his father cited in the next note. Cf. General Catalogue of the Divinity School of Harvard University (1910), p. 44.

[3] LeB. R. Briggs, "George Ware Briggs, 1810–1895," in Heralds of a Liberal Faith, III, The Preachers (1910), pp. 37–40.

tracts now and then. These will abundantly show Dr. Briggs's detestation of slavery, his hatred of war, his earnest advocacy of peace, and his ardent approval of total abstinence. On the outbreak of the Civil War Dr. Briggs espoused with enthusiasm the cause of the North, though not failing to see the discrepancy between that attitude and his former diatribes against war. At a war meeting held at Danvers Plains on October 23, 1863, he alluded to this discrepancy in words thus reported:

> The duty of responding to the maintenance of the country and the honor of its flag is just as imperative to-day as at the time of the first great uprising at the opening of the rebellion. Before the opening of this war, he should have thought this the last place where he would have been. He thought he was a peace man, and had never supposed there was as much barbarism in the world as that which has attacked the existence of this government. When the question came whether we maintain the principles at stake in the opening contest, there was but one response. The cause is just as sacred to-day as it was at first. If we do not feel the same enthusiasm it is not because there is less interest in the cause, but because it has gone down deeper into the heart. There is a determination to carry this contest through to the end whatever sacrifice it may cost. . . . If, in pursuing this work, that system gets rooted out which has almost made men forget that the government was founded upon liberty, and has caused one section to try to build up one based on human servitude — if, out of the war this gets abolished — then we accomplish one of the greatest works men ever accomplished.[1]

In the bibliography which follows it is understood, unless otherwise stated, that Dr. Briggs's name is given as that of the author. The authority for attributing to him books or articles published anonymously is found in (A), (B), or (C). The opportunity has been taken to correct in this list a few errors or misprints that crept into the previous partial list.[2]

[1] See no. 62, p. 140, below.

[2] Our Publications, vol. xxii. pp. lx–lxi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I

CHRONOLOGICAL[1]

1

A Sermon, preached at the Dedication of the Unitarian Church, in Fall River, Mass. January 28, 1835. . . . Published by request. Fall River: . . . 1835.

This was published together with the sermon preached by Mr. Farley at Dr. Briggs's ordination, with continuous pagination but with separate half-titles and title-pages. The cover reads: "Mr. Farley's Ordination Sermon, and Mr. Briggs's Dedication Sermon." The first half-title reads: "Mr. Farley's Sermon." The second half-title (p. [23]) reads: "Mr. Briggs's Sermon." The title to Mr. Farley's sermon reads:

A Sermon, preached at the Ordination of the Rev. George W. Briggs, as Minister of the Unitarian Society, Fall River, Mass. September 24, 1834. By Frederick A. Farley, Minister of Westminster Church, Providence, R. I. Published by request. Fall River: . . . 1835.

Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 p.; Imprint, 1 p.; Sermon [by Mr. Farley], pp. [3]–22; Half-title, p. [23]; Title, p. [25]; Sermon [by Mr. Briggs], pp. [27]–49.

The following note is printed at the end of Mr. Farley's sermon:

"The delay in publishing Mr. Farley's Sermon was owing to unavoidable circumstances. The Society, from the first, intended to publish the services of the Ordination and Dedication together; expecting the church would be dedicated within a few weeks after the ordination. In this expectation they were disappointed; causes not anticipated, delayed the completion of the building, and the dedication was of necessity deferred for several months" (p. 22).

2

'Obey God rather than Man.' *In* The Liberator, December 2, 1842, xii. 192.

The sermon is preceded by this note:

"The following is the able Discourse of brother Briggs, of Plymouth, delivered on the occasion of the last annual fast. In the note which accompanied it he far underrates its value, in saying — 'Those of the congregation who approved its sentiment, requested its publication then. I declined to comply with their wish, because I did not think it worthy of publication. But the case in Boston[2] now moving all our sympathies, and pressing the same doctrine I stated then upon our

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[1] In this list, the items are arranged by date of delivery, not necessarily that of publication.

[2] That of George Latimer: see H. Wilson, Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, i. 477–480.

attention, gave me a desire to make my protest again. I send it as it was preached, excepting a few verbal alterations.'"

The sermon was preached, presumably at Plymouth, on April 7, 1842. The concluding paragraph reads:

"Four years ago, my brethren, I gave you my convictions on this question of slavery. In another particular, with a persuasion only the deeper for that lapse of time, I do the same thing to-day. I cannot dream that my convictions are also yours. But you would justly scorn me did I stoop to be your echo. I could no longer honor you if I thought you could even wish it. I only ask that the spirit of wisdom and love may guide you and myself alike, in the way of eternal righteousness."

3

An Address delivered before the Total Abstinence Societies in Plymouth, July Fourth, 1842, . . . Plymouth. 1842.

Title, 1 p.; Note, 1 p.; Address, pp. [3]–16.

The note on the verso of the title-page reads:

"The following hasty Address is published, not in accordance with the writer's judgment, but in compliance with the request that has been made. So great a change would have been required to make it a discussion or an appeal appearing to his mind to have any permanent value, that it is printed as originally delivered, and his only hope is, that it may serve in some slight degree to keep alive in this community the interest in a reform whose progress he regards with the deepest sympathy."

4

An Address delivered at the Funeral of Deacon William P. Ripley, In the First Church, at Plymouth, Sunday Afternoon, Nov. 13, 1842. . . . Plymouth: . . . 1842.

Title, 1 p.; Note, 1 p.; Address, pp. [3]–16.

The note on the verso of the title-page reads:

"William Putnam Ripley was born in Plymouth, Feb. 4th, 1776. He joined the First Church, Jan. 1st, 1809. He was chosen its Deacon, March 9th, 1818. After a long and painful illness, he departed in peace, Thursday Evening, Nov. 10th, 1842, in the 67th year of his age."

5

The Inward Appeal of Christianity. A Sermon. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine, June, 1844, i. 191–199.

6

Timely Thoughts. *In* The Christian World, December 28, 1844.

An introductory note, signed "G. W. B.," explaining the occasion of the Timely Thoughts, reads in part as follows:

"The town clerk at Ephesus in dismissing the angry multitude, gathered in tumult on account of the Apostles' preaching, declared the law to be open, for all matters to be determined in a lawful assembly. One would have rejoiced to find the sovereign authorities of South Carolina, manifesting an equal reverence for the supreme tribunals of the land, in their legitimate authority, with the mob at Ephesus. The unparalleled outrage committed against the Agent of Massachusetts,[1] who went thither in due reverence for the law, peacefully to institute a process to test the legality of certain enactments infringing upon the constitutional rights of one class of our citizens, demands some expression of the feeling of the State befitting its ancient name, and the memories of other days. When the Legislature of South Carolina votes to expel from the State, an Agent so happily selected by our own Executive, — a man so venerable in years and character, — clad in the dignity pertaining to his own person, and to the State he represented, for the offence of appealing to Constitutional courts in a Constitutional way, silence seems criminal."

7

The application of the principles of Religious Freedom to the practical problems of the passing time. A Sermon preached In the First Church, in Plymouth, Sunday, March 9, 1845. . . . Printed: not Published. Plymouth: . . . 1845.

Title, 1 p.; Note, 1 p.; Sermon, pp. [3]–16.

The note on the verso of the title-page, signed "G. W. B.," reads:

"Peculiar circumstances, which none but the members of my own Congregation may fully understand, made it proper to allude to the various topics to which this discourse refers. It is not printed for its merit, but to enable those to whom it was addressed, to understand precisely what it affirms; and of course, I have therefore made only a few, merely verbal corrections."

8

The Real Duty of a Christian Society to its Minister. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine, September, 1845, ii. 303–309.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 309). A footnote on p. 303 reads: "This address, kindly furnished by the author for our pages, was delivered at a recent Ordination. ED." The address begins "Brethren of this Society," but no hint is given as to when or where or at whose ordination the address was delivered. In (A), however, Dr. Briggs gives the place as Fall River.[2]

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[1] Samuel Hoar (1778–1856; H. C. 1802) had been appointed agent by Governor Briggs on October 11, 1844: see Memorial Biographies of the New England Historic Genealogical Society (1883), iii. 113.

[2] Possibly this is an error for Fairhaven, where Dr. Briggs delivered the "Address to the Society" at the ordination of the Rev. Thomas Dawes on October 30, 1844 (The Monthly Religious Magazine, December, 1844, i. 427).

9

Jesus our Master. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine, October, 1845, ii. 325–332.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 332).

10

Hymns for Public Worship. "Praise God in his sanctuary: praise him according to his excellent greatness. Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord. Praise ye the Lord." — Psalm cl. 1, 2, 6. Boston: . . . 1845.

Title 1 p.; Copyright and Imprint, 1 p.; Preface, pp. [iii]–vi; General Arrangement, p. [vii]; Index of First Lines, pp. [ix]–xxiv; Index of Subjects, pp. [xxv]–xxviii; Hymns, 388 pp. There is no regular pagination, the numbers of the hymns serving for page-numbers. Thus, the second page has "3, 4" at the top because hymns nos. 3 and 4 are printed on that page; the fourth page has "7, 8" at the top because hymns nos. 7 and 8 are printed on that page; the sixth page has "11" at the top because hymn no. 11 is printed on that page, etc. The hymns are numbered from 1 to 601.

Dr. Briggs's name does not appear on the title-page, but the Preface is signed "George W. Briggs" and is dated "Plymouth, Mass., Oct., 1845." The book was reviewed in the Christian Register of November 15, 1845, xxiv. 182–183, and in The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany for January, 1846, xl. 29, 41–42.[1]

11

The Bow in the Cloud: Fifteen Discourses. . . . "Behold the rainbow's form, Hung on the brow of heaven! The glory of the passing storm, The pledge of mercy given." Boston: . . . 1846.

The above title is conjectural, since no copy of this (the original) edition has been located, and is based on an advertisement in the Christian Register of December 27, 1845, xxiv. 207, and on the title as given in The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany for March, 1846, xl. 233 note. The book was advertised in the Christian Register of December 20, 27, 1845, and January 3, 1846, xxiv. 203, 207, xxv. 3. It was reviewed in the Christian Register of December 27, 1845, xxiv. 206, and in The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany for March, 1846, xl. 233–247. The latter review is signed "C. R." — presumably the Rev. Chandler Robbins of Boston. See nos. 12 and 30.

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[1] The book was advertised in the Christian Register of December 20, 27, 1845, January 31, March 7, October 24, 1846, etc., xxiv. 203, 207, xxv. 19, 40, 171. It is described from the only copy I have seen, kindly loaned to me by Miss Catherine E. Russell of Boston.

12

The Bow in the Cloud: Fifteen Discourses. . . . Second Edition. Boston: . . . 1846.

Title, 1 p.; Copyright, 1 p.; Dedication, p. [iii]; Preface, pp. [v]–vi; Contents, pp. [vii]–viii; The Bow in the Cloud, pp. [9]–216.

The Preface is dated "Plymouth, Mass., December, 1845;" the book was copyrighted in 1845; and the Dedication is to Dr. James Kendall. See nos. 11 and 30.

13

Response to Peace Address, February 26, 1846. *In* The Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood, for the Year 1846. Edited by Elihu Burritt. Worcester: . . . March, 1846, i. 78–79.

The heading is supplied by me. Under the heading "Universal Brotherhood. Great Social Movement," Burritt printed in the March number (pp. 69–80) documents relating to the Oregon dispute. "An Appeal to the Merchants of the Realm" had been issued in England, and the Cambria, which arrived at Boston on February 18, brought addresses from individuals and from public bodies; among others an address to the "Esteemed Citizens of Boston, in New England" from "the inhabitants of Boston, in Old England" (p. 75), and from "the inhabitants of Plymouth, Great Britain, to the Citizens of the United States of America, for the purpose of averting War between the two Countries" (p. 77). "As a ready response to these Friendly Addresses seemed desirable," wrote Burritt, "as an evidence of the cordiality with which they were received in this country, we wrote to several persons in Boston and other places, particularly addressed in these friendly communications from abroad, suggesting an effort to send back a response, if possible, by the same steamer. Among others, we addressed a letter on this subject to the Rev. Geo. W. Briggs, of Plymouth, Mass. His letter in reply is so apposite to the history of this social movement, and so replete with warm sentiments of universal brotherhood, that we cannot refrain from giving it to the public." Dr. Briggs's reply, dated February 25th, is in part as follows:

"Yours of the 23rd was received last night. We were moving in the special matter you propose, before your letter came. Monday evening, the 23rd, we had a large Peace Meeting, when different gentlemen discussed the general subject. The Chairman,[1] who had just seen these Addresses, — I had not seen them then, — communicated them to the Meeting. And a Committee was raised to respond to the Plymouth Address, consisting of myself, Rev. R. Tomlinson, and J. Russell, Esq. . . . We shall report a brief reply to-morrow evening, to send it back by the same packet as you suggest. I agree with you, that nothing is more beautiful and hopeful than this peculiar movement. When MEN send over lands and waters the song of Peace, once sounded through the sky by the Angels, we may well thank God and take courage. I will send you a paper containing an account of our Meeting" (p. 77).

Burritt then reprints, from the Old Colony Memorial, an account of the meetings held February 23 and 26, and also "A Response To the friendly appeal from

[1] William Thomas.

the inhabitants of Plymouth, Great Britain, to the citizens of the United States of America, for the purpose of averting war between the two countries, by the inhabitants of Plymouth, Massachusetts" (pp. 78–79).

14

Report of the School Committee of the Town of Plymouth. Read in Town Meeting, April 5, 1847. Plymouth: . . . 1847.

Title, 1 leaf; Report, pp. [3]–23.

The only copy of this I have seen is the one pasted into (C), which has been cut up for that purpose: hence the number of pages is conjectural. The School Committee consisted of "Geo. W. Briggs, R. Tomlinson, W. Warren, C. S. Porter."

15

Obituary, Rev. Zephaniah Willis.[1] *In* The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany, May, 1847, xlii. 466–467.

The heading is supplied by me. It is not mentioned in (A), (B), or (C), but is signed "B." (p. 467) and is attributed to Dr. Briggs by William Cushing in his Index to the Christian Examiner (1879), p. 129.

16

Two Sermons preached in the First Church in Plymouth, Mass. Sunday, July 4, 1847. . . . Published by request. Plymouth. . . .

Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, pp. [5]–17; The patient waiting for Christ, pp. [19]–31. The half-title reads: "Two Sermons, preached in Plymouth, Mass. July 4, 1847, by George W. Briggs."

These sermons were preached during the Mexican War. The extracts are from the first and the second sermon respectively:

"Who will defend the action of this day? We stand in a Christian temple now, and try our cause by the Christian law. We must not dissemble, or cloak our transgressions, before the face of Almighty God, or the judgment-seat of his Son. My Country is dear to me, as to those who boast of her dominion and outward greatness, but are silent over her sin. But I will not defend her call to her unholy battle-fields, though Liberty be written on her banner, while, as I judge, every blow is struck for Slavery. I will not fail to condemn her wars, or to try her oppressions by the spirit of that Christ in whom she claims to trust" (p. 14).

"A lamentation is heard because the spirit of Peace makes so little progress. How small its influence upon the spirit of War! Not only are the base and lawless ready for the battle. The conscientious also call it glorious, and go out to its murders. No lofty Statesmanship, no power of Intellect or Genius, can receive one tithe of the honor instantly given to the victorious warrior. We dwell in an almost Heathen darkness, in respect to this vital principle of the spirit of Jesus.

[1] Zephaniah Willis was born at Bridgewater February 24, 1757; graduated at Harvard College in 1778; was ordained at Kingston October 18, 1780; withdrew in 1828; and died at Kingston March 6, 1847.

The reformation is too great to be accomplished *yet*. I do not expect the reign of Peace between the nations, until the individuals that compose them ascend more nearly to a Christian love. Individual hearts must subdue their contentious spirit, by gazing upon the Cross, and the home must have no bitter strifes around its hearth-stone, and societies must hush their bickerings, and the Life of the forgiving prayer of Jesus must win many victories, before Governments will disband their armaments" (pp. 23–24).

17

First of August. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine, September, 1847, iv. 412–420.

"Thirteen years have passed since this day was made memorable by the commencement of emancipation in the English West India Islands. Nine years ago that work was finished and the day was consecrated forever by the complete liberation of 800,000 slaves" (p. 412).

18

A Discourse delivered before the Autumnal Unitarian Convention, held at Salem, Mass., Wednesday Evening, October 20, 1847. . . . Boston: . . . 1847.

Title, 1 p.; Imprint, 1 p.; Note, p. [3]; Discourse, pp. [5]–31.
The note is dated "Plymouth, Mass., Octo. 23, 1847."

19

Bushnell on Christian Nurture. *In* The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany, November, 1847, xliii. 435–451.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 451). A review of Horace Bushnell's "An Argument for 'Discourses on Christian Nurture,' addressed to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society" (1847).

20

Faith the Child of Life. *In* Sermons on Christian Communion, designed to promote the growth of the religious affections, by living Ministers. . . . Edited by T. R. Sullivan. Boston: . . . 1848.

Dr. Briggs's contribution is "Sermon VIII," and fills pp. [85]–96. The Preface is not dated, but the work was copyrighted in 1847.

21

Address to the Society. *In* The Modern Pulpit. A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Samuel Longfellow, at Fall River, Mass., February 16th, 1848. By John Weiss, Minister of the Unitarian Church, New-Bedford. With the Right Hand of Fellowship, and Address to the Society. Fall River: . . . 1848.

Title, 1 leaf; Sermon, pp. [3]–20; Right Hand of Fellowship, by John F. W. Ware, pp. [21]–24; Address to the Society, by George W. Briggs, pp. [25]–33; Appendix, pp. [35]–36.

22

Report of the School Committee of the Town of Plymouth. Read in Town Meeting, April 3, 1848.

The above is the heading on p. [1] of the Report, taken from a copy pasted into (C). Presumably there was a title-page, but if so it was not preserved by Dr. Briggs. The pamphlet probably filled 16 pages. The School Committee consisted of "Geo. W. Briggs, R. Tomlinson, C. S. Porter, A. Harvey." [1]

23

Sermon, May 28, 1848. *In* Christian Register, June 3, 1848, xxvii. 90.

The heading is supplied by me. The column is headed "Anniversary Week in Boston. Book and Pamphlet Society," and begins: "The public exercises in which Unitarian Christians are more particularly interested, on Anniversary Week, were opened with a sermon by Rev. J. W. Briggs, of Plymouth, before the Book and Pamphlet Society, at Federal st. Church, on Sunday evening May 28. Mr. Briggs took for his text, 2 Cor. iv. 13 — 'We believe, and therefore speak.'" Then follows a report of the sermon filling nearly an entire column, after which are the words: "Mr. B. then concluded his very eloquent sermon, of which his rapid utterance enabled us to take only the above partial and imperfect sketch, and a collection was taken up in aid of the funds of the Society." [2]

24

Lessons upon Religious Duties and Christian Morals. Boston: . . . New York: . . . 1852.

Title, 1 p.; Copyright, 1 p.; General Directions, pp. [iii]–vi; Preface, pp. [vii]–viii; Contents, pp. [ix]–x; Lessons upon Religious Duties, etc., pp. [11]–175.

This was one in a series of eight Sunday School books, all published anonymously. In the General Directions (pp. iii, v–vi) it is stated:

In this course of Christian instruction, there are eight text-books, bearing the following titles: — Early Religious Lessons; Palestine and the Hebrew People;

[1] There is pasted into (C) the "Plymouth School Report for 1850," no doubt taken from a Plymouth newspaper, though the name and date have been cut off. The School Committee consisted of "G. W. Briggs, R. Tomlinson, Adiel Harvey." Following the Report is a letter signed "G. W. B.," undated, which begins as follows: "Mr. Editor. — When the School Committee presented their Report for the last year, all of the School Registers had not been returned. Will you permit me to communicate through your paper, some of the statistics of the schools, which have been since obtained, for the information of the town?" Perhaps this Report was written by Dr. Briggs, but it is excluded from the list of his writings merely because it is not included in (A).

[2] The Unitarian Book and Pamphlet Society was formed in August, 1827. Its Constitution, with the names of members, was published in Boston in 1829. Nos. 23, 34, 51, 56, 57, and 62, are reports of sermons or addresses.

Lessons on the Old Testament; Life of Christ; Books and Characters of the New Testament; Religious Duties and Christian Morals; Doctrines of Scripture; Scenes from Christian History. . . . The names of the writers, arranged alphabetically, and not according to the order of the books in the course, are as follows: —

Rev. Geo. W. Briggs,
" S. G. Bulfinch,
" Rufus Ellis,
" Edward E. Hale,
" F. D. Huntington,
" John H. Morison,
" Ephraim Peabody.

25

1st Series. No. 283. Experimental Religion. Printed for the American Unitarian Association. Boston: . . . *In* Tracts of the American Unitarian Association. First Series. Vol. XXV. . . . Boston: . . . 1852.

Title, p. [1], [83]; Imprint, p. [2], [84]; Experimental Religion, pp. [3]–11, [85]–93.

This was published anonymously. There is a double pagination.

26

1st Series. No. 284. Method of Christian Salvation. . . . Printed for the American Unitarian Association. Boston: . . . *In* Tracts of the American Unitarian Association. First Series. Vol. XXV. . . . Boston: . . . 1852.

Title, p. [1], [95]; Imprint, p. [2], [96]; Method of Christian Salvation, pp. [3]–22, [97]–116. There is a double pagination.

27

A Legend and its Lesson. *In* The Unitarian Congregational Register for the Year 1853, pp. 66–68.

This is anonymous.

28

Homage to Christ. A Sermon. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine, July, 1853, x. 310–318.

29

Address to the Middlesex Sunday-School Society. Delivered at East Cambridge, Oct. 12, 1853. . . . Reprinted from the Monthly Religious Magazine. Boston: . . . 1853.

Title, 1 leaf; Address, pp. [3]–14.[1]

[1] Reprinted from The Monthly Religious Magazine for December, 1853, x. 558–568.

30

The Bow in the Cloud: Discourses . . . New Edition Enlarged. Boston and Cambridge. . . . M DCCC LIV.

Title, 1 p.; Copyright and Imprint, 1 p.; Dedication (to Dr. James Kendall), p. [iii]; Preface, pp. [v]–vi; Contents, pp. [vii]–viii; Sermons, pp. [1]–280.

The Preface is dated "Salem, (Mass.,) December, 1853;" and the book was copyrighted in 1853. The Preface states that "The fifteen Discourses which were published in the first edition of this work, have been revised for re-publication. Those which bear the following titles, . . . are now printed for the first time." The volume contains twenty-four Discourses. See nos. 11 and 12.

31

Character of Rev. Dr. Flint. . . . Extracts from a Sermon preached at the First Church in Salem, Mass., March 11, 1855, on the Sunday after the death of Rev. James Flint, D.D.[1] *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine, April 1855, xiii. 213–218.

32

The Living Ministry: its Preparation and its Work. An Address Delivered before the Graduating Class in the Theological School at Cambridge, Sunday Evening, July 15, 1855. . . . Cambridge: . . . 1855.

Title, 1 p.; Imprint, 1 p.; Correspondence, p. [3]; Address, pp. [5]–24.

33

The Unchanging Christian Message. A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Rev. Alfred Porter Putnam, as Minister of the Mt. Pleasant Church in Roxbury, December 19, 1855. . . . Boston: . . . 1856.

Title, 1 p.; Note and Copyright, 1 p.; Sermon, pp. [3]–23; Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. J. H. Phipps, pp. [25]–28; Order of Exercises, pp. 29–31.

34

Remarks, May 31, 1856. *In* Salem Gazette, June 3, 1856, p. 2.[2]

The heading is supplied by me. The remarks were made at a meeting in Salem called to protest against the attack by Preston Smith Brooks of South Carolina on Charles Sumner, May 22, 1856. A passage reads:

"We are to look far beyond personal or narrow considerations when we consider this atrocity. I do not simply see my friend Mr. Sumner, bleeding and al-

[1] James Flint was born at Reading December 10, 1779; graduated at Harvard College in 1802; was settled at East Bridgewater October 29, 1806, resigning in 1821; was settled in the East Church, Salem, September 19, 1821; and died at Salem, March 4, 1855.

[2] Also printed in the Essex County Mercury of June 4, 1856.

most murdered, upon the floor of the Senate chamber — for I am proud to call him my friend; I do not merely see the rights of Massachusetts beaten down in the person of her Senator; I do not merely see the letter of the Constitution broken; but I see the right of free speech in legislative halls, one of the most sacred rights of man, — a right which has been gained as the result of long ages of struggle amidst sacrifice and blood, — profaned, and trampled in the dust. And so, too, I look beyond the individual who was the instrument to commit this outrage. I do not merely see a coward stealing upon a defenceless man, sitting by the very Altar of Liberty, but I behold a conspirator against the dearest rights of the race. I see the spirit of that institution which would not permit you or me to say, above a whisper, in South Carolina, that slavery is a sin, — which seeks to crush all opposition in Kanzas by fire and sword, — stalking in upon the Senate floor to wield its bludgeon upon the head of one who arraigns its usurpations, and becomes the champion of Freedom."

35

The Christian Law of Self-Culture. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine and Independent Journal, December, 1856, xvi. 368–376.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 376).

36

Civilization not Regeneration. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine and Independent Journal, May, 1857, xvii. 297–307.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 307).

37

Protest in Piedmont. *In* The Christian Examiner, November, 1857, lxiii. 411–430.

The article under this title extends from p. 404 to p. 431, but not all of it was by Dr. Briggs. It is no. 217 in (B), where Dr. Briggs has written: "The Waldenses. Lecture. Boston, Chauncy St., Jan. 4, 1857. Salem, Feb. 8, 1857. Young Men's Ch. Union. Plymouth, July 26, 1857. Printed. Ch. Examiner, Nov. 1857. Embodied in the Article 'Protest in Piedmont,' begin. p. 411, line 18, 'The ancient Waldensian &c.,' ending p. 430, line 21." The other portion of the article was apparently written by Edward Everett Hale.[1]

38

Providence touching our Eyes. — The Central America. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine and Independent Journal, November, 1857, xviii. 301–308.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 308).

A report in the Boston Daily Advertiser of September 18, 1857, reads in part: "The very sad intelligence was received last evening, of the loss of the steamship Central America, (formerly the George Law,) with about four hundred and fifty

[1] See W. Cushing's Index to the Christian Register (1879), pp. 88, 139.

passengers independent of her crew. The steamship foundered at sea on the 12th inst., four days out from Havana" (p. 1/4).[1]

39

Scepticism and Superstition. *In* Christian Register, March 6, 1858, xxxvii. 38.

This is an unsigned editorial.

40

Christ's Doctrine of Repentance. *In* Christian Register, April 10, 1858, xxxvii. 58.

This is an unsigned editorial.

41

Religious Revival. Part of a Sermon preached in the First Church, in Salem, April 11th, 1858. *In* Salem Gazette, April 27, 1858, pp. 1–2.

42

Practical Nature of Christian Penitence. *In* Christian Register, May 8, 1858, xxxvii. 74.

This is an unsigned editorial. It is no. 112 in (B), where the date is wrongly given as May 9, 1858.

43

Jewish and Christian Ideals. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine and Independent Journal, January, 1859, xxi. 9–17.

This has neither name nor initials attached to it, but it is no. 21 in (B).

44

A Sermon delivered at Plymouth, at the Funeral of Rev. James Kendall, D.D., Senior Minister of the First Church, in Plymouth, Sunday Afternoon, March 20, 1859. . . . Published by request of the Society. Boston: . . . 1859.

Title, 1 leaf; Note, p. [3]; Sermon, pp. [5]–31; Appendix, pp. [33]–38.

45

Obituary. Rev. James Kendall, D.D. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine and Independent Journal, May, 1859, xxi. 342–346.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 346).

[1] See also Boston Daily Advertiser, September 19 (p. 1/6), 21 (pp. 1/6, 1/8, 4/1), 22 (p. 1/6, where the "probable number of drowned" is given as 419, pp. 2/1, 2/3), 23 (pp. 1/8, 4/1).

46

The Conditions of Ministerial Power: An Address delivered before the Graduating Class in the Theological Seminary at Meadville, Penn., Wednesday Evening, June 29, 1859. . . . Published by Request of the Class. Boston: . . . 1859.

Title, 1 p.; Imprint, 1 p.; Address, pp. [3]–24.

47

A Sermon . . . At the ordination of Mr. Wm. B. Smith, as pastor of the Unitarian Society in Fall River, Thursday evening, Jan. 12th, 1860. *In* Christian Register, February 11, 1860. xxxix. 21.

Reprinted from "*Fall River News*." It is no. 62 in (B), where it is stated to have been printed in the Fall River News of January 31, 1860.

48

The Calamity at Lawrence. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine and Independent Journal, February, 1860, xxiii. 83–93.

"Delivered in Salem, January 15th" (p. 83 note). It was occasioned by the fall of the Pemberton Mill on January 10, 1860.[1]

49

Faith like a Grain of Mustard-Seed. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine, April, 1861, xxv. 217–225.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 225).

50

Address, April 2, 1861. *In* Salem Gazette, April 4, 1861, p. 2.

The heading is supplied by me. The address was delivered at the funeral of Judge White. See no. 63.

51

Address, November 27, 1861. *In* Salem Gazette, November 29, 1861, p. 2.

The heading is supplied by me. Report of an address delivered at the dedication of the Home for Aged and Indigent Women, in Derby Street, Salem.

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[1] See Report of the Treasurer of the Committee of Relief for the Sufferers by the Fall of the Pemberton Mill (1860); Final Report of the Treasurer, etc. (1861); J. F. C. Hayes, History of the City of Lawrence (1868), pp. 99–127; H. A. Wadsworth, History of Lawrence (1880), pp. 161–162.

52

An Address delivered before the City Authorities in Salem, at the celebration of the Birth-Day of Washington, February 22, 1862. . . . Published by request of the City Council. Salem: . . . 1862.

Title, 1 leaf; Address, pp. [3]–24.

53

Address, March 8, 1862. *In* Salem Register, March 10, 1862, p. 2.[1]

The heading is supplied by me. The address was delivered at the funeral of Brigadier-General Frederic W. Lander.[2]

54

Address to the People. *In* Services at the Ordination of Mr. James De Normandie, in Portsmouth, N. H., October 1, 1862. Sermon by Rev. Ezra S. Gannett, Pastor of Arlington-Street Church, Boston. With Charge, Right Hand, and Address to the People. Boston: . . . Portsmouth: . . . 1862.

Title, 1 p.; Imprint, 1 p.; Introductory Note, pp. [3]–4; Sermon, pp. [5]–29; Charge, by Rev. E. E. Hale, pp. 30–36; Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. C. Y. De Normandie, pp. 36–40; Address to the People, by Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D., pp. 41–48; Order of Exercises, pp. 49–52.

55

Lessons from the Lives of the Apostles. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine, October, 1862, xxviii. 252–261.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 261).

56

Address, February 23, 1863. *In* Salem Register, February 26, 1863, p. 2/2.

The heading is supplied by me. Report of an address delivered on Washington's birthday.

57

Address, March 10, 1863. *In* Salem Gazette, March 13, 1863, p. 2/1.

The heading is supplied by me. Report of an address delivered at a meeting held to organize the Salem Union League.[3]

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[1] Frederic West Lander was born in Salem December 17, 1822, and died in West Virginia March 2, 1862.

[2] Also printed in the Salem Gazette of March 11, p. 2/2.

[3] The name originally chosen was apparently Salem "Unconditional League:" see Salem Register, February 26 (p. 2/2), March 2 (p. 2/1), March 9 (pp. 2/3, 2/7), March 12 (p. 2/2), March 19 (pp. 2/2, 2/7).

58

Address, March 19, 1863. *In* Salem Register, March 23, 1863, p. 2.

The heading is supplied by me. The address was delivered at the inauguration of the Salem Union League.

59

Despondency a Sin. *In* The Monthly Religious Magazine, April, 1863, xxix. 199–206.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 206).

60

Experience opens the Book of Life. A Sermon delivered in Salem, June 21, 1863. *In* Memorial of Pickering Dodge Allen.[1] By his Father. Boston: . . . 1867.

Title, 1 leaf; Poem (by Emerson), p. [iii]; Memorial, pp. [5]–157; Half-title, p. [159]; Sermon, pp. [161]–174.

61

Review. *In* Salem Register, October 5, 1863, p. 2/4.

The heading is supplied by me. A review of Warren Burton's Helps to Education.

62

Address, October 23, 1863. *In* Salem Gazette, October 27, 1863, p. 2/2.

The heading is supplied by me. Report of an address delivered at a war meeting held at Danvers Plains.

63

Memoir of Daniel Appleton White, . . . Prepared by request of the Essex Institute, and read at the meeting of January 11, 1864. (From the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute.) Salem: . . . 1864.[2]

Title, 1 leaf; Memoir, pp. [1]–47.
See no. 50.

64

Sermon by Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D., Salem, Mass.

This is the title of an eight page leaflet owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the text being printed on the recto of each leaf. The second line reads: "Daniel V. 27. 'Weighed in the balances, and found wanting.'" It is no. 384 in (B) and was first preached at Salem on May 18, 1862, and for the thirteenth time

[1] Pickering Dodge Allen was born at Salem May 20, 1838, and died at Brashear City, Missouri, June 2, 1863. His father was John Fisk Allen.

[2] Reprinted from Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, February and March, 1864, vi. 1–24, 49–71.

at Marblehead on January 24, 1864, and is marked "Printed" and crossed out. An entry in (A) explains the peculiar leaflet: "1865 Weighed in the balance. Printed by the Type Co. as a Specimen." Finally, a complete copy of the leaflet is among the pamphlets in (D). It consists of six leaves, the verso of each leaf and the recto of the last leaf being blank. On the recto of the first leaf is printed the following:

DEAR SIR:

The subscriber has taken a contract with the TYPE SETTING AND JUSTIFYING MACHINE COMPANY, and will furnish TEN COPIES, like the enclosed, of any sermon of ordinary length, for THREE DOLLARS.

The work will be done in the School of Instruction, and, therefore, copy difficult to decipher, will not be objectionable.

☞ By a recent provision of the Post Office laws, printer's copy may be sent at newspaper rates.

GEORGE L. SKERRY,
SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.

P.S. The printed copies will be found very useful in preventing the necessity of loaning manuscripts.

65

Remarks on Reconstruction, May 4, 1865. *In* Salem Gazette, May 9, 1865, p. 2/2–4.

The heading is supplied by me.

66

Eulogy on Abraham Lincoln, . . . June 1, 1865. [Seal of Salem] With the proceedings of the City Council on the death of the President. Salem, Mass, 1865.

Title, 1 p.; Imprint, 1 p.; City of Salem, pp. [3]–7; Correspondence with G. W. Briggs, p. [8]; Address, pp. [9]–45; Correspondence from Washington, p. 46; Order of Exercises, pp. 47–48.

67

Words of Welcome . . . addressed to the returned Soldiers and Sailors of Salem, July 4, 1865. *In* Salem Register, July 13, p. 2/5.

68

Report, Salem Freedmen's Aid Society, November 6, 1865. *In* Salem Register, November 9, 1865, p. 2.

The report of the Executive Committee is signed by Dr. Briggs.

69

The Lessons of the Pilgrims. A Sermon preached at the Boston Theatre, Sunday Evening (Forefathers' Day), Dec. 22, 1867. *In* The Christian Register, December 28, 1867, p. 4/1–3.

70

Address to the Congregation. *In* Faith and Freedom in America. Sermon at the Consecration of the Church of the Messiah, Park Avenue and Forty-Fourth Street, April 2, 1868. By Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., Pastor. With the Address to the People, By Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D. New York: . . . 1868.

Title, 1 leaf; Sermon, pp. [3]–35; Address to the Congregation, pp. [36]–45; Appendix, pp. [46]–57.

71

Address, April 23, 1870. *In* A Memorial of Anson Burlingame, late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Chinese Empire to the Treaty Powers. [Seal of Boston] Printed by order of the Committee of Arrangements of the City Council of Boston.

Title, 1 leaf; Proceedings of the City Government, pp. [3]–23.

The heading is supplied by me. Dr. Briggs's Address is printed on pp. 8–21, being preceded by these words: "Reverend George W. Briggs, D.D., of Cambridge, Pastor of the Church which Mr. Burlingame formerly attended, then delivered the following address."

72

Address, May 30, 1870. *In* Salem Register, June 2, 1870, p. 2/2–3.

The heading is supplied by me. The account is headed "Memorial Day in Salem," and begins: "For the third time the day sacred to the memories of the soldiers and sailors who died in defence of their country and liberty has been observed." (p. 2/1.)

73

A Sermon Preached to the Cambridgeport Parish, May 28, 1871, On the First Sunday after the Ratification of the Treaty with England, by the Senate of the United States. . . . Published by request. 1871.

Title, 1 p.; Note, 1 p.; Sermon, pp. [3]–18.

74

True Faith in Jesus. A Sermon preached to the Cambridgeport Parish, Jan. 28, 1872. . . . [Printed by Request.][1] *In* The Christian Register, February 10, 1872, p. 1.

75

Death a Revealer of Life. A Sermon. *In* The Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine, December, 1875, iv. 602–610.

"Preached at Dorchester on the Sunday after the Funeral of Rev. Nathaniel Hall" (p. 602 note). See no. 76.

[1] The square brackets are in the original.

76

Sermon. *In* A Memorial of the Rev. Nathaniel Hall, late Pastor of the First Church, in Dorchester, Mass. Boston: . . . 1876.

The Rev. Nathaniel Hall died October 21, 1875, and Dr. Briggs's Sermon, which is printed on pp. 33–48, was preached the following Sunday, October 24. See no. 75.[1]

77

Right Hand of Fellowship. *In* Services at Installation of Rev. Edward Augustus Horton as Associate Pastor with Rev. Calvin Lincoln, of the First Parish in Hingham, April 25, 1877. Hingham: . . . 1877.

Title, 1 p.; Prefatory Note, 1 p.; List of churches and persons invited, p. [3]; Delegates present, etc., p. 4; Order of Services, pp. [5]–9; First Parish in [Hingham, Names of its Pastors, p. [10]; Sermon, by the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, pp. [11]–26; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Henry A. Miles, D.D., pp. [27]–30; Right Hand of Fellowship, by the Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D., pp. [31]–33; Address to the People, by Rev. George L. Chaney, pp. [34]–37; Hymn, by James H. Wilder, p. 38.

In the Order of Services (p. 7) the Right Hand of Fellowship is assigned to the Rev. William Ladd Chaffin, but the following note is printed on p. 4: "In the absence of Rev. William L. Chaffin, who was to have given the right hand of fellowship, the Council chose the Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D., of Cambridge, to extend the fellowship of the churches."

78

Man. *In* Unitarian Affirmations: Seven Discourses given in Washington, D. C. By Unitarian Ministers. Boston: . . . 1879.

Title, 1 p.; Copyright, 1 p.; Preface, p. [iii]; Contents, p. [v]; Unitarian Affirmations, pp. [1]–175.

The Preface is dated "Boston, May 1, 1879." Dr. Briggs's Discourse fills pp. [107]–126.

79

None other Name. *In* The Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine, December, 1884, xxii. 548–555.

Signed "G. W. B." (p. 555).

80

Sermon. *In* Third Congregational Society in Cambridge. Exercises in commemoration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D., Wednesday, April 6, 1887. Cambridge, Mass.: . . .

Title, 1 leaf; Sermon, pp. [3]–11; Hymn, written for the occasion by Miss C. F. Orne, p. 12; First Church in Cambridgeport [cut, with description], p. [13]; Remi-

[1] Nathaniel Hall was born at Medford August 13, 1805; ordained at Dorchester July 16, 1835.

niscences of the Cambridgeport Parish, An address delivered by a member of the Society, April 6th, 1887, on the twentieth anniversary of the settlement of their Pastor, Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D., pp. [15]–32.

81

A Centennial Sermon preached the Sunday before the celebration in New York, April 28, 1889.[1] . . . Boston: . . . 1889.

Title, 1 p.; Note, 1 p.; Sermon, pp. [3]–16.

The note on the verso of the title-page reads: "This sermon is especially inscribed to the children and youth of the congregation, with the hope that the lessons of this Centennial celebration may be an inspiration throughout their lives." The opening sentences show the occasion of the sermon:

"THE time prescribes our theme. Next Tuesday the nation, by the presence of its official representatives, with a great military display and imposing ceremonies of every sort, will commemorate the inauguration of this Government in New York, where Washington took the oath of office as the first President just a century ago. It is the latest, and, as I regard it, the most important of our great centennial celebrations; the one most worthy of recognition by religious observances as well as by processions and songs, and all the usual demonstrations of joy."

82

Channing. *In* Unitarianism: its Origin and History. A Course of Sixteen Lectures delivered in Channing Hall, Boston, 1888–89. Boston: . . . 1890.

Title, 1 p.; Copyright, 1 p.; Preface, p. [iii]; Introduction, pp. [iv]–ix; Contents, p. [xi]–xxviii; Half-title, 1 leaf; Origin and History of Unitarianism, pp. [1]–373; Index, pp. [375]–394.

The book was copyrighted in 1889. Dr. Briggs's lecture is printed on pp. 178–195. The subject is of course William Ellery Channing (1780–1842).

83

Sermon delivered by Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D. Senior Minister of the Third Congregational Society, Cambridge, (Austin Street Unitarian), Sunday, October 4, 1891, on his return to his pulpit after a prolonged illness. Cambridge: . . . 1891.

Text, pp. [1]–8. There is no title-page and the above words are printed on the paper cover.

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[1] The centennial celebration in New York of Washington's inauguration took place on Tuesday, April 30, 1889.

II

ALPHABETICAL[1]

3 Address, July 4, 1842
4 Address, Nov. 13, 1842
21 Address, Feb. 16, 1848
29 Address, Oct. 12, 1853
50 Address, April 2, 1861
51 Address, Nov. 27, 1861
52 Address, Feb. 22, 1862
53 Address, March 8, 1862
54 Address, Oct. 1, 1862
56 Address, Feb. 23, 1863
57 Address, March 10, 1863
58 Address, March 19, 1863
62 Address, Oct. 23, 1863
70 Address, April 2, 1868
71 Address, April 23, 1870
72 Address, May 30, 1870
7 Application of the Principles of Religious Freedom, March 9, 1845
11 Bow in the Cloud, 1846
12 Bow in the Cloud, 2nd edition, 1846
30 Bow in the Cloud, new and enlarged edition, 1854
19 Bushnell on Christian Nurture, Nov., 1847
48 Calamity at Lawrence, Jan. 15, 1860
81 Centennial Sermon, April 28, 1889
82 Channing, 1889
31 Character of Rev. Dr. Flint, March 11, 1855
40 Christ's Doctrine of Repentance, April 10, 1858
35 Christian Law of Self-Culture, Dec., 1856
36 Civilization not Regeneration, May, 1857
46 Conditions of Ministerial Power, June 29, 1859
75 Death a Revealer of Life, Oct. 24, 1875
59 Despondency a Sin, April, 1863
18 Discourse, Oct. 20, 1847
66 Eulogy on Abraham Lincoln, June 1, 1865
60 Experience opens the Book of Life, June 21, 1863
25 Experimental Religion, 1852
49 Faith like a Grain of Mustard Seed, April, 1861
20 Faith the Child of Life, 1848
17 First of August, Sept., 1847
28 Homage to Christ, July, 1853
10 Hymns for Public Worship, 1845
5 Inward Appeal of Christianity, June, 1844
9 Jesus our Master, Oct., 1845
43 Jewish and Christian Ideals, Jan., 1859
27 Legend, A, and its Lesson, 1853

[1] In this list, the dates are those of delivery, not necessarily of publication.

55 Lessons from the Lives of the Apostles, Oct., 1862
69 Lessons of the Pilgrims, Dec. 22, 1867
24 Lessons upon Religious Duties and Christian Morals, 1852
32 Living Ministry, July 15, 1855
78 Man, 1879
63 Memoir of Daniel Appleton White, 1864
26 Method of Christian Salvation, 1852
79 None other Name, Dec., 1884
2 'Obey God rather than Man,' April 7, 1842
45 Obituary, James Kendall, May, 1859
15 Obituary, Zephaniah Willis, May, 1847
42 Practical Nature of Christian Penitence, May 8, 1858
37 Protest in Piedmont, Nov., 1857
38 Providence touching our Eyes, Nov., 1857
8 Real Duty of a Christian Society to its Minister, Sept., 1845
41 Religious Revival, April 11, 1858
34 Remarks, May 31, 1856
65 Remarks on Reconstruction, May 4, 1865
68 Report, Salem Freedmen's Aid Society, Nov. 6, 1865
14 Report of the School Committee, Plymouth, 1847
22 Report of the School Committee, Plymouth, 1848
13 Response to Peace Address, Feb. 26, 1846
61 Review, Oct. 5, 1863
77 Right Hand of Fellowship, April 25, 1877
39 Scepticism and Superstition, March 6, 1858
1 Sermon, Jan. 28, 1835
23 Sermon, May 28, 1848
44 Sermon, March 20, 1859
47 Sermon, Jan. 12, 1860
64 Sermon, 1865
73 Sermon, May 28, 1871
76 Sermon, Oct. 24, 1875
80 Sermon, April 6, 1887
83 Sermon, Oct. 4, 1891
6 Timely Thoughts, Dec. 28, 1844
74 True Faith in Jesus, Jan. 28, 1872
16 Two Sermons, July 4, 1847
33 Unchanging Christian Message, Dec. 19, 1855
67 Words of Welcome, July 4, 1865

The Rev. Dr. GEORGE F. MOORE spoke as follows:

In a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society in May, 1919,[1] I gave some reasons for believing that Judah Monis, the first instructor in Hebrew in Harvard College, came of a Portuguese Marano family that had established itself in Venice, where

[1] Proceedings, lii. 285–312.

the name had been found in epitaphs dated 1642 and 1644. Professor Alexander Marx, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York, in a recent letter informs me that he has had in his hands a legal document drawn in Venice in 1739 in which four brothers of the name Monis appear. The probability that our Judah was a member of this Monis family is thus increased.

A few weeks ago, in looking for another book in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library, I came upon a volume bearing on its title-page in his own hand the name of John Martyn and the date 1764. Martyn was Monis's brother-in-law, in whose home in Northborough he lived after resigning the instructorship in the College, and where he died in 1764, leaving all his books to Martyn. The book is a cabalistic work of 375 folio pages in Hebrew, and it was safe to infer that it had belonged to Monis, whose predilection for the Cabala is well known. The assumption was immediately verified by the discovery, on the margin at the top of one of the first pages, of an inscription in Hebrew as follows: "This book is a present to the learned Rabbi Judah Monis, the Sephardi,[1] from me, the insignificant Solomon Ithiel Halevi, for letting me copy all the manuscripts that belong to him."

I have not been able to ascertain anything about the donor. The inscription is written in Hebrew cursive of the German variety, widely different from that which Monis himself wrote, or that in which the manuscripts in the College Library formerly belonging to him are written. This would suggest that the book was presented to Monis by a German or Dutch Jew, perhaps during his residence in Amsterdam. It may further be surmised that the manuscripts in the possession of Monis which the giver wanted to copy were cabalistic writings such as are contained in the Harvard College collection.

The volume is entitled Eshel Abraham (in allusion to Gen. 21:33), and was printed at Fürth in 1701. The author, Mordechai ben Judah Loeb Ashkenazi, who lived in Amsterdam in the early seventeenth century, embodied in it the teaching of his master, Abraham (ben Raphael) Rovigo,[2] under whose name the work is commonly cited.

[1] Sephardi is the name by which a Jew of Spanish or Portuguese origin is usually designated.

[2] Rovigo is a small city on the present railway between Padua and Ferrara.

On the margins are a few corrections of misprints in the same hand with the dedication, but there is nothing else of any interest. The volume came into the possession of the College Library, as is noted upon the book-plate, through "the gift of the Rev. John Martyn of Northborough, 1764–67."

Mr. William C. Lane stated that a chair which had belonged to Judah Monis is now in the College Library, having been recently given by the widow of Professor Crawford H. Toy.

Mr. Matthews also communicated the following note:

In the list of the settled pastors and associate pastors of the First Church in Plymouth, prefixed to the first volume of the Plymouth Church Records,[1] appears the name of George S. Ball. At the time the list was printed, his full name had not been ascertained; but as this has now been run down, a brief sketch will not be out of place. George Sumner Ball, a son of Micah Ross and Rachel (Lincoln) Ball, was born at Leominster May 22, 1822; graduated from the Meadville Theological School in 1847; was ordained pastor of the First Unitarian Church at Ware October 13, 1847, remaining there for two years; married Hannah Barnard Nourse at Bolton June 18, 1848; was called to the First Unitarian Society at Upton on September 22, 1849, and installed February 9, 1850, remaining there until March 3, 1855; from April, 1855, to April, 1857, was associate pastor of the First Church in Plymouth; from April 8, 1857, to April 12, 1892, was again pastor of the First Unitarian Society at Upton; was chaplain of the Twenty-First Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers from November 11, 1861, to December 3, 1862; served in the State Legislature, both in the House and in the Senate; and died at West Upton September 6, 1902.[2]

[1] Our Publications, vol. xxii. p. li.

[2] Sketches of Mr. Ball are printed in Hurd's History of Worcester County (1889), ii. 907–908, 920–921 (where will be found a portrait); in the Unitarian Year Book, 1903, pp. 156–157; and in the General Catalogue of the Meadville Theological School (1910), p. 2. See also our Publications, xxiii. 715, 716; Leominster Vital Records, p. 12; Bolton Vital Records, p. 109; C. F. Walcott, History of the Twenty-First Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers (1882), pp. 16, 50, 92, 167, 235, 430; W. A. Emerson, Leominster, Historical and Picturesque (1888), pp. 95, 110; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxii. 86, 87.

Mr. Henry H. Edes made the following communication:

Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin has sent from Washington photostats of a document in the Library of Congress containing a list of the freemen of Plymouth Colony for the year 1675. The document consists of six long narrow leaves, the second and twelfth pages being blank, in the handwriting of Nathaniel Morton. The manuscript is torn in a few places, the missing letters where possible being conjecturally supplied within square brackets. The pagination of the original is indicated within square brackets.

[1] The List of the Names of the freemen of the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth Ann° Dom̃ 1675

[3] Yarmouth

Thomas ffalland
Emanvell White
James Matthews
Mr Edmond hawes
Mr John Vincent
Jeremiah howes
Edward Sturgis senir
Richard Seares
Yelverton Crow
John Miller
Joseph howes
John Thacher
henery vincent
Judah Thacher
Leift Thomas howes
John hawes
Kanelme Winslow
Sergeant Joseph Ryder [1]
Samuell hall

Barnstable

Mr Thomas hinckley
Mr Thomas Walley
Mr Thomas Allin
Mr Wiłłam Serjeant
Elder henery Cobb
Elder John Chipman
John Cooper
Mr Isacke Robinson
Capt: Mathew ffuller
Leift: Joseph Laythorpe
Ensigne Barnard Lumbard
mr Thomas dexterseni[r] [2] deceased
henery Bourne
James hamblen senir
John ffinney senir
Wiłłam Crocker
mr John Gorvm [3] deceased
Roger Goodspeed
Thomas huckens
Abraham Blush
Austine Beirse
John Jenkens

[1] Actually written "Sergeant Joseph Ryde Ryder." The name "Ryde" coming at the extreme right hand of the page, there was no room for the final letter and so "Ryder" was written on the line below.

[2] To this point the entry is crossed out.

[3] To this point the entry is crossed out.

Robert Shelley
John Scudder
Thomas Laythorpe
Gorge Lewis
John howland
Willam dexter
James Cobb
James hamblen Jun^{r}
Tho Lewis
James Lewis
Job Crocker
John ffiney Juni^{r}
Jabez Lumbert
John huckens
Nathaniel Bacon
Joshua Lumbert
Edward Lewis
m^{r} Barnabas Laytho[rpe]
Samuell Allin
Mellatiah Laythor[pe]
Samuell hinckley
John hinckley

[4] Marshfeild

Josiah [1] Winslow Esq^{r}
m^{r} Samuell Arnold
m^{r} Thomas Beskeith [2] deceased
Leift: Perregrine White
Elisha Besbey
John dingley
Robert Caruer
Anthony Snow
John Bourne
m^{r} Anthony Eames
Willam ffoard seni^{r}
M^{r} Resolued White
Timothy Williamson
John Rouse
Morrise Trewant
Willam holmes
John Caruer
Willam ffoard Juni^{r}
Jonathan Winslow
m^{r} Nathaniel: Thomas
John Rogers
Samuell Sprague
Arther howland Juni^{r}
John ffoster
Nathaniel: Winslow
Jacob dingley
Micaell ffoard
ffrancis Crooker
Ephraim Little
hopestill Besbey
Josiah Crooker
Iacke Little

Rehoboth

m^{r} Noah Newman
m^{r} Steven Paine
m^{r} Thomas Cooper
Leiftenant Peter hunt
Ensigne henery Smith
Nicholas Iyde [3]
Willam Sabine
Daniel Smith
Nicholas Pecke
Phillip Walker
Nathaniel Paine
John Read
Willam Carpenter
Gilbert Brookes

[1] "Josiah" is preceded by "Major," crossed out.

[2] To this point the entry is crossed out.

[3] This name is clearly "Iyde" or "Jyde." In the Plymouth Colony Records occur the following: Nicholas Hyde (or Hide), ii. 123, 126, iii. 4, 66, iv. 15, 151, v. 19, 278; Nicholas Ide (or Iyd or Iyde), iii. 158, v. 146, 209, 234, 237, vi. 8, 62, 86, viii. 100, 121, 201, 209; Jyde, iii. 119, iv. 84. According to Savage, there was no Nicholas Hyde in New England in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, there were several persons named Nicholas Ide. Presumably, therefore, "Hyde" as printed in the Plymouth Colony Records, is a misreading of "Ide" or one of its variants.

Samuell Sabi[ne]
Enoch hunt
M[r] Thomas Cooper
[5] John Pecke
Anthony Peirey
John Woodcocke [1]
Samuell Newman
Samuell Carpenter [2]
Samuell Pecke
John Titus
Jonathan Blisse
Robert ffuller
Gorge Kenricke
Steven Paine Juni[r]
Jonathan Bosworth seni[r]
Preserved Abell
John Read Juni[r] [3]
John Perram
Thomas Wilmote
Jonas Palmer
Joseph Carpenter [4]
Israell Pecke
Peter hunt Juni[r]
Jonathan ffuller
Wiłłam hall [5]
Nathaniel Cooper

Eastham

m[r] John ffreeman
m[r] John done
Edward Banges
Nicholas Snow
Leift: Joseph Rogers
Job Cole
Daniel Cole
Robert Vixon
Steuen Wood
Ensigne Wiłłam Merrick
henery Atkins
Marke Snow
Wiłłam Walker
Samuell ffreeman
Thomas Paine
John done Juni[r]
Jonathan Sparrow
Gorge Crispe
Jonathan Banges
John Banges
Thomas Rogers
Joseph harding
Jonathan higgens
Benjamin higgens
Steuen Snow
John ffreeman
Thomas ffreeman
John Mayo
Joshua Bang[s]
Steuen hopk[ins]
Josia Cooke
W[m] Thomas [6]
daniell done
John Rogers

[6] [Bridgewat]er

m[r] James Keith
m[r] Wiłłam Brett
Thomas haward seni[r]
John Willis
Samuell Tompkins
John Carrey
Joseph Aldin
Leift: Thomas haward
m[r] Nathaniel Willis
m[r] Nicholas Byram
Ensigne John haward
Samuell Packer seni[r]
John Eames
Samuell Allin
John Washburne Juni[r]
m[r] Samell Edson

[1] This name is crossed out.
[2] This name is crossed out.
[3] This entry is crossed out.
[4] This entry is crossed out.
[5] This name is crossed out.
[6] This name is crossed out.

Dartmouth

John Cooke
John Russell
serjeant James Shaw [1] deceased
Willam Spooner
Daniell hickes
Willam Palmer [2] deceased

Swansey

m[r] James Browne
John Allin
m[r] Nicholas Tanner
Nathaniel Pecke
hugh Cole
Zacheriah Eedey
Samuell Luther
M[r] John Myles Juni[r]
Leift John Browne
Gedion Allin
Thomas Easterbrook
m[r] James Willett

Middleberry

Jonathan dunham
ffrancis Combe
John Tompson
John dunham Juni[r]
John Nelson
Samell Wood
Willam Nelson Juni[r]
Gershom Cobb [3] deceased

[7] [Josi]ah Winslow Esq[r] Gou[r]
Ann° dom [ ]

A list of the names of all the ffreemen of the Collonie of New Plymouth Transcribed out of t[he] Records of the Court for the Jurisdiction of Plym[outh] aforsaid; by Nathaniel Morton Secretary

Plymouth

Capt. Willam Bradford
m[r] John Cotton
m[r] Thomas Cushman
m[r] Thomas Clarke
Gorge Watson
Robert Bartlett [4]
Samuell Eedey
James Cole seni[r]
Willam hoskins
Nathaniel: Morton
Gyles Rickard seni[r]
Richard Wright
John dunham
Andrew Ringe
Robert ffinney
Leift: Ephraim Morton
Ensigne Joseph Bradford
John Wood [5] deceased
Jacob Cooke [6] deceased
Samuell dunham

[1] To this point the entry is crossed out.
[2] This name is crossed out.
[3] This name is crossed out.
[4] This name is crossed out.
[5] This name is crossed out.
[6] This name is crossed out.

Samuell ffuller
serje Wiłłam harlow
Thomas Lettice
Gyles Rickard Juni[r]
Benajah Pratt
Thomas Morton
John Rickard
Steven Bryant
Wiłłam Clarke
James Clarke
Gorge Bonum
Joseph howland
Joseph dunham
Jonathan Shaw
Wiłłam Crow
Samuell Ryder
Abraham Jackson
James Cole Juni[r]
Serjeant Ephraim Tinkham
m[r] Edward Gray
Jonathan Pratt
daniell dunham
Gorge Morton
Ephraim Tilson
Jabez howland
Thomas Cushman
John dotey
John Waterman [1]
John Jourdaine
Joseph Bartlett
M[r] Ammy Corlett [2]
M[r] ffrancis Billington
Nathaniel Southworth
m[r] Ammy Corlett

[8] [D]uxburrow

m[r] John Alden
m[r] Constant Southworth
m[r] John Holmes [3] deceased
m[r] Christopher Wadsworth
Leift Samuell Nash
Experience Michell
Phillip delano
Moses Symonson
henery Sampson
John Rogers seni[r]
Wiłłam Tubbs
Gorge Partrich
Gorge Soule seni[r]
John Washburne seni[r] [4] deceased
m[r] Alexander Standish
m[r] Josias Standish
m[r] John Aldin Juni[r]
Wiłłam Payboddy
Edmond Weston
Wiłłam Clarke
Robert Barker
Abraham Sampson
ffrancis West
Benjamine Bartlett
John Tracye
Ensigne Jonathan Aldin
Joseph Wadsworth
Benjamine Church
John Rogers Juni[r]
Samuell West
Rodulphus Thacher
Samuell hunt
John Sprague [5] deceased
ffrancis Barker
m[r] Samuell Saberry
John Wadsworth
Edward Southworth
Nathaniel: Brewster
dauid Aldin
John Symons
Josiah holmes
Samuell Sampson; [6] deceased
Wiłłam Brewster

[1] This name is crossed out.
[2] This name is crossed out.
[3] To this point the entry is crossed out.
[4] To this point the entry is crossed out.
[5] To this point the entry is crossed out.
[6] To this point the entry is crossed out.

[9] Scittvate

Capt: James Cudworth
m^r^ Wiłłam Witherell
m^r^ Nicholas Bak[er]
m^r^ Thomas Kinge
Leift Isacke Bucke
Cornett Robert Studson
Joseph [ ] [1]
Edward Jenkins
Walter Woodworth
Thomas Clapp
Wiłłam Wills
Samuell Jackson
Ensigne John Williams
Gorge Russell
serjeant John Bryant
henery Ewell
John Turner seni^r^
John Turner Juni^r^
Thomas Pencen
Steven Vinall
John Vinall
Jeremiah hatch
Rodulphus Elmes
Walter Briggs
John hollett [2] deceased
Wiłłam Brookes
Richard Curtice
Walter hatch
Mathew Gannett
m^r^ Micaell Peirse [3] deceased
Samuell Witherell
John Cushen
Peter Collimore
John hanmore [4]
John Bryant Juni^r^
John daman [5]
Moses Symons [6]
Joseph Barstow
Joseph Silvester
Thomas Roes
Joseph Woodworth
Theophilus Witherill
John Witherill
Thomas Kinge Juni^r^
Thomas Wade
John Burke
Ensigne John Allin
James Torey
Wiłłam Torrey
Willam hatch

[10] Sandwich

m^r^ Edmond ffreeman seni^r^
m^r^ Richard Bourne
Thomas Tupper seni^r^
James Skiffe seni^r^
Thomas Burge seni^r^
m^r^ Edmond ffreeman Jun^r^
Thomas Tupper Juni^r^
Steven skiffe
Joseph Burge
Wiłłam Swift
John Blackwell

Taunton

m^r^ Gorge Shoue
Walter deane
Richard Williams
Leift Gorge Macey
James Walker
John Tisdall seni^r^ [7] deceased
Wiłłam harvey
Wiłłam hailston

[1] This name is crossed out.
[2] To this point the entry is crossed out.
[3] To this point the entry is crossed out.
[4] This name is crossed out.
[5] This name is crossed out.
[6] This name is crossed out.
[7] To this point the entry is crossed out.

Willam Witherill
John hathwey
Thomas Linkolne
Peter Pitts
ffrancis Smith
Samuell Smith
Ensigne Thomas Leanard
Samuell Williams
John Tisdall Junir
Israell dean
Edward Babbitt [1]
John Bryant
James Phillipps [2]
John Cobb
Jonah Austine [3]
Nathaniell Williams
mr John Poole
Joseph Williams
Encrease Robinson
John Richmond
William hall
James Tisdall
Thomas deane

[11] these stande P[ropounded][4]
daniell Re[ad]
Jeremiah S[abin]
Abraham Pe[rrin]
Richard Whittacar
John Wilmouth
Eliezer Churchill
Thomas ffaunce

[1] This name is crossed out.
[2] This name is crossed out.
[3] This name is crossed out.
[4] Presumably this word was "Propounded:" cf. Plymouth Colony Records, vi. 42, 62, 86, etc.

JANUARY MEETING, 1921

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. Alfred Johnson, at No. 36 Monmouth Street, Brookline, on Thursday, 27 January, 1921, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. GEORGE HUBBARD BLAKESLEE of Worcester, and Mr. FREDERICK LAWTON of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke as follows:

Recently in looking through a volume containing sermons, I found one entitled:

A Sermon Preached in the College at Cambridge, N. E. To a Society of Young Students. From 1 Cor. II. 2.[1] By Thomas Robie, A.M. One of the Fellows of the said College. [Ornament] Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, MDCCXXI.[2]

The dedication reads:

TO THE
Honourable & Reverend
John Leverett,
President of
Harvard-College in *Cambridge.*

SIR,

THERE are two Reasons which move me to Dedicate the following Discourse to You, One, because you was pleased to give me the Text, and bid me Preach from it (when there had been a report spread about, after my Preaching several Sermons from Texts in our Blessed Saviour's incomparable Sermon

[1] "For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him Crucified." On p. 1 the text is wrongly attributed to 1 Cor. ii. 6.

[2] Title, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. i–iv; Sermon, pp. 1–18. The headline on each page reads, "A Sermon Preached in the College, &c."

in the Mount; and particularly when I had Preached from Matth. 5. 43, 44, 45. *of* Loving our Enemies; *That my Sermons were only Heathenish Discourses, no better Christianity than was in* Tully,) *and also told me the meaning of the Text, viz,* That the Apostle was there speaking of his teaching, or Preaching to the Corinthians CHRIST *and* that I might well enough form a Discourse concerning the Nature of Preaching Christ, as well as concerning the Excellency of the Knowledge of Christ, which some Good Divines had already from that Text.

THE other Reason is, because it was last Preached to a Society of Young Students, *who meet on the Lord's-Day-Evenings for Religious Exercises, in the College, over which You Præside, and to which I also am somewhat related, and so should be concerned for it's good, which I hope may be something promoted hereby; and that chiefly because I, in the following Discourse, have taught that the Knowledge of Christ is the best, and what Persons should esteem as such amidst all their Endeavours to obtain Humane Wisdom, and then have endeavoured, as well and as briefly as I could, to show, what Preaching Christ is. And I hope and think I have done it in a Way that is pleasing and acceptable to Christ Himself, and so that He will bless it, by causing it to have a suitable influence on those who will please to read it, and very particularly on our* Young Students, *who are designed for the Gospel-Ministry, who may from what I have said, see something of the Nature of Preaching Christ, who is always to be the Subject of their Sermons, and is so, whensoever in their Sermons He is represented as the Head & King of His Church to give Laws and Instructions to all, to Save, to Redeem, to Deliver as He pleases.*

IT's needless to say any thing as to my Preaching it again, and now Printing it, after it has laid in silence in my Study for some Years; Only, that being for some time desired by the aforesaid Society to Preach to 'em, and having lost a Sermon I designed 'em, I could not find among my Sermons One that I thought more proper than this, and I thought so the rather because several of them were my Pupils, and designed for the Ministry, whose Good I was tender of, and tho't my self obliged to advance as much as I was able, which if the Publishing this Sermon will be any way instrumental of, I shall adore the Divine Providence for directing me thereto, and particularly the Great Head and King of the Church the Lord JESUS CHRIST, whose Knowledge I would account most Excellent, and for the sake of which I would account all other things but Loss, that so I may at last be saved by Him, and by Him alone: To whom be Glory for ever.

SIR, I conclude, wishing that the Knowledge of CHRIST may cover the Earth as the Waters do the Sea; and that the College may be instrumental of forming right notions of true and sincere Piety in the minds of

men, of true Gospel Preaching, of true and undefiled Religion, and that whenever Providence shall call me to resign my Place here, it may be filled with One who shall do more for the advancement of the College, *in all that's Good and Great, than ever I did, or was capable of doing.*

I am,
SIR,
With all due regards,
Your very Humble Servant
T. Robie.

This appears to be the earliest allusion to a college society at Harvard that has thus far been found. A dozen years ago Mr. Lane exhibited a blank-book in the hand of the Rev. Ebenezer Turell, who graduated in 1721. At one end of the book is "An account of a Society in Har: Colledge," which begins with the words:

After severall Essays to bring Something on foot y^{t} might as well profit as Divert, We att lenght so far agreed in October, 1722, as to draw up a Scheme of Proposalls, the Summ of w^{ch} we will now present you withall.[1]

It is not unreasonable to suppose that this society, which apparently had no name, is the one to which Robie preached his sermon in 1721; and, if so, that it was in existence for a year or so previous to the drawing up of the "Scheme of Proposalls." It was a graduate society, as of the fourteen students who were members from October, 1722, to October, 1723, one belonged to the class of 1719, ten to the class of 1721, two to the class of 1722, and one to the class of 1723; and all but three became ministers.

The sermon was not written for the society and contains no information in regard to it. Thomas Robie, who graduated in 1708, was Librarian from 1712 to 1713, Tutor from 1714 to 1723, and Fellow from 1722 to 1723. On resigning in 1723, he removed to Salem, practised medicine there, and died August 28, 1729.[2] It will be observed that on the title-page he calls himself "One of the Fellows of the said College." The word "Fellows" is here used in

[1] Our Publications, xii. 220, 227–231.

[2] For a sketch of him, see A. C. Potter and C. K. Bolton, Librarians of Harvard College, 1667–1877, Library of Harvard University, Bibliographical Contributions, No. 52 (1897), p. 16.

the sense of "Fellows of the House" — that is, Tutors, for he did not become a Fellow of the Corporation until 1722.

A few days ago Mr. Alfred Johnson placed in my hands a document consisting of two parts. One is the following agreement:

CAMBRIDGE March 31st 1770

Know all Men by these Presents, that we whose names are under written, do mutually, reciprocally, & after due & full Consideration, agree to Change Habitations, Mr Heyliger Consenting to move into College to live with Mr Hutchinson, & Mr Chadwick to move to some house in the Town of Cambridge, & likewise the Consent of all Parties Concerned being obtained, we are fully determined so to do, as soon as may be; & wherears it is possible that one of us may recant we do promise that if either of us recant, he that so does, shall forfeit four bottles full of Madeira wine, & as many meals of good & wholesome meat as shall be sufficient for seven Persons, besides eight Bowls of good Punch; for the Performance [1] of which we do here Set our Hands & Seals

BENJN CHADWICK
PETER HEYLIGER

[Seal [2]] Signed, Sealerd, & delvered in the Presence of
PAUL LANGDON
JOHN FRYE
A HUTCHINSON
CLEMENT WEEKS

At this distance of time the point of the joke is somewhat obscure, but I suppose it consisted in the fact that the "change of habitations" was to be made without the knowledge of the College officials and so, if discovered, would of course subject the culprits to punishment. A glance through the Faculty Records fails to disclose an allusion to the affair, from which it may be inferred either that the trick was done without discovery or that the students' nerve failed them at the last moment. Sketches of the students involved follow.

Benjamin Chadwick of the class of 1770, the son of Thomas and Mary Chadwick of Boxford, was born in 1745, became a minister, and died in 1819.[3]

[1] Here the word "thereof" or "whereof" is crossed out.

[2] This is a portrait seal.

[3] Faculty Records, iii. 42; Boxford Vital Records, p. 21; S. Perley, History of Boxford (1880), p. 353.

Peter Heyliger of the class of 1772 was born October 11, 1750, and his residence at entrance is given as St. Eustatia.[1] He became involved in some college pranks, was punished, sconsed, degraded on March 31, 1771, and finally left without taking his degree.[2] When Captain Francis Goelet left New York on a voyage to London in 1750, his ship was so disabled by a storm that he was obliged to put into Boston for repairs. During his roistering stay here of some five weeks, he records that on October 16th he "Spent the Evening with M^{r} Guiliam Heylegher A Merch^{t} from S^{t} Eustatius at his Lodgeings," that on the 22d and 23d he "went to See M^{r} Heylegher," that on the 31st he "drank a Glass Excellent wine at M^{r} Heiligers," that on November 3d "after Dinner went to M^{r} Heylegher where were Several Gentlemen where Spent the Evening and where very Merry singing a Number Songs and towards Morning Parted Good Friends;" and that on November 5th "at the Request M^{r} Heylegher and the Other Gentlemen Gave them a Good Supper with Wine and Arack Punch Galore, where Exceeding Merry Drink^{g} Toasts Singing roareing &c. untill Morning when Could Scarce see One another being Blinded by the Wine Arack &c."[3] This Mr. Heyliger was perhaps the father of our temporary student.

Paul Langdon of the class of 1770 was born June 17, 1752,[4] and was the son of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Langdon of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, later President of Harvard College. Paul was the first preceptor of the Academy in Fryeburg, Maine, where Daniel Webster afterward taught; removed to New York, and died in 1834.[5]

John Frye of the class of 1769, the son of Joshua and Sarah Frye of Andover, was born in May, 1750.[6] He also got into difficulties. On June 27, 1767, he was charged with taking money, and, though acquitted, was fined four shillings and sixpence for three nights' absence without leave. On December 22 of the same year he was rusticated. On February 10, 1769, he applied for readmission, and the next day was readmitted but to the class of 1770. In May, 1770,

[1] Faculty Records, iii. 118. Cf. our Publications, xvii. 277, 281.
[2] Faculty Records, iii. 100, 150, 152, 155, 173, 183.
[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxiv. 56, 59, 60, 61.
[4] Faculty Records, iii. 41.
[5] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxx. 34.
[6] Faculty Records, ii. 241; Andover Vital Records, i. 161; Ellen F. Barker, Frye Genealogy (1920), p. 54.

he was once more rusticated, and left College without his degree.[1] What became of him thereafter, or when or where he died, has not been ascertained.

Aaron Hutchinson of the class of 1770, son of the Rev. Aaron and Margery (Carter) Hutchinson of Grafton, was born October 3, 1755, removed to Lebanon, New Hampshire, and died there April 24, 1843.[2]

Clement Weeks of the class of 1772, son of William and Elinor Weeks of Greenland, New Hampshire, was born December 23, 1750, and died at Greenland January 6, 1830.[3]

The other part of the document, written on the other side of the sheet, is as follows:

An Agreement between Chadwick & Heyliger, 1770. at College Committed to my Care till perform[d]

Also A List of the Officers of the Martimercurian Company at College 1771

The Officers of y[e] College Company of train[ ][4] are y[e] following Viz[t] Capt.[5] 2 [6] Lieut. Ensign. Clerk. 4 Sargents. 2 Corporals.

for Cap[t] Votes for Eustis 28 Osgood 27 for Homans 5 for Welsh 1. for 1[st] Lieut. Osgood 44 for 2[d] Lieut.[7] 32 for Homan; for Ensign 41 for Welsh. Barker Clerk [8] 28. White 36 Votes for 1[st] Sargent. Votes for 2[d] Sargent 37 for Tenney. 3[d] Sarg[t] Votes 28 [9] for Parsons Smith 28 Votes

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[1] Faculty Records, iii. 50, 67–68, 105–106, 152, 154.

[2] Faculty Records, iii. 41; Grafton Vital Records, p. 75; F. B. Dexter, Yale Biographies and Annals, ii. 122; C. A. Downs, History of Lebannon, N. H., p. 151, etc. In C. H. Bell's Bench and Bar of New Hampshire (p. 455) it is wrongly stated that Hutchinson was born in Connecticut and graduated at Yale College in 1770.

[3] Faculty Records, iii. 118; J. Chapman, Leonard Weeks of Greenland, New Hampshire, and Descendants, 1639–1888 (1889), p. 20; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxix. 37. In the last two works Clement Weeks is stated to have died January 4, 1829. This is an error for January 6, 1830. An obituary notice appeared in the New Hampshire Gazette of January 12, 1830, p. 3/3.

[4] The last two or three letters are uncertain.

[5] Here something is crossed out.

[6] Altered from "2[d]."

[7] The words "2[d] Lieut." are written above "Ensign," crossed out.

[8] Altered from "Clark."

[9] The first figure is somewhat uncertain.

for 4th Sargent. Lane 36 Votes for 1st Corpor[l] Rice tert: Votes 34 for 2d Corpor[l]

Of the Martimercurian

Eustis Capt
Osgood 1st Lieut
Homans 2d Lieut
Welsh Ensign
Barker Clerk & Treasurer
White 1st Sargent
Tenny 2d Sargent
Parsons 3d Sargent[1]
Smith 4th Sargent
Lane 1st Corporal
Rice tert 2d Corporal

Of this company little is known with certainty. In an account of the Harvard Washington Corps, printed in the Harvard Register for January, 1828, it was stated that "This association appears to have been first formed by a few public spirited individuals, and to have received its first loan of arms at that period," — "that period" being apparently about 1770. "It still bears the motto which it at first assumed, 'Tam Marti quam Mercurio.' It was at this time called the Marti Mercurian Band. The chivalrous spirit which called into existence this illustrious band faded away, and the association itself fell into decline shortly after its first establishment."[2] Writing in 1851 Benjamin H. Hall, then a member of the Senior class, said, also in reference to the Harvard Washington Corps:

From a memorandum on a fly leaf of an old Triennial Catalogue, it would appear that a military company was first established among the students of Harvard College about the year 1769, and that its first captain was Mr. William Wetmore,[3] a graduate of the Class of 1770. The motto which it then assumed, and continued to bear through every period of its existence, was, 'Tam Marti quam Mercurio.' It was called at that time the Marti Mercurian Band. . . . This association continued for nearly twenty years from the time of its organization, but the chivalrous spirit which had called it into existence seems at the end of

[1] Here the words "Rice tert 4 Sargent Lane" are crossed out.

[2] P. 347.

[3] William Wetmore was born at Middletown, Ct., October 30, 1749; was for many years an attorney in Salem; was in Boston in 1787, and died there November 19, 1830. (2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 313 note.)

that time to have faded away. The last captain, it is believed, was Mr. Solomon Vose,[1] a graduate of the class of 1787.[2]

It has elsewhere been stated that the company was in existence as late as 1793.[3] The Harvard Washington Corps was not organized until 1811.

It will be observed that in our document the year only — 1771 — is given, not the month. But there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that the election took place in the autumn of 1771; and my identification of the students who were elected officers is based on that assumption. In any case, there can be no question in regard to Barker, Eustis, Homans, Lane, and Tenney, for at no time in the year 1771 was there in College more than one student of each of those surnames. If my identifications are correct, then nine of the students belonged to the class of 1772 and two to that of 1773.

Joshua Barker of the class of 1772, the son of Francis and Hannah Barker of Hingham, was born March 24, 1753, was a practising physician in Hingham, and died there April 2, 1800.[4]

William Eustis of the class of 1772, son of Benjamin and Elizabeth Eustis of Boston, was born June 10, 1753; practised medicine; was Governor of Massachusetts, Member of Congress, Secretary of War, etc.; and died February 6, 1825.[5]

John Homans of the class of 1772, son of John and Rebecca Homans of Dorchester, was born April 8, 1753; practised medicine; and died in 1800.[6]

Oliver Wellington Lane of the class of 1772, son of James and

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[1] Solomon Vose was born at Milton February 22, 1768; practised law at Northfield; removed to Augusta, Maine, in 1803, and died there in 1809. (2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 339 note.)

[2] Collection of College Words and Customs, ed. 1851, pp. 156–157; ed. 1856, pp. 247–248. Cf. 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, viii. 69 note.

[3] Harvard Book (1875), i. 42, ii. 375. Cf. A. S. Pier, Story of Harvard (1913), p. 78.

[4] Faculty Records, iii. 118; History of Hingham (1893), ii. 23; J. Thacher, American Medical Biography (1828), i. 143–144.

[5] Faculty Records, iii. 119; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 281; Thacher, American Medical Biography, ii. 238–241. Cf. our Publications, xix. 286, 288, 289 note.

[6] Faculty Records, iii. 119; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxi. 149.

Mary Lane of Bedford, was born October 27, 1751; taught school in Boston; and died November 3, 1793.[1]

Joshua Bailey Osgood of the class of 1772, son of Isaac and Abigail Osgood of Haverhill, was born April 29, 1753; settled in Fryeburg, Maine; and died in Haverhill May 30, 1791.[2]

Theodore Parsons of the class of 1773, son of the Rev. Moses and Susanna Parsons of Newbury, was born in 1751; was a surgeon in the Revolution; and was lost at sea in 1779.[3]

Nathan Rice of the class of 1773, son of the Rev. Caleb and Priscilla Rice of Sturbridge, was born August 2, 1754; resided at Hingham, and thence removed to Burlington, Vermont, where he died April 17, 1834.[4]

Samuel Smith of the class of 1772, son of John and Hannah Smith of Ipswich, was born November 17, 1751; was a physician; and died in Newburyport December 5, 1827.[5]

Samuel Tenney of the class of 1772, son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth Tenney of Rowley, was born in November, 1748; was a physician at Exeter, New Hampshire; held public office; and died February 6, 1816.[6]

Thomas Welsh of the class of 1772, son of Thomas and Mary Welsh of Charlestown, was born in 1752; was a physician; and died February 20, 1831.[7]

Phillips White of the class of 1772 was born September 17, 1753, and his place of residence at entrance was South Hampton, New Hampshire.[8] He died in 1774. Presumably he was a son of the Phillips White who was born at Haverhill October 28, 1729, settled at

[1] For a sketch of him, see our Publications, xxi. 280–283.

[2] Faculty Records, iii. 118; Haverhill Vital Records, i. 235, ii. 452; I. Osgood, Genealogy of the Descendants of John, Christoper and William Osgood (1894), pp. 46, 91–92.

[3] Faculty Records, iii. 169; Newbury Vital Records, i. 378, ii. 682.

[4] Faculty Records, iii. 169; Sturbridge Vital Records, p. 110; A. H. Ward, Genealogical History of the Rice Family (1858), pp. 81, 145–146.

[5] Faculty Records, iii. 119; Ipswich Vital Records, i. 343; Newburyport Vital Records, ii. 789.

[6] Faculty Records, iii. 119; Martha J. Tenney, Tenney Family (1904), pp. 51, 86–87; Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774–1911 (1913), p. 1047; Thacher, American Medical Biography, ii. 117–121.

[7] Faculty Records, iii. 119; Wyman, Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, ii. 1007.

[8] Faculty Records, iii. 118.

South Hampton, New Hampshire, filled various important offices, and died June 24, 1811.[1]

Mr. William C. Lane read the following paper:

EARLY SILVER BELONGING TO HARVARD COLLEGE

In early days it was a not uncommon custom to present to the College pieces of silver — goblets, tankards, bowls, beakers, and two-handled cups. Students who were admitted as fellow-commoners were evidently *expected* to do something of this kind. It is, therefore, worth while in the first place to inquire just what a fellow-commoner was.

The earliest code of College laws — that of 1646 — mentions, but does not define him. He seems to be taken for granted as a well-known variety of student at the English Cambridge, and therefore transplanted hither as a matter of course. He is referred to in the following section of the "Laws, liberties and orders of Harvard College confirmed . . . in the years 1642–1646:"

15. Every Scholar shall bee called by his Sirname onely till hee bee invested with his first degree; except hee bee fellow-commoner or a Knights Eldest Sonne or of superiour Nobility.

In its Latin form this section reads:

15. Scholarium quisque donec primo gradu ornetur, ni sit commensalis, aut Nobilis alicujus filius, aut militis primogenitus, suo tantum cognomine vocator.[2]

Bristed, speaking of the English universities in 1852, says: "These Fellow-Commoners are 'young men of fortune,' as the *Cambridge Calendar* and *Cambridge Guide* have it, who, in consideration of their paying twice as much for everything as anybody else, are allowed

[1] Haverhill Vital Records, i. 312; New Hampshire Town Papers, xiii. 434; Biographical Congressional Directory (1913), p. 1105. In the last cited work the date of his death is wrongly given as August 11, 1811. An obituary notice appeared in the Columbian Centinel of June 29, 1811, p. 2/4. This Phillips White (1729–1811) was the son of William and Sarah (Phillips) White of Haverhill.

[2] College Book, i. 43, 45; our Publications, xv. 26, 31.

the privilege of sitting at the Fellows' table in Hall, and in their seats at Chapel; of wearing a gown with gold or silver lace," etc.[1]

In the Laws of 1734 — the code which was written out an endless number of times by successive generations of students — we find the following paragraphs, curiously similar to the above statement of English conditions, made a hundred and twenty years later, and showing how little English customs had changed in the meantime:

Chapter I

4. None Shall be admitted Fellow Commoner, Unless He first pay, one hundred pounds, to the College Treasurer, for ye time being, for the use of the College, and every Fellow Commoner Shall pay double Tuition money.

5. Fellow Commoners Shall have the priveledge of Dining and supping with the Fellows at their table in the Hall, and Shall be excus'd going on errands, Shall have the title of Master, and Shall have the priveledge of wearing their hats as Masters do; but Shall Attend all duties and Exercises with the rest of the Class, and be alike Subject to the Laws and Government of the College, and shall sit with their own Class, and in their place in Class, at the worship of God in the Hall, and meeting House.[2]

It was from these fellow-commoners that many pieces of College silver were received.

The College is fortunate in still possessing some of these early gifts, and this leads us to examine the records to see what may be gleaned therefrom. In the early College Books are found four inventories, more or less complete, dated 1654, 1674, 1683, and 1736. To these may be added a volume made up of reports handed in by various officers and employees of the University in 1828 — reports which show what items of College furniture, books, or utensils each person was using.

The first of these documents is "An Jnventory of the whole Estate of Harv^{d} College Decemb. 10. 1654" made at the time of President Dunster's resignation. In it is the paragraph:

Plate belonging to the Buttery. namely. One Silver Salt, vallued

[1] C. A. Bristed, Five Years in an English University, 2d ed., 1852, p. 13. See also B. H. Hall, Collection of College Words and Customs, 1856, p. 192.

[2] College Book, i. 182–183; our Publications, xv. 135.

1 2 3 4 5

Early Silver belonging to Harvard College

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

5li. 1s. 3d. at 5s per ounce. One small Trencher Salt vallued at 10s. One beer bowle 2li. 18s. 1d. One stone pott tipt with Silver. 20s.[1]

In the Records under date of August 12, 1656, the same items are noted in fuller form:

Sundry peices of plate given to the Colledge.

By mr Thomas Langham ffellow Comonr, A peice to vallue of Three pounds three shill. & ten pence. It is one Silver Beer Bowl.

mr Ven ffellow Commoner, One fruite dish & one silver Sugar spoon & one Silver tipt jug.

Mr Richard Harris One great Salt & one small Trencher Salt.[2]

Neither Langham[3] nor Ven[4] is numbered among the graduates of the College, nor has either ever been identified. Of Mr. Richard Harris, whose "great salt" still remains, something is known.[5]

"An Inventory of the Colledge utensills belonging to the Kitchin & Butterie. Nov: 18. 1674" shows the same pieces, and a few additional ones:

2 Butterie Utensills
1 Silver. viz: 3 pounds worth due from mr Pelham[6] Fellow Communer in the hands of ye steward Mr. Thomas Danforth:
2 salt sellars one little one, one great one [Richard Harris's gift]
1 earthen jugge tipped with silver [Mr. Ven's gift]
1 Bowle [Mr. Thomas Langham's gift]
2 Beakers one marked I B[7] ye other W. W.[8]

[1] College Book, iii. 42; our Publications, xv. 209.

[2] College Book, iii. 40; our Publications, xv. 207.

[3] This name is somewhat obscure: perhaps it is "Langhorn." So far as it is known there was no Thomas Langham here at that time. There was, however, a Thomas Longhorn (or Longhorne) then at Cambridge, though, since he was a butcher and town drummer, it does not seem likely that he could have been the man. Nor could his son Thomas have been the fellow-commoner, since he died in infancy.

[4] John Ven was one of the patentees named in the Massachusetts charter of 1629 (our Publications, ii. 10, 11, 12, 13), and his son Thomas was here in 1644 to look after his father's interests: see Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 76, iii. 8.

[5] See p. 170, below.

[6] Presumably Edward Pelham: see p. 174, below.

[7] As there were between 1642 and 1678 no fewer than nine graduates whom these initials would fit, the identification of this I.B. is hopeless.

[8] The only alumnus — graduate or temporary student — whose name fits these initials is William Whittingham of the Class of 1660.

1 Silver Tankard given by Mr Samuell parris [1] seven ll. ten. s.
3 silver spoons.[2]

In the Corporation Records of December 11, 1674, it was —

Ordered that all the utensills of the Colledg belonging to the buttry & the Kitchin (and being inventoryed in this book) doe abide as they are lodged in the Kitchin & Buttrey.

Only the plate to be brought to the p^r^sidents house and lodged in the Colledg desks or chest there.[3]

Additional items appear in "An Inventory of y^e^ Colledge Utensills belonging to y^e^ Butterie October 26: 1683," as follows:

2 Silver wine bowls [4]
2 saltsellers 1 great one, 1 little one
1 Earthen Jugge tipped w^th^ silver — of this y^e^ 2 wine bowls above mentioned were made
1 Bowle
2 Beakers marked I:B. the other W:W.
1 Silver Tankard mark'd S:P.
2 Silver Spoones
1 Goblet given by m^r^ Edward Paige [5] Fell^w^ commun^r^ with his name engraven on it
1 Goblet given by m^r^ Fr: Wainwright [6] Fell^w^ commun^r^
1 Goblet given by the reverend M^r^ Thomas Shepard [7] Sen^r^ of Charlestown
1 Goblet given by M^r^ Brown [8] ffellow communer [9]

[1] Speaking of the Rev. Samuel Parris, of unhappy memory in the witchcraft episode at Salem, Savage says that he "was educated at Harvard but left before graduation" (Genealogical Dictionary, iii. 345–346). No evidence is known to support this notion, and perhaps Savage confused Samuel Parris with the "M^r^ Parish" for whose study glass was furnished on March 5, 1644 (College Book, i. 3). On the extreme right of the page is written in pencil (of course very much later) "his son 1659." If this is correct, the Mr. Parish who was living at the College in some unknown capacity was Thomas Parish, father of the Thomas Parish who graduated in 1659. There is some reason for believing that the Rev. Samuel Parris and the Thomas Parish who was in the Class of 1659 were brothers.

[2] College Book, i. 79; our Publications, xv. 62.

[3] College Book, i. 78; our Publications, xv. 60.

[4] This line, and the note after the third line, were evidently written in at a different time.

[5] See p. 175, below.

[6] See p. 175, below.

[7] This was Thomas Shepard of the Class of 1653.

[8] See p. 174, below.

[9] College Book, i. 85; our Publications, xv. 73.

I think there is no later inventory until September 18, 1736, when —

The President & Tutors took an account of the College Plate, weighing y^e^ same, as follows, viz.

A large Tankard with a variety of Arms	ounces 30½
A large Bowl with a Cover, y^e^ Hon^ble^ m^r^ Stoughton's Gift	48½
A two ear'd Goblet	21
A Tankard, W^m^ Vassal	20¾
A Tankard, John Vassal	20¼
A Quart-Tankard, not mark'd	23¼
A Lesser Tankard, not mark'd	22½
A Salt Seller, mark'd I G E	19¼

A Beaker unweigh'd is in y^e^ Treasurer's hand.[1]

These inventories are combined and summed up at the end of the first volume of the Donation Book compiled by Andrew Eliot in 1773.[2]

The first item in this inventory is no doubt the cup bought with Samuel Browne's gift in 1731. The second is the cup or bowl given by Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton. Both of these are still extant. The two tankards from William and John Vassall also remain, and two other tankards which may be the other two mentioned in this account. Several other pieces of plate have apparently disappeared — Edward Paige's goblet, the two spoons, and Francis Wainwright's goblet of the list of 1683. Who was the "Mr. Brown" whose gift of a goblet is listed in the inventory of 1683? He could hardly have been the I. B. whose beaker is listed in the same inventory, as well as in that of 1674. There were two students named Browne in the Class of 1666.[3] One was Joseph, who duly graduated. The other was a temporary student who has not been identified with certainty; but possibly he was Benjamin Browne, a younger brother of Joseph. They belonged to the noted Browne family of Salem; both were in other ways generous benefactors of the College; and it seems probable that "Mr. Brown" the fellow-commoner was one of the two —

[1] College Book, iv. 192; our Publications, xvi. 651.

[2] UAI 3. 5.

[3] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 403–408; F. B. Dexter, Historical Papers, pp. 1–5.

preferably Joseph Browne, since there is no doubt of his identity, while that of the temporary student is uncertain.

The inventories of 1828 mention the silver plate very briefly, and add nothing under this head to the lists already quoted, though in other respects some interesting facts may be gleaned from them.[1]

Let us now see how many of these pieces of plate remain to the present day.

1. The oldest still extant is the great Salt [No. 9],[2] received in 1644 by bequest from Richard Harris. Richard Harris was the brother of Mrs. Elizabeth Glover, and the letters $\frac{G}{I}$ E engraved on the silver show that it must have belonged to Mrs. Glover and her husband, the Rev. Jose Glover, and so was doubtless brought to America in 1638, when Mr. Glover was bringing over the first printing-press and fonts of type to be set up in this country. Mr. Glover died on the passage. His widow, June 21, 1641, married President Dunster, the first President of the College, so that the Salt must have been at one time among the President's household goods. On Mrs. Dunster's death, August 23, 1643, the Salt passed into the hands of her brother, Richard Harris. The accounts of the first College building[3] show

[1] They show, for instance, that the French, German, and Italian instructors were not accommodated in University Hall, but that Francis Sales had his classes in No. 5 Hollis Hall, Charles Follen in No. 7 Massachusetts Hall, and Pietro Bachi in No. 5 Stoughton Hall.

[2] The numbers within square brackets indicate the corresponding numbers on the plates accompanying this paper. For an explanation of the numbers within parentheses, preceded by the letters "M. F. A.," see p. 171 note 3, below.

The plates accompanying this paper, facing pp. 166 and 172, show eleven pieces of silver, which, with the names (where known) of their donors or owners, are as follows:

Plate I

1 Bowl: Edward Holyoke
2 Tea-pot: William Kneeland
3 Cup: Samuel Browne
4 Tankard
5 Tankard

Plate II

6 Tankard: John Vassall. Cf. No. 11
7 Candlestick: Henry Flynt. Cf. No. 10
8 Cup: William Stoughton
9 Salt: Richard Harris
10 Candlestick: Henry Flynt. Cf. No. 7
11 Tankard: William Vassall. Cf. No. 6

[3] College Book, i. 3, 10. The earlier account is dated March 5, 1644.

that one of the rooms was finished for him, but his connection with the College is not clear. As he died August 29, 1644, in Cambridge, his residence here must have been brief. Was he, perhaps, a tutor?[1]

2. The Stoughton Cup [No. 8]was given in 1701 by William Stoughton, who, in the memorial addressed to the General Court by the College in 1717, is described as "the truly honorable and conspicuously learned and religious Wm. Stoughton, Esq., (who is to be held in everlasting remembrance by all learned and good men)," who "built and finished at his own sole cost and charge an entire large College for the accommodation of the students."[2] (M.F.A., No. 64.)[3] The Cup was made by John Cony, one of the best of the early silversmiths of Boston. Cony also engraved a seal for the College and the plates for the first paper money used in America.

3. A bowl [No. 1] bearing the Holyoke arms, and formerly belonging to President Holyoke, was presented to the College in 1903, the work of the same John Cony. (M.F.A., No. 65.) President Holyoke's daughter, Elizabeth, married Dr. William Kneeland (Class of 1751); their daughter Mary was the wife of Professor Levi Hedge (Class of 1792), and mother of Professor Frederic Henry Hedge (Class of 1825). In the Boston catalogue it is described as bearing the Cotton arms, and was assigned to a date of about 1700. The note in regard to the arms is evidently an error, due to the similarity of the Holyoke arms to one of the many Cotton arms. Burke's General Armory describes one of the Cotton arms as "azure, a chevron between three crescents argent," and the Holyoke arms as "azure, a chevron argent cottised or between three crescents of the second." Two Holyoke crests are described — first, "a crescent argent," which is the one shown on the plate in the Holyoke Diaries, published by the Essex Institute; and second, "a cubit arm erect, habited gules, cuff argent, holding in the hand proper an oak branch vert, fructed or," a de-

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[1] Cf. Publications Cambridge Historical Society, iii. 14–15.

[2] Cf. p. 89, above.

[3] Nearly all of the early silver owned by the College was included in an exhibition of American silver at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1906, and is described and figured in its catalogue "American Silver: the Work of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Silversmiths, exhibited at the Museum of Fine Arts, June to November, 1906." The numbers in this catalogue are here noted within parentheses, preceded by the letters "M. F. A.," after each piece described there.

scription with which the crest on the bowl sufficiently agrees. Miss Charlotte A. Hedge, who gave the bowl to the College in 1903, states that from her grandfather, Professor Levi Hedge, the grandson of President Holyoke, it passed to her aunt, Elizabeth Hedge, of Levis, Canada, who herself had the arms engraved upon it. From the last it came into the possession of Miss Hedge and of her brother Frederic H. Hedge (Class of 1851) of Brookline.

4. A pair of candlesticks [Nos. 7, 10], the work of John Burt (1690–1745) of Boston, which belonged to Tutor Flynt, whose long term of service as Tutor and Fellow of the College extended from 1699 to 1760. These are inscribed — "Donum Pupillorum 1724." (M.F.A., Nos. 45, 46.)

5. Two tankards [Nos. 6, 11], given in 1729, one by John Vassall of the Class of 1732, the other by his brother William Vassall, of the Class of 1733. These were made by I. Kneeland of Boston. (M.F.A., No. 170.) These bear the Vassall arms and are inscribed:

Donum	Donum
Joannis Vassal	Guilielmi Vassal
Commensalis	Commensalis
A. D. 1729	A. D. 1729

In the Faculty Records, under date of October 18, 1729, is found: "Agre'd y^{t} Vassal Sophimore & Vassal Freshman be admitted Fellow-Comoners."

6. A covered two-handled cup [No. 3], for which Colonel Samuel Browne, of Salem, bequeathed to the College in 1731 the sum of sixty pounds to be used in the purchase of a piece of plate.[1] (M.F.A., No. 37.) This, also, is the work of John Burt of Boston.

Colonel Samuel Browne of Salem was born in 1669. He was for many years a representative in the General Court and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County, also Chief Justice of the same Court. He was the greatest merchant of his day in the County of Essex, and his family influence and wealth, as well as the ability with which he performed the duties of his offices, gave him high

[1] "Item I give to Harvard College in Cambridge, sixty pounds to be Improved for purchasing an handsom piece of Plate for y^{e} College, with my Coat of Arms on it" (College Book, iii. 105; our Publications, xv. 282).

7 8 9 10 11

Early Silver belonging to Harvard College

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

rank in the Province. His father, his uncles, and his grandfather had all been benefactors of Harvard College, and besides the sixty pounds which he gave for the piece of plate, he bequeathed one hundred and fifty pounds for its beneficiary funds, sixty pounds for general purposes, and a house and well stocked farm in Hopkinton of two hundred acres. He died in 1731, aged sixty-two.[1]

An earlier entry in the Corporation Records, in 1723, is interesting in connection with the cup bought from Colonel Browne's bequest. He had two sons — Samuel Browne and William Browne, both of the Class of 1727; in the Quinquennial Catalogue they stand at the head of their Class, with Thomas Hutchinson, who afterwards became Governor, in the third place. When the two boys entered College, the following vote was passed by the Corporation September 2, 1723:

> Whereas Sam[l] Brown, Eldest Son of Sam[l] Brown Esq[r] of Salem, now about to be Admitted into the College, is a Youth that labours under that bodiely Infirmity w[ch] disables him from the going on Errands, as is usual for the Fresh-men to do, And Whereas his Hon[ble] Ancest[rs] have been Generous Benefact[rs] to the College to the Value of Eight hundred pounds.
>
> And also whereas his Hon̄[d] Father has now pposed his Son's presenting the College w[th] Ap[e] of Plate upon his Admission of much greater Value then w[d] Entitle him to the Priviledges & Hon[rs] of a Fellow-Comoner;
>
> It is therefore Order'd by the Corporacon that the s̄[d] Samuel Brown shalbe entirely Exempt from going of Errands, during his Freshmanship.[2]

One wonders if Samuel Browne, Jr., failed to present the piece of plate which had been proposed, and if the bequest of his father, eight years later, was to make up for the omission.

7. A tankard [No. 5] bearing the mark of E. Cobb as maker, a Boston silversmith who died before 1762. (M.F.A., No. 53.) Its source is unknown. On the handle it bears the date 1638 and initials roughly engraved as follows:

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[1] E. D. Hines, Browne Hill and what has happened there, in Essex Institute Historical Collections, 1896, xxxii, 214.

[2] College Book, iv. 93.

1638

E
H ·:· D

E
I = D

M
H = D

M
I = D

I have no satisfactory explanation to offer of these initials. The arrangement suggests four successive generations of owners, each group standing for a man and his wife, the surname of the first two generations beginning with E and that of the last two generations with M.

8. A tankard [No. 4] made by Edward Winslow of Boston (1669–1753). (M.F.A., No. 324.) Source unknown. The cover has evidently been mended in two places, which suggests that it may be the tankard referred to in a letter of Professor Levi Hedge, quoted below.

9. A silver tea-pot [No. 2] which belonged to Dr. William Kneeland, Tutor from 1754 to 1763, the successor of Tutor Flynt. It is the work of Samuel Minot (1732–1803) of Boston.[1] This was given to him by his pupils of the Class of 1763, and is inscribed "A decem Gratis Suum accepit Fidus 1763." Like the Holyoke bowl, it descended in the possession of the Hedge family and was given to the College by Miss Charlotte A. Hedge.

So far as can be learned, there have been but few fellow-commoners in the student body. In the lists above only nine are mentioned. Of these, five, possibly six, graduated and their names are to be found in the Quinquennial Catalogue, but without any notice of their special standing — viz. Joseph Browne of 1666 (assuming his identity with the "Mr. Brown" of the inventory of 1683), Edward Pelham of 1673, Francis Wainwright of 1686, Samuel Browne of 1727, John Vassall of 1732, and William Vassall of 1733. The other three are

[1] Cf. our Publications, xix. 8.

but names — Edward Paige, Thomas Langham and Mr. Ven — and nothing further, not even the classes to which they belonged, is known of them.[1]

In addition to the nine names occurring above, three others are disclosed in the early Steward's account books as quoted by Sibley:[2] Samuel Willis of 1653, —— Bennett of 1659, and Nathaniel Saltonstall of 1659.

Just when the fellow-commoner disappeared is hard to say; probably he did not long survive the time of the Vassalls, for Paine Wingate of the Class of 1759 (at one time the oldest living graduate of the College) wrote to Benjamin Peirce in 1831 that fellow-commoners were unknown in his time.[3]

A last glimpse of the fellow-commoner and his gifts to the College is found in a letter from Professor Levi Hedge to the Treasurer of Harvard College, February 18, 1828, in the collection of inventories of 1828 already referred to. He writes:

I have also in my possession a silver tankard, the history of which is the following. In the early times of the College, the sons of such gentlemen as claimed privileges of nobility, were distinguished from the other students by the privilege of dieting at the Tutors' table in the Commons Hall. When these young gentlemen left the College, it was common for them to make some present to the gentlemen, as a body, in whose society they had been thus distinguished; and in this way several tankards and other articles of plate had been collected as ornaments for the Tutors' table. On the discontinuance of this distinction, the articles collected were distributed among the officers, to be used as common property by them and their successors. When I was elected Tutor, in January 1795, I found the tankard and book above named in the chamber of my predecessors. The tankard was damaged by long use, it was bruised in sundry places, and the lid was off. I have had it repaired by a silver smith, so that it is in a better state now than when it came into my

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[1] The name of Benjamin Browne is found in the list of temporary students printed in our Publications, xvii. 271–285, but not the names of Edward Paige, Langham, or Ven. Mr. Matthews tells me that the last three names were in his manuscript list but were excluded from the printed list because the facts in regard to them were so obscure.

[2] Harvard Graduates, i. 549, 573. I am indebted to Mr. S. F. Batchelder for calling my attention to these references.

[3] Peirce, History of Harvard University, pp. 313–314.

hands. I have regarded both the tankard and the book as departmental property, to be transmitted to my successor in office.[1]

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited the engraved copper plate from which the Harvard College book-plates were printed about 1840.

Mr. ALFRED C. POTTER exhibited the book-plates of three Harvard clubs, two of them long extinct and practically forgotten, the other still in existence. The earliest of these clubs was "The Knights of the Order of the Pudding Stick." Its book-plate is a simple printed label, with the name Daniel Parkman (H. C. 1813) written on it as donor and the date 1811. Of this club Mr. Potter has been unable to find any mention,[2] but is inclined to

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[1] In the University Archives (UAI 3.200) is a copy of notes relating to the Harris salt and other pieces of silver, written by Librarian Thaddeus W. Harris in 1847 for President Everett's use at the Commencement dinner of that year; also typewritten notes on the College silver by J. H. Buck, an Englishman in the employ of the Gorham Manufacturing Co., made in 1886. An illustrated article by Mr. Buck was printed in The Curio, September, 1887, i. 20–22.

Thomas's History of Printing in America (ed. 1874, ii. 383–390) gives various documents connected with the lawsuits between the Glover heirs and President Dunster. In the inventories several pieces of silver are mentioned, but there seems to be no reason to connect any of them with the silver mentioned in the early College lists.

[2] Several years ago Professor Le Baron R. Briggs called the attention of Mr. Matthews to a medal which was then owned by the daughters of the late Dr. Jonathan Greely Stevenson, who graduated at Harvard in the class of 1816. The medal, which is now in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, is in the shape of a star with fourteen points, and bears on one side the inscription:

Fide et Amicitia
K. P. S.
1809

And on the other side is inscribed:

J. Greely Stevenson M.D.
Boston
b. 1790. d. 1835.

The significance of the letters "K. P. S." eluded Mr. Matthews's research, but the book-plate exhibited by Mr. Potter makes it reasonably certain that they stand for "Knights of the Pudding Stick." The date 1809 undoubtedly indicates the year in which the society or club was started. Dr. Stevenson in

think that soon after 1811 it merged with another club, "The Order of the Knights of the Square Table."

The book-plate of the Knights of the Square Table bears the same name, D. Parkman.[1] This is a much more ambitious plate, being engraved and carrying arms over a window or doorway draped with a curtain which furnished a place for an inscription. This club was founded in 1809 and in 1831 merged with the Porcellian Club. The records of the latter still carry on its list of members the names of the "Knights" during the twenty-two years of their separate existence. The library of the Knights of the Square Table and their other belongings became the property of the Porcellian, and two book-plates exhibited by Mr. Potter were taken from books discarded from the Porcellian's library.

Three of the early book-plates of the Porcellian Club were also shown. On two of them the arms and motto are the same as on the plate of the Knights of the Square Table. These plates are all engraved, and are undated, but their sequence can be traced by the names of the owners. The latest of them is signed by F. Mitchell as artist, and G. G. Smith as engraver.

Mr. Ezra H. Baker exhibited (1) an original deed of land in Rowley[2] from Harvard College to Daniel Hale of Newbury, dated February 28, 1737–8, attached to which is an embossed seal of the College;[3] and (2) the

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1813 became a member of the Knights of the Square Table — a fact which tends to corroborate Mr. Potter's conclusion that the older club was merged in the younger one, both being later absorbed by the Porcellian.

[1] Parkman became a member of the Knights of the Square Table in 1810.

[2] Land in Rowley was bequeathed to the College by the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, who died in 1661. For many years the land was leased, but in 1733 the College obtained from the General Court permission to sell it. The portion sold to Daniel Hale in 1738 consisted of "Four freehold Rights or Comonages in Mill Swamp pasture in y^{e} lower Com̄: in Rowley," etc. The deed is signed by the President, Fellows, and Treasurer of the College.

[3] This is one of the earliest seals attached to such a document now extant.

following document, to which a seal was once affixed, having at the bottom the name of the Rev. John Wilson of Medfield:[1]

MEADFIELD Octob^{r} the 6th [2] 1687

Know all men by these presents that Whereas my Coz M^{r} John Danforth [3] of Dorchester hath pfected a Division (with my son John Wison)[4] of the farm att Brantre whom I haue constituted my Lawfull Attoney to transact the same and to make choise of one p^{t} of sd Farm for my Vse (w^{n} Divided) I doe therefore accept of his choise of the House Division as my p̱t, accordingly Desiring him to Resign vp the North Division to my sister M^{rs} Mary Rock [5] and hir Heirs, promising to Ratify s^{d} choise by Defraying and paying to hir the sum̃ of 30^{ll} according to their Articles of agreement In testimony hereof I have set to my hand and seal the year and Day abousd

JOHN WILSON

Witnes
JOHN METCALFE se^{r}
THOMAS E ELLICE
his mark

[*Endorsed*]
M^{r} Wilsons apprbation of his sons act

Mr. Baker exhibited also various other objects, including a copy of the first number[6] of John Farmer's Memo-

The impression is unfortunately a poor one, but the word "Christo" is very clear.

[1] The Rev. John Wilson (1621–1691; H. C. 1642) of Medfield was the son of the Rev. John Wilson (1588–1667) of Boston.

[2] Apparently altered from "4th."

[3] By cousin is here meant nephew. The Rev. John Danforth (1660–1730; H. C. 1677) of Dorchester was the son of the Rev. Samuel Danforth (H. C. 1643) of Roxbury, who married Mary Wilson, a sister of the Rev. John Wilson of Medfield.

[4] This John Wilson (1660–1728) is said (cf. our Publications, xvii. 275, 285) to have been a temporary student at Harvard. He taught school at Medfield, preached at New Haven, returned to Medfield where, owing to the opposition of the town, he failed to succeed his father as pastor, and removed to Braintree, where he practised medicine from 1692 to his death. See New England Historical and Genealogical Register, lxi. 38–41, 127–129; W. S. Tilden, History of Medfield, pp. 520–524.

[5] This was the mother of the Rev. John Danforth of Dorchester. After the death of her husband the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury, she married Joseph Rock.

[6] It is a pamphlet of forty-eight pages, bound in a blue paper cover, dated "No. I. August, 1833."

rials of the Graduates of Harvard University; a copy of the first edition (a broadside) of the Rev. Samuel Gilman's Fair Harvard, which was written in Fay House, Cambridge; a lithograph by Moore, who succeeded Pendleton, from a sketch by Thomas Thompson, Jr., of the monument erected to the memory of John Harvard in the ancient burial-ground of Charlestown;[1] a view of the boat race on Charles River in 1858[2] in which President Eliot and Alexander Agassiz were in the Harvard boat; and several pieces of blue pottery portraying Harvard buildings and scenes.

[1] The location of Harvard's grave is not known, but he was probably buried, with other early settlers, in or near what has since been known as the City Square, in which the first meeting-house was built.

[2] Cf. Harvard Book, ii. 201–204; Harvard Graduates' Magazine, xv. 457–458, 531–533.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1921

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 February, 1921, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters accepting Resident Membership had been received from Mr. GEORGE HUBBARD BLAKESLEE and Mr. FREDERICK LAWTON.

Mr. JOHN ENDICOTT PEABODY of Brookline was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. GEORGE H. HAYNES read a paper on "The President and the Senate," speaking in substance as follows:

President Washington found himself brought into close association, in certain executive functions of great importance, with a Senate hardly larger than the Committee on Foreign Relations in the present Senate. Moreover, most of its members he had already known and gauged in military or legislative service.

Ten members — nearly half of those in attendance at the first session — had been members of the Constitutional Convention. For four months General Washington, as presiding officer, had watched the Constitution take shape under the hands of these very men who now, with him, were to put its powers into effect.

Seven of the senators had been officers in the Continental Army; among them were General Schuyler, one of the four major generals; Colonel Grayson, who had been one of General Washington's aides, and Benjamin Hawkins, who for years had served on his staff as an interpreter. There were four men who had signed the Declaration

of Independence. Of the twenty-six members, nineteen had sat in the Continental Congress or in the Congress of the Confederation. Association in so small a group made for intimate acquaintance, for accurate appraisal of each member's ability and motives.

President Washington took with great seriousness everything which might result in establishing a precedent. Even his social relations with senators were arranged and scheduled after he had sought the advice of several trusted leaders.

At the opening of each session the President addressed Congress in person. These addresses were referred to committees. In the Senate, the committee's report was debated at length, and then the Senate in a body waited upon the President at his residence, and its address was presented to him by the Vice President, whereupon the President made a speech of acknowledgment. This increasingly perfunctory ceremonial was not discontinued till Jefferson became President.

John Adams, first Vice President, as president of the Senate, took an active part in the deliberations of that body, interjecting his opinions into the debates, haranguing the Senate by the hour, and actively seeking to persuade individual senators to vote in accordance with his views.

Before the end of the First Congress, the twilight zone, in which lie the so-called executive powers of the Senate, had been pretty thoroughly explored. The Senate gave up its preference for the President's presenting nominations in person, and it shifted from balloting to viva voce voting upon appointments.

Before four months had passed, President Washington was treated to the first sample of "senatorial courtesy" in the rejection of a thoroughly admirable appointment through the factional opposition of the senators from the appointee's own State.

In the First Congress both House and Senate, after very protracted debate, gave their deliberate "practical construction" to the Constitution as vesting in the President an unrestricted power of removal, affording thus the precedent to which President Wilson referred in his veto of the Budget Bill (May 27, 1920), in which he declared: "It has, I think, always been the accepted construction of the Constitution that the power to appoint officers of this kind carries with it, as an incident, the power to remove."

As to the treaty-making power, President Washington at first was of the opinion that in its exercise the Senate was merely a council to the President. He declared that "in all matters respecting treaties oral communications seem indispensably necessary." But after one notable effort to put this theory into practice, the chilling reception which the Senate gave him led him to abandon personal conference over treaties. Thereafter his communications were by written messages, conciliatory in phrasing and framed with a view to call forth from the Senate serious advice upon complicated diplomatic problems before his own decision was taken. In the later years of his administration, however, he assumed more initiative, and submitted to the Senate treaties which were fully negotiated, and awaited only ratification.

But in these contacts between the President and the Senate it speedily became apparent that the adoption of the Constitution had brought no unanimity as to scope and apportionment of the powers which it warranted. The Constitution had been constructed — but it remained yet to be construed. It was plain that an era of party government had already begun.

On behalf of Mr. EDWARD K. RAND the following paper was presented:

PLYMOUTH PLANTATION AND THE GOLDEN AGE[1]

Breaking waves on a stern and rock-bound coast, scarcity of Indian corn, plottings of murderous savages, the horrors of a New England winter, the horrors of a Puritanic profession, do not at first thought suggest a Golden Age. It is hard to detect the pleasant lights of the Muses and the Graces in a generation that cultivated the Bay Psalm Book; the Psalms of David might never have seen, as Cotton Mather averred, a translation nearer to the Hebrew original, — but though so near, yet, ah, so far! For all that, there flourished a little Golden Age at New Plymouth, and the reflection of it at Massachusetts Bay.

History has seen various Golden Ages. They occur whenever a

[1] This paper was read in a somewhat different form at the annual meeting of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of California, held at San Francisco, November 22, 1919.

nation, or lesser fraction of our poor humanity, after long shouldering of a cumbersome tradition, throws it off, and starts as blissfully on life's way as a country-boy who sheds his shoes and stockings in the spring. Sometimes tradition cannot be simply tossed aside; it must be fought. Old Saturn, who supplied mankind with the least interrupted of Golden Ages, first had to fight the Titans down. Fifth-century Athens emerged into the light of art and letters after beating off the menace of Persia. A profusion of civil wars preceded the Augustan Age in Rome, and we, about to lie down with the lions and lambs of other pastures, — if some of our watch-dogs will kindly stop barking at friendly beasts — have come at least to the prospect of a Golden Age after a desperate fight. And so it was with our ancestors of Plymouth Plantation.

Now a Golden Age is, historically, not of long duration. The ray of pure celestial light, like that which shone on New Plymouth, or that which shone on Bethlehem, has to be caught in lanterns and guarded from the winds. In honor of the light, its casing is adorned with precious stones, which glow in the reflected splendor, and sometimes, at last, in their own. When this state arrives, the inner light flickers out, and the lantern may be thrown away. Yet sometimes the inner light burns; its casings protect it without diminishing its brightness. The round of Catholic festivals brings us the birth of the Holy Child once a year, as the joyous Roman feast absorbed by Christmas restored every year the good old days of Saturn, when all men were free and equal, and the bounties of earth were for all. In the same fashion, the days of the Mayflower and of Plymouth Colony became a sacred memory, the memory of a primitive and God-given simplicity, even before the century had passed.

There is a difference between the English and the American Puritan, as Barrett Wendell, in his Literary History of America, has brilliantly set forth. In the mother country, the new movement had to battle for its existence with ancient tradition. Its life was short, for the fittest survived. Puritanism left its mark; it contributed to a compromise. But the immediate effect of the Restoration, of the "glorious days when the King did enjoy his own again," was reactive. On New England soil, Puritanism had no rival. There was no clash of opposing political forces. The seventeenth century was, in Mr. Wendell's phrase, "a unique national inexperience." Puritanism

could thus keep true to type; its type grew peacefully till it went to seed. As there were no political upheavals, the literary ideals current at the time of the foundation of the New England colonies persisted without much change throughout the century. The Pilgrim Fathers were born Elizabethans; so were many of the colonists of Massachusetts Bay. Elizabethan style, so far as Puritans could apprehend it, was the normal means of literary expression. Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, who died in 1672 and, in the opinion of admiring contemporaries, wrested from Sappho the title of the Tenth Muse, was poetizing to the last in the vein of minor contemplative of the beginning of the century. Even Cotton Mather, to Mr. Wendell's sensitive ear, writes at times "with a rhythmical beauty that recalls the enthusiastic spontaneity of Elizabethan English."

Now, though tradition was thus more securely sheltered in the new England than in the old, it did not itself remain immutable. The spirit of the Pilgrims, being that of a Golden Age, incased itself in a protective covering. Its organization was, in essence, a theocracy. God was the ruler of a beautifully democratic group of men and women, who had all things in common and who needed no elaborate political machinery to carry on the business of the little state. A governor there was, a town meeting, a militia, but the workings of this organization were most simple. With the complications attending a larger society, the institutional element in this theocracy inevitably increased. It became formal and rigid. Pastors turned priests.

This movement may best be studied in the person of the greatest man — intellectually the greatest — of his times, one of those men who loom out in history as the mirrors of their times, Cotton Mather. He was, first of all, a prodigiously learned scholar. For the writing of his great essay in Church History, the Magnalia Christi Americana, he had studied all the ancient historians, both Christian and Pagan, of any note; as we shall soon see, he had studied the poets too. In turning over the Magnalia, I began to jot down the names of the Classical writers whom its author has either named or directly quoted, or whose phrases he has neatly woven into his own style, and found, first, that it would be easier to make a list of the authors that he had not read, and then that it can be stated still more simply, that he had read them all. He does not wear the weight of learning

easily; the iron fingers stick out through the velvet glove. His temperament, too, is not altogether pleasant. That sixth sense of the man of his day, which, inbred for centuries as Christian humility, had assumed a new and awful aspect as the New England conscience, ill conceals the vanity of the scholar in his attainments; for as the all-wise Aristotle remarked, conceit sometimes takes the form of self-depreciation. But Cotton Mather's learning is not pedantry. His instances and parallels from antiquity, though multitudinous, are apt. I wonder if posterity has done well in leaving unpublished, in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the work that he perhaps considered his greatest. In the Biblia Americana, Mather had accumulated the observations of years, "some thousands of charming and curious and singular notes," as he puts it, for the better illumination of the Sacred Word. He had hoped, with a seemly and patriotic pride, to bid American scholarship take its place unabashed amongst its European peers. He had hoped, with due meekness, to "make unto the Church of God an humble tender of our Biblia Americana, a volume enriched with better things than all the plate of the Indies; yet not I, but the Grace of Christ with me." I have not examined these volumes; perhaps those who have were not cheered by the contents. But I venture to predict, from what I can note in the Magnalia, that along with some rubbish, relics of the allegorical interpretation which from the earliest days of Christianity had hung like a cloud between Holy Scripture and the reader, there is sound and enlightening matter in this commentary; for its author, like not all Biblical scholars to-day, could scan the whole horizon of Classical antiquity, and worthily uphold the traditions of Melancthon, Scaliger, and Casaubon. He would doubtless have preferred the title of Protestant Scholar to that which Mr. Wendell confers on him, of Puritan Priest.

And yet a Puritan Priest he was. The Golden Age of Plymouth had run its course into an ecclesiasticism as solid as that of the Middle Ages. The Puritans of Mather's day, if he may speak for them, had, first of all, no idea that they were establishing a political democracy. It was good old Colony times, when we were under the King. Mather speaks from the heart when he calls "our late Queen Mary" the "best Queen that ever was in the world," and the Pilgrim Fathers, as he views them, were "very loth to lose their interest in the Eng-

lish nation; but were desirous rather to enlarge the King's dominion." Similarly, neither the Pilgrims nor the Puritans desired a break with the Church of England. Pastor Robinson, way back in Holland, had cautioned his followers that separation was by no means an inevitable part of their plan, and advised them to shake off the name of Brownist. Mather is even more emphatic. He stigmatized the followers of Archbishop Laud as "a party very unjustly arrogating to themselves the venerable name of the Church of England." It is they who "deny the most essential things in the articles and homilies of the Church of England," not "the most conscientious men in the world, who manifest their being so, by their dissent in some little ceremony." The writer of these words could not have been disinclined to the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, — provided you run the line down to the proper points at this end, down to the Puritan-Priests. And yet a larger vision of a united Church inspires his hopes. He believes that the dream may come true. "Briefly," he remarks, "as it hath been said, that if all Episcopal men were like Archbishop Usher, and all Presbyterians like Stephen Marshall, and all Independents like Jeremiah Burroughs, the wounds of the Church would be soon healed." His essay, he adds, "is to carry this spirit through this whole Church History." How wistful is this backward glance at Mediæval uniformity!

It was thus a sort of Middle Ages into which Puritanism had passed. Mather, who would have relished the title of the man *che il gran comento feo*, was the Peter Lombard of the period. Its Aquinas was the Rev. John Norton, illustrious kinsman of the still more illustrious Charles Eliot Norton, who, despite the doubtings of a modern mind, was compelled by Fate and his own unerring taste to revert to type and worship at the shrine of Dante. Of the earlier Norton, Cotton Mather says, "He was not only a most accurate grammarian, — but an universal scholar; nevertheless 't was as a school-man that he showed himself the most of a scholar." And he tells of a chance that he had "to try the scholastic eminences whereto he was arrived, — when there was in these parts a French friar, who found in Mr. Norton, a protestant equal to his own school-men, and well acquainted with them all." What a meeting! Papist and Puritan in amicable dispute, with cakes and ale, I doubt not, on the table.

The times of Cotton Mather mark an extraordinary reversal to the

past, and an extraordinarily rapid development of the simple Mayflower community into the Holy Puritan Church. Christianity itself took thirteen centuries for the full fruition of this tendency. Our ancestors needed but three-quarters of a century for the same outcome. Americans have always hustled and made culture hum. I know not what the Pilgrim fathers would have thought of the change; possibly it might have seemed to them one of the ironies of history. If we glance on a bit farther, science came to its own in the age of Benjamin Franklin; by the eighteenth century, New England had caught up with the European procession. It had repeated, microcosmically, all the periods, with one exception, — the Renaissance. For that we look in vain, or for the hearty joy of living which throve quite as lustily in the Middle Ages as in the days of Poggio and Ariosto. New England culture was a flood of light, but precious little sweetness. It encouraged the fixities and eschewed the amenities of Mediæval life. Cotton Mather once refers to Chaucer, whom he calls "old Chaucer," with a certain smacking of the lips; but had Chaucer dropped into early New England, he would have joined the company of Merrie Mount.

Now no period is so monochromatic that you cannot find dashes of other color in the prevailing shade. Merrie Mount was a dash of red amid the sombre hues. Those sons of Belial, the Westonians, were painters with like brush. A different sort of alleviation is the tender grace of Anne Bradstreet's character, — a tolerant and receptive, and, when she writes prose, poetic soul, who could be tempted, momentarily, to doubt the verity of the Scriptures, to ponder the possibility of atheism, and even to wonder whether the Popish religion might not be right after its kind. Mather calls the poems of Anne Bradstreet "a grateful entertainment unto the ingenious." The Puritans did find refreshment in certain kinds of poetry. For instance, the whole field of the ancient Classics was before them. They read most freely in the lively literature of antiquity, if Mather is a norm of his times, though touching not the lively literature of their own day; Latin grammar offered an incentive, long since lost to us. The writing of Latin verse was a natural accomplishment for a well-educated man, that is, for a graduate of Harvard College; it was lavishly poured forth in epitaphs and anagrams. Nor were the less edifying English poets completely ignored. Another Reverend

Norton,—nephew of the former—read considerably outside the pale of what was considered wholesome literature for a Puritan. It is his descendant Charles Eliot Norton who caught him in the act. In his eulogy of Anne Bradstreet, there are, by courteous admission of the younger Norton, two poetic lines. But alas, these are borrowed property, and borrowed, furthermore, from a writer of sinful plays and other trivial verse, Francis Beaumont. After all, the exceptions that I have noted are of the kind that proves the rule. These little bits of good cheer are not numerous; they shine out because the background is dark.

The reader who is impatient for proof that the Pilgrims ushered in an Age of Gold, must bear with this prelude a bit longer. It is not well to arrive too speedily at a millennium. We shall be there presently, but we cannot leave Cotton Mather yet, as I need his authority to support what may seem an airy imagination on my part. For Mather, too, had a sense of a Golden Age, as he looked back on New England's past. "The first age," he remarks, "was the Golden Age; to return to that will make a man a Protestant, and I may add, a Puritan." As he starts on his mighty theme, the great deeds of Christ in America, he lays down, in the fashion of Livy, the principles to which he subscribes in the writing of history. He views history as a series of great examples, and to make them shine with undiminished light, he quietly leaves out certain details that might spoil the picture. He writes of a race of heroes. "We the children," he exclaims, "lament our degeneracy from such fathers."

Cotton Mather's Magnalia has been called the prose epic of New England Protestantism. Whoever coined the phrase indubitably caught the spirit of the work. He might have been yet more specific. As Mr. Wendell was bold enough to call Mather Elizabethan, we may be yet more audacious and claim him for a Virgilian. It really is surprising that in all the poems, Latin and English, Pindaric and anagrammatic, written in his honor before or after his death, nobody has called him the "New-English Virgil." I think he somehow was expecting that title. For as he starts his work he feels that it is a second Aeneid, and takes from Virgil's poem a slightly emended motto to display on his frontispiece; he will sing of the founding of a greater state than Rome:

Tantae molis erat *pro Christo* condere gentem.

I have spoken of the remarkable celerity displayed by our ancestors in foreshortening Christian history. Cotton Mather could reverse the process as he looked back on Plymouth days, and shoot them on farther to the Golden Age of Rome. As Virgil saw, after some experiment, that he could best sing of the greatness of his own times by laying his epic not there, but in the mythical origins of his race, — mythical in Roman events but real in Roman ideals — so Cotton Mather, I will not say makes myth of the coming of the Mayflower, but he transports that event in imagination into the world of the ideal. He remarks that the condition of the Plymouth settlers "was very like that of the Romans under Romulus, when every man contented himself with two acres of land." And he starts off his account as though it were the Aeneid itself, with an *Arma virumque cano.* It is the history of an exile, a voyage, and a new Troy on a foreign shore. "I write the Wonders," he declares, "of the *Christian Religion,* flying from the depravations of Europe, to the American strand." He then sketches the plan of all the seven books of his epic, and thereto adds, "The reader will doubtless desire to know, what it was that

> tot volvere casus
> insignes pietate viros, tot adire labores,
> impulerit.

His heroes are many, not one, but like Virgil's hero, they are exceeding pious. Mather does not carry his analogy too far. He does not unmake primitive New England to fit his design. He does not, for instance, metamorphose Massasoit into a King Latinus, but every now and then he casts a Virgilian glamour over the narrative. The chapters of the book are provided with Latin mottoes, many of them aptly taken from Virgil, and there are incidental quotations in the text. One must note this series of Virgilianisms in order to appreciate the full flavor of satisfaction with which the author announces at the beginning of one chapter that he is going to sing, like Virgil in his Messianic eclogue, "a somewhat higher theme." *Paula maiora!* He is turning from Plymouth Colony to "the essays and causes which produced the Second, *but the largest* colony of New-England." No doubt where the hub of culture lay when Mather wrote these words! Boston, no longer known, he boasts, as "Lost-town," had gravitated to the centre.

But it is high time for us to pass from Massachusetts Bay to the Golden Age of the earlier colony. I might illustrate its spirit, the beautiful and tender light of faith that the Pilgrims followed, by quoting from John Robinson or William Bradford or Edward Winslow. Theirs are plain words that without the help of art speak of deep experience, and thus at times approach the highest art of great simplicity. I will begin, rather, with the words of an outsider, one Master Higgeson, who in 1629 wrote a pamphlet entitled New-Englands Plantation. The little work won immediate favor; a third edition appeared in 1630. The author aims at a veracious description, and he describes a Golden Age, a land fertile in soil and rich in produce. I select but a few of the wonders that he chronicles.

In our plantation we have already a quart of milke for a penny: but the aboundant encrease of corne proves this country to bee a wonderment. Thirtie fortie, fiftie, sixtie are ordinarie here: Yea Joseph's encrease in Aegypt is outstript here with us. — Our turnips, parsnips and carrots are here both bigger and sweeter than is ordinary to be found in England. Here are store of pumpions, cowcombers, and other things of that nature which I know not. And also divers excellent potherbs grow abundantly among the grasse, — and plentie of strawberries in their time, and pennyroyall, winter-saverie, sorrell, brookelime, liverwort, carvell, and watercresses, also leekes and onions are ordinarie, and divers physicall herbs. Here are also aboundance of other sweet herbs delightful to the smell, whose names we know not, &c. and plentie of single damask roses verie sweete. Excellent vines are here, up and downe in the woods. Our Governour hath already planted a vineyard with great hope of increase. . . .

For beasts there are some beares, and they say some *lyons* also; for they have been seen at Cape Ann. Also here are several sorts of deere, some where-of bring three or foure young ones at once — Also wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martins, great wild cats, and a great beast called a molke as bigge as an oxe. I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this plantation, excepting lyons.

These beasts, "lyons" included, do not seem dangerous; their purpose was to provide the colonists with furs or food. And food came from the good fish of the sea; indeed the fish stories are so tremendous that though I doubt them not, I can better illustrate our author's veracity by omitting them. But the climate!

The temper of the aire of New-England is one speciall thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthfull place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodyes. — For here is an extraordinarie cleere and dry aire that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, flegmatick, rheumatick temper of body. None can more truly speake hereof by their owne experience then my selfe.

The experience that he relates is thoroughly convincing; but we must hurry on. He ends with the reflection, "And therefore I thinke it is a wise course for al cold complections to come to take physick in New-England: for a sup of New-England's aire is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale."

Master Higgeson perhaps had the reputation of a poet among his friends, or possibly was a pioneer in the art of advertising, crudely as that art was practised in those primitive times. To remove all doubts, Master Graves, an "Engynere," adds a letter of corroboration, which begins: "Thus much I can affirme in generall, that I never came in a more goodly country in all my life, all things considered." I need cite no more. One feels that all that is needed is a Latin Virgil to write the Georgics of these golden realms. Nor is one far to seek.

The Rev. William Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman, had attended Captain Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinando, in his ill-fated attempt to settle at Wessagusett on Massachusetts Bay in 1623. He had a commission from the Ecclesiastical Court in England to exercise a kind of superintendency over the churches of the colony. Gorges returned shortly, leaving Morrell behind at Plymouth, where he remained about a year, making inquiries respecting the country, but did not use his commission, or even mention it, till just before his departure. He had come to standardize the parishes and he remained to chronicle the Golden Age. He narrates its marvels in Latin verse that the editors of the first volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections call "descriptive and elegant." He also made a translation into English verse, which the same editors claim does not possess equal merit. This is true, but though it misses some of the substance and some of the Virgilian touches of the original, it puts in certain facts and certain allusions that are not there. It is partly a translation and partly a supplement. Published not later

than 1625, the poem is, so far as I know, the first monument in the annals of New England verse, which at least starts propitiously under the auspices of Virgil. If the Magnalia Christi Americana is the *Aeneid* of New England, here is its *Georgics*. The poet thus begins:

> Feare not poore muse, 'cause first to sing her fame,
> That's yet scarce known, unless by map or name;
> A grand-childe to earth's paradize is borne,
> Well lim'd, well nerv'd, faire, riche, sweete, yet forlorne. . . .
>
> Westward a thousand leagues a spatious land,
> Is made unknown to them that it command.
> Of fruitful mould, and no lesse fruitlesse [1] maine,
> Inrich with springs and prey high-land and plaine.
> The light well tempred, humid ayre, whose breath
> Fills full all concaves betwixt heaven and earth,
> So that the region of the ayre is blest
> With what earth's mortals wish to be possest . . .
>
> Oh happie planter, if you knew the height
> Of planter's honours where ther's such delight;
> There nature's bounties, though not planted are,
> Great store and sorts of berries great and faire:
> The filberd, cherry and the fruitful vine,
> Which cheares the heart and makes it more divine.

This description strikingly corroborates the words of Master Higgeson. The animals, too, all but the lions of Cape Ann, reappear.

> Ther's grasse and hearbs contenting man and beast,
> On which both deare, and beares, and wolves do feast.
> Foxes both gray and blacke (though black I never
> Beheld) with muscats, lynces, otter, bever,
> With many other which I here omit,
> Fit for to warm us, and to feede us fit. . . .
>
> The turtle, eagle, partridge, and the quaile,
> Knot, plover, pigeons, which doe never faile,

[1] Evidently a misprint for "fruitful." The Latin verse is: *Faelix frugiferis sulcis, simul aequore faelix.*

Till sommer's heate commands them to retire,
And winter's cold begets their old desire.
With these sweet dainties man is sweetly fed,
With these rich feathers ladies plume their head;
Here's flesh and feathers both for use and ease
To feede, adorne, and rest thee, if thou please.

What a re-writing of history must there be on the strength of these lines! *O tempora et mores Priscillae* — quail-on-toast, feathered hats, and eiderdown quilts! No wonder the poet concludes

The place is compleat; here each pleasant spring,
Is like those fountains where the muses sing.

I failed to cite Master Higgeson on the fish of New England, partly for the reason suggested and partly to let the verse of the Reverend Morrell do ampler justice to one of the traditional glories of Massachusetts.

The prudent master there his ship may more,
Past winde and weather, then his God adore,
Man forth his shalop with three men to sea,
Which oft returne with wondrous store of prey;
As oysters, cra-fish, crab, and lobsters great,
In great abundance when the seaes retreate:
Torteise, and herring, turbut, hacke and base:
With other small fish, and fresh-bleeding place;
The mighty whale doth in, these harbours lye,
Whose oyle the careful mearchant deare will buy.

Our poet is leading up in climax from the whale to something mightier still:

Besides all these and others in this maine,
The *costly codd* doth march with his rich traine:
With which the sea-man fraughts his merry ship:
With which the merchant doth much riches get:
With which plantations richly may subsist,
And pay their merchants debt and interest.

The italics are not the poet's, but their emphasis is. His tribute to the cod may be matched in the relation of Master Higgeson, and in the Magnalia the cod is given a position of much dignity and em-

bellished with a Virgilian figure of speech. In deference to the totem of our forefathers, I will cite the above lines in the original Latin.

Ostrea curvatis conchis, conchasque trigones,[1]
Cete, etiam rhombos, sargos, cum squatina asellos.
His naves vastas onerat piscator honestus:
His mercator opes cumulat venerabilis almas,
His pius ampla satis faciat sibi lucra colonus.

Morrell concludes this part of the poem with the sentiment, —

Thus ayre and earth, both land and sea yeelds store
Of nature's dainties both to rich and poore;
To whom if heavens a holy vice-roy give,
The state and people may most richly live:
And there erect a pyramy of estate,
Which onely sinne and heaven can ruinate.

The remainder of the work is taken up with the Indians, to whom Master Higgeson had also devoted several pages. Morrell writes of the Indians in as tranquil and detached a fashion as that in which Virgil tells of his bees. And thus he ends:

O blessed England farre beyond all sence,
That knowes and loves the Trine's omnipotence,
In briefe survey here water, earth, and ayre,
A people proud, and what their orders are:
The fragrant flowers and the vernant groves,
The merry shores, and storme-astranting coves,
In briefe, a briefe of what may make man blest,
If man's content abroad can be possest.
If these poore lines may winne this country love,
Or kind compassion in the English move;
Perswade our mightie and renowned state,
This pore-blinde people to comiserate;
Or painefull men to this good land invite,
Whose holy workes these natives may inlight:
If heavens grant these, to see here built I trust,
An English kingdome from this Indian dust.

[1] Perhaps a misprint for *trigonas*.

Omnia succedunt votis; modulamina spero
Haec mea sublimis fuerint praesagia regni.

Dreams do not always come true. There is to-day no sublime and English kingdom located in Plymouth, and the Indian dust has long since blown away. *Dis aliter visum.* Yet we, the heirs of what the prophet did not see, may brighten our inheritance with his gift. Though the present moment in our country's history may not seem bright, we may cheer us with an omen out of the past. It is something to trace New England's lineage direct from the Golden Age.

Mr. ALFRED JOHNSON read extracts from the manuscript "Annals of Belfast, Maine," by William George Crosby. Mr. Crosby,[1] a graduate of Bowdoin College, was born in Belfast in 1805; was the first Secretary of the Board of Education of Maine and laid the foundation of the State's educational system; and was Governor of Maine in 1853-1854. Among the selections read was the following description of a "raising" about a century ago:

It was regarded then just as much out of the question to raise a frame as it was to go through haying-time without rum; both were occasions when the use of that article for "mechanical purposes" was considered indispensable. If the building to be raised was a small one, a gallon of "Old Whiteface" answered the purpose, at a pinch. If it was a two-story dwelling-house the quantity was doubled; unless the raising was in a time of drought, when a still larger quantity was required. If the owner was reputed to be wealthy, or the building was of a public character, it was always found necessary to substitute for "Whiteface" a mixture called "rum-punch." The approved recipe for this was "One sour, Two sweet, Four strong, Eight weak." Half a dozen pailfuls would raise a dwelling-house, ell and barn; nothing less than a barrelful, per diem, would raise a meeting-house; as late as 1818 it required two barrelfuls to raise the Unitarian meeting-house; the compiler had to use two pailfuls to raise his barn; but that was in a very dry season.

[1] He was a son of William Crosby (H. C. 1794).

After the frame was raised it was the custom to "name it," as the performance was styled. Two of the parties engaged would bestride the ridgepole, one at each end. One of them would say,

> Here is a fine frame,
> Without any name,
> And what shall we call it?

To which the other would reply in equally poetic language, but without answering the main question. After passing numerous questions and answers of the same character the frame would be "named." Three cheers were then given, a parting cup taken, and that was the end of the ceremony. In the raising of a frame all services were rendered gratuitously.

MARCH MEETING, 1921

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held in the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 March, 1921, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. JOHN ENDICOTT PEABODY accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE read the following paper, written by Mr. William Otis Sawtelle of Haverford, Pennsylvania:

SIR FRANCIS BERNARD AND HIS GRANT OF MOUNT DESERT[1]

INTRODUCTION

Marion Crawford once said that whenever he glanced at the map of Mount Desert Island he was reminded of the lamb in the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece; and as Philip, Duke of Burgundy, bestowed that distinction upon the faithful, so George III of England, after many delays, gave the entire territory of the Island of Mount Desert to "our trusty and well beloved Francis Bernard, Esq, our Captain General and Governor in Chief of our Province in the Massachusetts Bay, in America."

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[1] In the preparation of this paper, I have derived much assistance from Mr. Lane and Mr. Albert Matthews, the former of whom has supplied several extracts from the Bernard Papers. The papers here cited as the Bernard Papers, filling thirteen volumes, are among the Sparks Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library. Cf. J. Winsor, Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library (Library of Harvard University, Bibliographical Contributions, No. 22, 1889), pp. 4–6.

Because of his public acts, so harshly has Governor Bernard been treated by historians of the Stamp Act period that sight has almost been lost of the part he played in the settlement and development of Eastern Maine territory on Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Bays and on Mount Desert Island; while of his efforts to prove the title of Massachusetts to land between the Penobscot and St. Croix Rivers, but few accounts are to be found in print. As the representative of his sovereign, he was in duty bound to uphold the royal authority, and had his lot been cast in times less turbulent he would, no doubt, have made a good chief magistrate.

Francis Bernard [1] was the eldest son of Francis Bernard, rector of Brightwell, Berkshire, and Margery, daughter of Richard Winlowe of Lewknor, Oxfordshire. As a boy he attended the Westminster School, and later was a student of Christ Church, Oxford, receiving the degree of Master of Arts in 1736. He chose the law as a profession and was called to the bar at Middle Temple. Steward of Lincoln, recorder of Boston, solicitor at the Court of Chancery were some of the positions which his eminence as a lawyer permitted him to fill. He was also a classical scholar of some note.[2] In 1758 he was appointed governor of New Jersey, a position which he held for two years, and so successful was his administration that his appointment to Massachusetts came in the nature of a promotion.

In 1741 Bernard married Amelia, daughter of Stephen Offley of Norton Hall, Derbyshire, and to them were born six sons and four daughters. As it was customary for royal governors to seek colonial appointments with an eye to bettering their financial condition, the emoluments provided by the Massachusetts office no doubt looked attractive to Bernard, who had so large a family for which to provide.

Bernard's grant [3] of Mount Desert Island was made by the

[1] For Bernard's genealogy and family history, see J. Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, ii. 235n–237n; Lipscomb, History of Buckinghamshire, i. 519; Mrs. Napier Higgins, The Bernards of Abington and Nether Winchendon, vols. i and ii. The exact date of Bernard's birth is not known, but he was baptized on July 2, 1712.

[2] Antonii Alsopi Aedis Christi olim Alumni Odarum Libri Duo. Londini, MDCCLII. "This little volume," says Nichols, "was dedicated by Mr. Francis Bernard, the ingenious editor, in an elegant copy of Verses, to Thomas Duke of Newcastle" (Literary Anecdotes, ii. 233–234).

[3] A week earlier the Court had granted also twelve townships east of the Penobscot: see p. 204, below.

General Court in 1762, for reasons that will appear later, but his landed interests were not confined to that island. On November 12, 1764, he, in company with Colonel Thomas Goldthwaite of Fort Pownall, purchased of General Jedediah Preble 2,700 acres of land in the vicinity of what is now Fort Point, on the west bank of the Penobscot, originally a part of the Waldo patent.[1] Bernard and Goldthwaite[2] were instrumental in settling 2400 able men in this part of the country. Soon after he became governor of Massachusetts, Bernard took an active interest in the boundary question between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. The General Court had in the same month that the grant of Mount Desert was made appointed a committee to consider the matter of the provincial boundary,[3] and two years later John Mitchell was sent as a surveyor to the St. Croix region — early proceedings in what was afterwards destined to become an international question, which all but resulted in war between the United States and Great Britain and was not finally settled until 1908.

When Charles Morris, the surveyor-general of Nova Scotia, ran his boundary lines in 1765, he was supplied with information by Governor Wilmot of Nova Scotia which the latter had received from Bernard, who, realizing the importance of L'Escarbot's account of De Mont's settlement on the St. Croix[4] and Champlain's descriptions of the site of the colony as first-hand evidence in determining the true St. Croix, procured copies of those works, of which he made a careful study. His conclusion, that the St. Croix River of the Indians was not the St. Croix of De Mont's, the ancient boundary of Nova Scotia, communicated to Wilmot was ignored by Morris; possibly, as Dr. Burrage suggests, because he had been instructed to carry the boundary line as far west as possible.[5]

In 1765 Bernard applied for and received a grant of 100,000 acres

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[1] Lincoln Deeds, iv. 80; Bangor Historical Magazine, vi. 20.

[2] Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785 (Roxburghe Club, 1915), p. 264.

[3] Burrage, Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy (1919), pp. 10–18.

[4] Gov. Shirley in a letter to Secretary Willard, June 24, 1752, recognized the importance of these works with reference to province bounds. See Massachusetts Archives, liv. 204–207; Documentary History of the State of Maine, xii. 180.

[5] Burrage, Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy, p. 16.

of land in the Passamaquoddy Bay region from the province of Nova Scotia,[1] although he had claimed that a part of this territory was under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Bernard's interest in the eastern lands, therefore, was not confined to the Mount Desert region. He made three voyages thither, at his own expense going as far on one trip as the river and bay of St. Croix. He was instrumental in having accurate surveys made of a greater part of the territory, some of them executed under his own personal direction. These surveying parties were sent out in various directions and it is of interest to note the work that they did. One party, accompanied by Indian guides, went from Fort Pownall up the Penobscot River, through the Chaudière to Quebec and, returning by a different route, made observations and drew plans of both passages; while the same men afterwards travelled from Fort Pownall across country to Fort Halifax on the Kennebec; and still another party explored the Passamaquoddy and its islands as far as the mouth of the St. Croix and a few miles beyond. Certain members of this last mentioned party ascended the Passamaquoddy River to the head of the West Branch and thence through a multitude of lakes to the Penobscot, meeting that river some seventy miles above Fort Pownall; then down the river to the fort.

"I have also run," Bernard writes to the Earl of Halifax, November 9, 1764, "a line from Fort Pownall to George's River, being the most easterly settlement on that side of Penobscot, & have had an horse-road cut thro' the whole, being the length of 50 miles: this addition makes a clear land passage from Boston to Fort Pownall, which will be soon continued, whenever the Settlements on the East side of Penobscot shall be allowed to be improved." [2]

In October, 1762, Bernard visited Mount Desert, made surveys of the island and laid his plans for a country place for himself and a future town at Southwest Harbor. Fortunately he has left a record of this visit in a brief journal, from which a few extracts show that the governor [3] and his surveyors spent a busy week.

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[1] W. H. Kilby, Eastport and Passamaquoddy (1888), p. 45.

[2] Documentary History of the State of Maine, xiii. 391.

[3] Bernard was a clever draughtsman and, as Hutchinson says (History of Massachusetts, iii. 105 note), "a very ingenious architect." He was the architect of the present Harvard Hall.

Engraved for The
from a map in The Atla
owned by the Ma

Society of Massachusetts
ine published 24 April 1776
s Historical Society

Oct. 2. . . . We anchored about the middle of the Southwest Harbour about 5 p.m.

Oct. 3. After breakfast Went on shore at the head of the bay & went into the woods by a compass line for above half a mile; . . .

Oct. 4. We formed two sets of surveyors: I and Lieut Miller took charge of the one & M^r^ Jones my surveyor had the care of the other. We begun at a point at the head of the S West Harbour, proceeded in different courses & surveyed that whole harbour except some part on the south side.

Oct. 5. It rained all morning &c: We compared our observations & protracted the surveys: in the afternoon surveyed a Cove in the North River.

Oct. 6. I & L^t^ Miller surveyed the remainder of the S. W. harbour & a considerable part of the great harbour. M^r^ Jones traced & measured the path to the Bass Bay creek & found there many haycocks. In the afternoon we made some general observations & corrected our former surveys. . . .

Oct. 7. Took an observation of the sun rising. . . .

Oct. 8. We observed sun rising; but could not take his amplitude by reason of clouds near the horison. M^r^ Miller surveyed the Island on the East side of the river. M^r^ Jones ran the base line of the intended Township. . . . In the afternoon M^r^ Jones finished his line, & we gathered various plants in the Woods. In the evening I received several persons on board proposing to be settlers;[1] and it was resolved to sail the next morning if the wind would permit.

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[1] A letter from Abraham Somes to Eben Parsons, dated April 20, 1816, the original of which is in the Boston Public Library, refers to these settlers. In that year Somes, who was the first permanent settler on Mount Desert, was called upon to defend his title and this letter was one of several written to his lawyer. The following is copied from the original:

" sometime before the French War was over I received a letter from Sir Francis Barnard inviting me to go to Boston for in it he wanted to see me — Accordingly I went to see him, He asked me if I did not want a farm on the Island of Mount Desert I excepted the proposal he likewise requested me to procure as many Setlers as I could to go with me to setle the Land. I accordingly came down immediately after the War was over and peace ratified between Great Britain and the French & Indians — so that I could be safe in moving into the Wilderness; I came to this place which was in the Autumn of the year 1761 and made a pitch on this Lot I now live and in June the year following I moved my family and setled on the same lot, . . .

"In the year 1763 or 4 the said Sir Francis came in person . . . to this Island and remained here some Considerable time, and I attended on him, and piloted him and assisted him in making discoveries of Natural privile[ges] if any there

Oct. 9. At half after 8 we weighed Anchor; stood for the sea in a course S S W, . . . [1]

Two years later surveys were undertaken of the islands in East Penobscot Bay and Bernard informs the Earl of Halifax that the Fox Islands had been connected "with the Continent by trigonometrical lines, by which means, & by the survey of the Sea Coast in laying out the 12 Townships granted by this Province, We shall have a regular Chart of all the Sea Coast for near 50 miles East of Penobscot." [2]

It was also during this same summer of 1764 that surveyors were busy, to quote again from Bernard's letter to the Earl of Halifax, —

running inland lines thro' & above the said townships, by which the rivers & principal inland waters shall be made known. After this there will be only wanting the Sea Coast between the East end of the 12 townships into the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is about 70 or 80 miles more, to compleat the survey of the whole coast between the rivers Penobscot & S[t] Croix; which would have been an easy Summer's Work, if I could go on with it; But this must be deferred untill the designation of the Country is determined: as I cannot now ask our Assembly for this business.

It will be the work of the great part of this Winter to get all these Surveys protracted, & copies of them made: the first I can get properly

might be. At that time he gave me this lot with all the priviledges thereunto belonging, and advised me to build mills and clear up my farm, for said he you never shall be interrupted, I accordingly proceeded, and have been in the peaceable possession of the premises for the full term of fifty two years before any difficulty."

In another letter in the same collection, also dated April 20, 1816, Somes says that he and Ebenezer Sutton of Ipswich visited Southwest Harbor in 1755 when Somes bought Greening's Island from the Indians for a gallon of "occopy" (rum), while Sutton's purchase of the island which still bears his name cost him two quarts. The Indian governor from whom the purchases were made drew the deeds on a piece of birch bark, but Somes and Sutton "not understanding neither the description nor the worth of the Islands, never attended to the Subject nor took care of the birch bark and left them to drink their Occopy and to take the good of their bargain." To Mrs. Fannie Hardy Eckstorm of Brewer, Maine, I am indebted for deciphering this Indian word for rum. She has pointed out that Somes's occopy is the aoukoubi as given by Rasle (Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Series, 1833, i. 437). Cf. J. L. Locke, Sketches of the History of the Town of Camden, Maine, p. 47.

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 21–27.

[2] Documentary History of the State of Maine, xiii. 391.

finished, I shall transmit to your Lordship together with more particular accounts of the Country thro' which these routs have been made. And I shall at the same time, as I do now, make an offer of my best Services for settling & improving this great Wast, whether it shall be allowed to be within my Government or not.[1]

An account of Bernard's "best Services" may be brought to notice by relating in detail the story of his grant of Mount Desert Island; a story which, though of some importance in the history of Massachusetts Bay Province, is of fundamental interest in the annals of Eastern Maine.

The Bernard Grant

Shortly after Bernard had purchased his governor's commission from George II that monarch died and his successor, George III, exacted some four hundred pounds from him for a new commission. The new governor of Massachusetts, expecting to be reimbursed by the province, had expended another two hundred pounds in repairs and alterations upon Castle William and the Province House, and when he found that there was but slight chance of getting his money back he was disturbed. The double charge for his commission was also a financial hardship from which he sought relief. When informed by certain members of the Assembly[2] that it would be far easier to obtain from the General Court a grant of land, as they had plenty of that but no money, Bernard was quick to act upon the suggestion. It is interesting to note that he has said he would like to have some land within the territory of old Massachusetts, but was persuaded to petition for a grant of Mount Desert Island instead; that his arch enemy James Otis warmly advocated that a gift of the island be made to him at the very time he was such a bitter assailant of the governor.

Bernard's petition received favorable consideration and the following resolve passed the House February 27, 1762:

Resolved that in consideration of the extraordinary Services of His Excellency Governor Bernard there be granted to him his Heirs and Assigns the Island of Mount Desert lying on the North-eastward of Penobscot Bay and that a grant thereof to be laid before His Majesty

[1] Documentary History of the State of Maine, xiii. 391–392.

[2] See Bernard's memorial, pp. 212–215, below.

for his approbation be Signed by the Secretary and Speaker on behalf of the two Houses. Sent up for concurrence.[1]

This resolve was soon after concurred by the Council. Bernard's own comment upon this resolution is illuminating:

The Grant accordingly passed the House on the 27th. of February 1762; and though to make it appear more honorable it is said to be in consideration of the extraordinary services of the Governor, yet the real consideration was to reimburse him for the forementioned expenses: (purchase of his second commission and outlay upon property of the province) without which most probably he should neither have asked for, nor the assembly offered him a grant of lands. For as for the island itself, he was totally unacquainted with at the time it was proposed to him.[2]

On February 20, 1762 (one week before the grant to Bernard), the General Court also made grants of twelve townships, exclusive of Bernard's grant of Mount Desert, situated between the Penobscot and St. Croix Rivers. By a clause in the charter of William and Mary, the king's approbation was necessary before these grants could become valid. Members of the Assembly figured, and rightly too, that Bernard would make every effort to have his grant validated by the king; and if he succeeded, a precedent would thus be established and the other grants would, as a matter of course, be approved. Bernard employed William Bollan, the former provincial agent in London, to look after his interests at the Plantation Office. A letter from Bollan to Bernard, but addressed to the Speaker of the House, sets forth, under date of June 10, 1762, the difficulties that are to be encountered by Bernard's petition to accept the grant. Only that portion of the letter which refers directly to Mount Desert is quoted:

Upon presenting at the Plantation Office the grant of Mount desart Island lately made to his Excellency the Governor several things were said by the Secretary to the following effect — That this being the first Grant of this nature made by the General Court it required an especial consideration. — That the Island granted being situated to the eastward of Penobscot it was not a part of Massachusetts Province, but a part of Acadia or Nova Scotia, all the country lying to the Eastward

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, xvii. 168.

[2] Cf. Bernard Papers, x. 199–200.

of Penobscot river being pursuant to the treaty of Breda delivered up to the French King as parcel of Acadia: that in the negotiations with France during the late Peace the claims of Great Britain were made accordingly; and it was necessary that in all subsequent proceedings of the Government the country lying between the Rivers Penobscot and S^{t} Croix should be deemed and treated as part of Acadia or Nova Scotia — that the delivering up of that country to the French, pursuant to the treaty of Breda, was a matter not known and considered when the great opinion respecting the Jurisdiction and Soil of the country lying between the Rivers Kennebeck and S^{t} Croix was given by the two late lord chancellors when Attorney and solicitor general; which opinion, you are sensible, was agreed to by the Lords of the Committee of Council, whose report was approved by the late Queen as guardian of the Kingdom, in Council, in 1732: and it seemed to be questioned whether their Majesties King William & Queen Mary, when they gave to the Province their charter, had such complete right to the lands lying between the Rivers Penobscot and S^{t} Croix so delivered by King Charles the 2^{d} to the French King that they coud then well grant the same, the French Kings right not being extinguished without a cession. That the Province is not well entitled to these lands by the right of postliminy, upon considering particularly all the conquests and cessions made of them. This, I think, is the amount of all that was objected, and which seem'd in some measure to proceed from an inclination or formed design of some Persons in Government to make the lands between Penobscot and S^{t} Croix part of Nova Scotia, whereof I had before received intimation. Some of the objections extend much farther than they are at present urged, or intended, I believe, to be carried, to wit, to the lands lying westward of Penobscot. To several of them I gave immediate answers, some of which seemed satisfactory; but with respect to the right of postliminy, after observing that a notable diversity of opinion had taken place amongst the ancient & modern Lawyers touching the Grounds nature and extent of it, I desired time particularly to consider this point, with some other matters now mentioned, and it was thereupon candidly agreed that I shou'd take time to examine thoroughly all the points arising in this case, in order to the right understanding of it, and that we should then have a conference upon it, and being at that time very weak the Secretary kindly offered, what he has since repeated, in case of my indisposition, to come to my lodgings for this purpose. It was then said, as I expected, that the Secretary of state was the proper Officer to lay the grant before the King, whereupon it would probably come by reference before the Plantation board for con-

sideration. I then proceeded to deliver to Mr Wood the grant, to be laid before Lord Egremont, in order to his presenting it to his Majesty, together with the Governor's letter to his lordship. Mr Wood, after enquiring whether the Grant had been carried to the Plantation Office, promised to take care of it. Considering the present state of Publick affairs foreign and domestic delays in cases of this kind are to be expected; but Mr Wood having appointed me to be at the office to morrow I may possibly have something farther to say to the General Court hereupon before closing the letter. It will require much more time than I have yet had to examine thoroughly all the points arising in this case; but having in part considered it, it appears to me that after the conquest made by Sr Wm Phipps, their Majesties King William and Queen Mary were seized of the lands in question in their ancient right as parcel of the dominion of the crown of England, and that their grant thereof made by the Province charter was good and Valid, tho' no cession of the same had then been made by the French King; and altho' the objections now made contain matter new, and prior to what was considered by the Attorney and Solicitor General when the determination was made in favor of the Province, I do not yet see any reason for a revocation of any part of that determination, in case the Government shou'd incline to shake the Authority of it so far as to enquire again into its merits, in consequence of these new suggestions, which of course I shall take the greatest care to prevent, and one mean of doing it possibly may be to show in proper time that if the determination cou'd be opened no solid reason wou'd be found for a departing from it.[1]

June 11th

Having given a long attendance today at the Secry of State's office representing the governor's grant, and nothing being done, Mr Wood of his own accord promised me that he would certainly inform me by letter when it should be passed upon, supposing that it would not be long deferred.[2]

Bollan refers to "an inclination or formed design of some persons in government to make the lands between Penobscot and St. Croix part of Nova Scotia." It would seem that a partial explanation of this "formed design" is to be found in the fact that there was before the Privy Council a petition of the Earl of Stirling and others, asking

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 299–301.

[2] The postscript of June 11 is not in the Bernard Papers, and is copied from the Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 246.

for possession of certain territory which had been years before designated as the County of Canada and extending from the St. Croix to the Kennebec, once belonging to Sir William Alexander, first Earl of Stirling. On June 12, 1760, this petition was before the Council and by them referred to a committee; on June 19 the committee referred the petition to the Board of Trade; and on August 28 it was referred to the Attorney and Solicitor General.[1] Since this petition was no doubt before the Attorney General when Bollan's letter was written and had brought into question the title of Massachusetts to the eastern lands, it may properly be quoted:

To the king's most excellent majesty in council.

The humble petition of William Earl of Stirling, who is nearest heir male to William the first earl of Stirling, and also to Henry the last earl of Stirling, who died in the year 1739; and of William Phillips Lee, of the city of York, Esquire, and Mary Trumbull, of Easthampstead park, in the county of Berks, spinster; which said William Phillips Lee and Mary Trumbull are heirs at law of the said Henry the last earl of Stirling;

Sheweth,

That his late majesty king James the first, by letters patent, bearing the date the 3d day of November, which was in the year of our Lord 1621, did grant to the council for the affairs of New-England, their successors and assigns, all the land in New-England, in America, lying and being in breadth from forty to forty-eight degrees of northern latitude, in the length of and within all the breadth, throughout the main land, from sea to sea.

That the said council did, in the year 1635 (*inter alia*) grant to William Alexander earl of Stirling, his heirs and assigns, all that part of the main land of New-England aforesaid, beginning from a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining New-Scotland in America aforesaid, and from thence extending along the sea coast unto a place called Pemoquie, and so up the river thereof to the farthest head of the same, as it tendeth northward, and extending from thence, at the nearest, into the river Kineboqui, and so upwards along, by the shortest course, which tendeth unto the river of Canada, from thenceforth to be called and known by the name of County Canada.

That the said tract of land was soon afterwards taken possession by

[1] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, iv. 457–458.

the said earl of Stirling, and remained many years in the possession of him and his heirs, who were at a very great expense in planting and settling the same.

That the said William earl of Stirling died in the year 1640, and was succeeded by his grandson William, who died a few months after him; and the said last named earl was succeeded by his uncle Henry.

That in the year 1663–4, James duke of York obtained a grant from his brother, king Charles II. of all that part of the main land, in North-America, lying between the rivers called Hudson's and Connecticut rivers, by the name of the province of New-York, including in his letters patent for the same, the island of Stirling, or Long-Island; for the purchasing which island, the said duke had bargained with Henry earl of Stirling; and also including therein, the said county of Canada, above described.

That the said Henry earl of Stirling never did bargain to sell to the said duke of York, this right or title to the said county of Canada, or any part thereof, nor ever divested himself of his right to the same; and the only reason, which can be assigned for the said county of Canada being included in the said grant to the duke of York, is, that in the same instrument, by which the said council for the affairs of New-England conveyed the county of Canada to the said earl of Stirling, they also convey the said island of Stirling, or Long-Island. And the duke of York, having a design to establish the province of New-York, and hearing much of the goodness of the soil of said island of Stirling, or Long-Island, and of their contiguity thereto, applied to said Henry earl of Stirling for the purchasing his right to the said islands: and the said earl having agreed to sell the said islands to the duke of York, did deliver to his royal highness, or his agents, his title deeds, in order that the boundaries of the said islands of Stirling, or Long-Island, might be inserted in the duke's letters patent for the province of New-York; but by mistake, or otherwise, there was inserted in the said letters patent, not only the boundaries of the said islands of Stirling, or Long-Island, but all other lands contained in the grant from the said council of New-England to the first-named earl of Stirling; by which means the said county of Canada was likewise included in the said letters patent.

That, in the said agreement between the said earl and duke, Long-Island only being bargained for, and there being no mention made of the county of Canada, the said Henry earl of Stirling, and his heirs, preferred several petitions to the said duke of York, and afterwards to him when king James the second, and to his successors, complaining

of injustice done them by the said insertion of the said county of Canada in the said letters patent to the said duke of York.

That their late majesties king William and queen Mary, in their charter to the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, did give the jurisdiction of the country, comprehended within the said county of Canada, to the legislature of the said province of Massachusetts-Bay, (though it lies at a considerable distance from that province), but with the express prohibition to the granting any part of the soil thereof without the royal approbation.

That the petitioners humbly conceive, that the said grant to the said duke of York in 1663–4, nor the said charter to the Massachusetts-Bay in 1691, can any way invalidate their prior right, held by the said letters patent in 1621; and as no settlements have been made in the said county of Canada, by virtue of, or under the said charter to Massachusetts-Bay, with the royal approbation, the petitioners apprehend no inconvenience can arise by the petitioners being put in immediate possession of the said county of Canada, to which they are so justly entitled.

Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that your majesty would be graciously pleased to give the proper directions for putting your petitioners in the possession of the said tract of land, with all the rights and privileges granted to the said first mentioned earl of Stirling; and that your majesty would likewise be most graciously pleased to give orders to the governor of Massachusetts-Bay, to withdraw, and cease to exercise any jurisdiction therein, in order that so valuable a part of his majesty's dominions in America may be quietly and peaceably settled and improved by the petitioners. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray &c.

STIRLING.
WILLIAM PHILLIPS LEE.
MARY TRUMBULL.[1]

Bernard's petition for permission to accept the grant of Mount Desert Island reached the Plantation Office, according to the Bollan letter, in the spring of 1762. Both the governor and the General Court were naturally greatly interested in this document now that the title of Massachusetts to the eastern lands had been questioned. Vigorous efforts were made to combat the opposition in England and a voluminous correspondence passed between that country and the

[1] 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 186–189.

province, only a small portion of which has as yet come to light. Enough has been found, however, to make a fairly connected story.

On October 12, 1762, Thomas Cushing wrote to Jasper Mauduit, the provincial agent in London, who succeeded Bollan, a letter from which the following extract is taken:

Mr. Bollan in his last letter to the Court takes notice that you decline acting with respect to the Government's Grant of Mount Desart Island to the Governor and for this reason the Government has given no Instruction to the Agent respecting the same, however, notwithstanding this omission, the Government is much Interested in this matter. They have made Ten or Twelve Townships in those parts to a number of People who are obliged to settle the same in a few years, and the Confirmation of these grants they apprehend much depends upon obtaining a Confirmation of the Grant made to the Governor. They have accordingly in their last session chose a Committee during the recess of the Court to prepare Instructions for you upon this Head. You will therefore esteem this as a matter that claims your Attention and will, I doubt not, do all in your power to forward it [1]

But Bernard, leaving nothing to others, busied himself with material then to be found in the archives of Massachusetts, and after careful research embodied his results and conclusions in a letter to John Pownall, secretary of the Lords of Trade and Plantations; at the same time sending to England the "original journal on the Massachusetts files" of Sir William Phips's personal narrative of the capture of Port Royal in 1690, "with its dependencies . . . Penobscot and Mt. Desert particularly." [2] Here is Bernard's letter to Pownall:

BOSTON Dec 1 1762. [3]

S^R^

Since I wrote to you in March last desiring you would introduce to their Lordships the subject of a Grant of the General Court of this Province to me of the Island of Mountdesart, I have been informed

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[1] Massachusetts Historical Collections, lxxiv. 69. Cf. Massachusetts Province Laws, xvii. 168, 169–177.

[2] Palfrey, History of New England, v. 232 note, 248 note.

[3] Originally written "Dec 31 1762," but the "3" in "31" has been erased. In their letter of March 11, 1763, the Lords of Trade and Plantations speak of Bernard's "letter to our Secretary, dated the first of December:" see p. 230, below.

that there is like to be difficulties occur as to the recommending it for his Majesty's Approbation. The Objection apprehended is "That the Charter of King William is not valid as to the lands between the Rivers Penobscot & S^{t} Croix because He was not possessed of those lands at the time of making the Grant."

It is unlucky for me that this Objection has not been started before: if it had, I am inclined to think that this Difficulty would not now have stood in my way. As it is, If their Lordships should think there is Weight enough in it to require a public Disquisition, I must be content to wait till it can be brought on in other instances than my own. I can neither dispute with the Crown nor take upon me the defence of the Province: for which reasons I could wish that some means could be devised to extricate my business from this difficulty.

For this purpose I enclose a memorial, with a desire, that you would lay it before their Lordships at such time & in such manner as you shall think most proper. I also send with it short reasons to obviate the Objection before mentioned, by application of historical facts to it, together with the proofs of such facts as are therein alleged. If these reasons should be sufficient to induce their Lordships to waive this objection, at least in my instance, I shall have no further request to make. But if their Lordships shall not think these reasons conclusive, I must then intreat their further favor to recommend me for a grant of this Island in such other manner as they shall think proper.

In the memorial I suggest no other pretensions previous to the grant, than what were the considerations upon which the Assembly acted: but if I could with propriety enter into other particulars of Œconomy, their Lordships would be convinced that without some such beneficialty as this, there is little more to be expected from this Government than a bare subsistance.

I mention in the memorial my intention, by examining the lands and making experiments thereon to make them most beneficial to the Mother Country. Least these should be taken for words of course, I will mention two things, both greatly wanted in this Country, which I propose to set forward: the one is, raising hemp; the other making pot-ash. For the first there are lands upon this Island Very similar to the hemp lands in Lincolnshire, which I have had opportunity to make particular observation of: and it will be no difficult matter, by proper encouragement, to induce some Lincolnshire hemp raisers to settle here. For the other, the lands affording all the materials, Iron excepted, necessary to make Potash according to a plain & practicable Method lately published by the Society of Arts, I make no doubt but

that I can engage proper people to undertake it. And in both Cases, when the Novelty is over & the Advantage apparent, It will soon be followed.

I mention this to show that my own interest is not the only motive that makes me desire a speedy confirmation of this Island; and that your personal regard for me may not be your only inducement to promote my sollicitation. I know well that your private friendship is never more active than when it cooperates with your public spirit.

I am S^r^

Your most faithful & most obedient Servant

FRA BERNARD[1]

John Pownall Esq

The Short Reasons, referred to in the above letter, have already been printed.[2] The Memorial, also referred to, follows:

To The Right Honorable The Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations

The humble Memorial of Francis Bernard Esq Governor of the Province of Massachusets Bay showeth

That the Memorialist was in the Year 1760 appointed Governor of the Province aforesaid & enterd upon the Government on the 2^d^ day of August in the same year. That on the 25^th^ day of Oct^r^ following his late Majesty died, & his present Majesty having been graciously pleased to reappoint the Mem^st^ to the said Government, He sued out new Commissions for the same, at the same expence as the former, but without the usual allowances of Chapple furniture plate &c.

That the Mem^st^'s family being, by means of the Number of his children, considerably larger than that of his predecessor, upon his accession to the Government, He found himself obliged, (besides the assistance he had from the Province, which was very liberal) to expend considerable sums of his own Money in improvements & additions to the Governors house at Boston & his apartment at Castle William.

That the extraordinary expences the Mem^st^ had been at as well in the charges of his second commission as in the improvements & additions to the Governors House & appartments as aforesaid, being taken into consideration by the House of Representatives, They of their own accord proposed to make the Mem^st^ a compensation for the expences aforesaid by a Grant of lands, being more suitable to the state of the Provincial

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 45–47.

[2] Documentary History of the State of Maine, xiii. 296–302.

Finances during an expensive War & to the particular Circumstances of the Memst's family than a pecuniary Retribution would be.

The Governor of Massachusets Bay, considering the importance of the Province & the Variety & extensiveness of its public business, is allowed to be the worst supported of all the Royal Governors, the whole income consisting of 1000 pounds a year Salary (according to the Royal instructions) & casual fees of less than 100 pounds a year more. The House of Representatives have been so sensible of this, that, tho' they would not increase the stated Salary beyond what has been required of them, yet they have been frequently known to make the extraordinary Services of the Governors motives for occasional additions to the Salary & by that means have in some degree made up the general deficiency of the appointment.

For these Considerations the General Court of the said Province in their Session in febry 1762 did grant unto the Memst & his heirs the Island of Mountdesart lying North Eastward of Penobscot Bay, subject to his Majesty's Approbation. And tho' in the said Grant the only Consideration mentioned is of the extraordinary Services of the Memst, (in regard to which He only pretends to a close attention & steady application to the public business in arduous & intresting times) yet He begs leave to assure your Lordships that a Compensation for the Expences aforementioned, then estimated at above 600 pounds, was intended by the said Grant as well as a consideration for extraordinary Services.

Under these Circumstances the Memst received this grant, at the same time flattering himself that if the Value of it should hereafter appear to be greater than the Considerations for which it was made, He might in some part make up the difference by encouraging a speedy Settlement there & rendring it subservient to the general purposes of extending & improving his Majesty's Dominions. For this Reason He immediately declared his intention that (as soon as the grant had received his Majesty's Approbation) he would settle a township there by grants of lands to the Settlers thereof wholly gratuitous & free from any charge whatsoever. And He accordingly received proposals from upwards of 60 families to settle there upon free grants of a certain quantity of land being made to each family, which have been accepted by him & are ready to be carried into Execution.

Soon after this The Memst was informed that there were several persons settled upon the Island without pretending to any right thereto & were making great Havoc amongst the Timber & particularly such part thereof as is by law reserved for the use of his Majesty. The

Memst thereupon found it necessary to visit the Island in person; which he did in Oct 1762. When having called the persons settled there before him, he prevailed upon them to engage to stop their wast of the timber, by assuring them that he would grant unto them sufficient lots of land for their families in the New intended Township, which he promist them should be mark't out without delay.

The Memst begs leave to assure your Lordships, that He should not, under his present grant unconfirmed by his Majesty, have thought of entring into possession of the Island or acting as the Proprietor thereof, if the Circumstances of the times & the urgency of the people he has had to deal with, had not made it necessary. It would not in point of Prudence have been advisable for him with so imperfect a title to have entered into the Expence he has allready incurred in making a Voyage thither & employing Surveyors to lay out a Plan for a Township there, if it could have been well avoided. But He was fully convinced that if he did not interfere immediately, irregular settlements not hereafter to be easily reduced into Order & a general Devastation of the timber there would have presently ensued. He thought it therefore better for him to enter upon the Island under an imperfect title, than to suffer it to be possessed and wasted by Persons who can pretend to no Title at all.

Whilst in this state of uncertainty and diffidence The Memst has been informed that upon a reference to your Lordships, it is to be apprehended that your Lordships may not recommend the confirmation of this Grant, upon a doubt concerning the legal effect of the Charter of King William & Queen Mary under which this Grant is made; which arises from this Objection, "that in regard to the Lands between the Rivers Penobscot & S^{t} Croix (among which this Island may be accounted) King William was not in possession of them at the time of making the Charter & therefore could not legally grant the Same." The Memst begs leave to assure your Lordships that at the time of the Gen^{l} Court's making the Grant to him It was not apprehended by him nor, as he believes, by any one of the General Court that this Objection or Any other of consequence lay against the Right of the Province to originate a Grant of this Island under the Charter of King William & subject to the restrictions thereof The Records of the Province seeming to afford full Proof that King William at the time of making the Charter was in possession of the Country in question.

But the Memst desires to be understood that he does not mean to enter upon any controversial examination of this question: it is sufficient for him, that he is satisfied that your Lordships will give it a full Consideration before you form your judgement of it. In his present

situation It would ill become him to make himself a principal in a dispute concerning the rights of the Crown, nor could he think it prudent to take upon himself the defence of the Province in so important a Claim as the present. All He can do is to wait untill The Province shall have an opportunity to interpose on their own behalf; a full Consideration of their Claim to the Benefit of the letters of this Charter, if it should be thought necessary, can be had & a determination thereof shall be made.

But as a Disquisition of this importance must necessarily take up a good deal of time; as the Circumstances of the Mem$^{st's}$ Case both in regard to the Considerations of the Original Grant & the necessity he is under to enter upon and defend the lands at further expence will but ill suit with much delay; as the avowed purport of the Memst is to establish a new Town in a Wilderness, before he begins to perceive any profit to himself; as it is his firm intention, as soon after the confirmation of his grant as may be, by examination of the Land, & by experiments thereon to elucidate the best means to make them most beneficial to the Mother Country; and as he has reason, from the testimonies he has received, to flatter himself that his publick Services have hitherto been favorably accepted by your Lordships: He is bold to hope, that if upon account of the Objection before mentioned or any other which shall bring the Province's right to make this grant in question, your Lordship's should not think it proper at present to advise the confirmation of this Grant under the Title of the Province of Massachusets Bay, you will be so favorable to him as to recommend him to his Majesty's Grace for a grant of the Island in such a form and manner as shall neither confirm nor conclude against the Right of the Province of Massachusets Bay, but be equally available whether The Question concerning the same shall be determined on the one side or the other.

And your Lordship's may be assured that the Memst will use his best endeavors so to improve the said lands as not only to perform the Condition of a speedy population which is inherent to grants of this kind; but also by all other Means to make them as conducive to the general Utility as the Nature & Extent of the Island will admit of.[1]

In the Bernard Papers are to be found two interesting documents, presumably drawn up in 1763. One is "An Enquiry into the Origin of the Terms Acadia & Nova Scotia," and the other "A State of the Facts," etc. The latter is the "elaborate legal paper" which has led some writers to the erroneous conclusion that this document

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 49–56.

constituted the "extraordinary services" for which Bernard was given Mount Desert. Both documents follow.

An Enquiry into the Origin of the Terms Acadia & Nova Scotia and the use thereof.

In the year 1603 The King of France granted to the Sieur du Mont a Commission to be his Lieut general of North America lying between the latitudes 40 & 46 to which he gave the Name of Acadia. This is the proper Nominal Acadia.

In the year 1621 King James the first granted to L^{t} William Alexander All the Lands from Cape Sable & cross the Bay of Fundy to the Mouth of the River S^{t} Croix, & from the head of that river by a North Line to the River S^{t} Lawrence & from thence along the Bay of S^{t} Lawrence &c to Cape Sable. The extreme Northern parts of this Territory extend beyond the 49th degree: and This is the proper Nova Scotia.

From hence it appears that Acadia extends South of Nova Scotia & Nova Scotia north of Acadia. The Tract which is common to both is the whole peninsula of Nova Scotia & on the continent the Lands between the River S^{t} Croix & the 46th degree of latitude. Nevertheless these two Names have of late (that is within this century) been much confounded, or what is the Same, used as Synonymous; but with great impropriety: for that part of Nova Scotia which is above the 46th degree could not properly be called Acadia; nor that part of Acadia, which lies Southwest of S^{t} Croix, Nova Scotia.

The Origin, or at least the Confirmation, of this synonymous confusion of the distinctions of these two Territories had its rise from the treaty of Utrecht, at which time the English Ministry were thought not to be precise enough in many distinctions of greater consequence than this. And as it has been supposed that this synonymy used at Utrecht, has been a principal Occasion of the doubts concerning the right of the Massachusets Bay to the lands between S^{t} Croix & Penobscot, it may be proper to show that in regard to them it ought to have no effect, as by going back to the origin of their title, there will appear to be no foundation for including this Tract within the name of Nova Scotia.

It may be proper to observe that the South Boundaries of French Acadia were ideal only & therefore it is not to be wondred that it has been the subject of so much dispute. King James's Patent in 1620 to the Plymouth Company extended from the 46th to the 48th degree & therefore included all French Acadia. The English being better settlers than the French soon gained a powerful possession of the best part of these lands; the French gave way with as much reluctance as possible; & at one time contented themselves with claiming to Kennebeck River

& at another would have been satisfied with an acknowledgement of a right as far as Georges River. So that the French Boundary became (to use a Law terms) ambulatory. And It was truly So at the treaty of Breda; when our complaisant Monarch, upon his granting a territory, of which he had no idea of the Value, did not pretend to Set the bounds, but declared it to be of such part of Acadia as the French had been in possession of. In this Cession the Fort Pentagoet (Penobscot) was named among other places; and that being the most westerly of those places & lying on the East side of the river Penobscot, the English with great justice confined this disgraceful Cession to the River Penobscot, altho the french never were satisfied with such bounds.

There is not the least probability that at that time the Name of Nova Scotia was applied to Any lands West of S^{t} Croix (except by S^{r} Thomas Temple which was disapproved). The contrary plainly appears: In 1664 Charles the second granted to James Duke of York "All that part of the main land of New England beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of S^{t} Croix next adjoining to New Scotland" & extending to Kennebeck. This Grant upon the accession of James the second Vested in the Crown & this was the Tract which (with the addition of the Inland Country between the Rivers Sagadahock & Kennebeck which have but one Mouth to the Sea) K William's Charter granted to the Massachusets by the Name of the Territory of Sagadehock. The Expression of Nova Scotia or Acadia was never heard of in that Century: It was reserved for the Utrecht Negotiations to couple those two Words with an *or*; whereas a little attention on the side of the English would have placed an *and* between them, thereby comprehending the whole of both S^{r}. William Alexanders & Dumonts Grants as well as what is common to both. This would have Saved a good deal of trouble which is now happily put an end to.

Having thus got rid of the Words Nova Scotia, which tho not really material are apt to occasion a prejudice We will state, as shortly as possible, the facts relative to the Massachusetts title & see what conclusions will follow.[1]

A State of the Facts upon which the Massachusets Title to the lands between Penobscot & S^{t} Croix depends.

1621. James the 1 granted to S^{r} William Alexander the Province of Nova Scotia, of which the S^{t} Croix is made the Western boundary.

1664. Charles the 2^{d} granted to James Duke of York all that part of the main land of New England beginning at a certain place called or

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 91–94.

known by the name of S^{t} Croix next adjoining to New Scotland in America & from thence extending etc to the river of Kennebeck.

The Duke of York in 1676 appointed a Governor over this Country & having not aliened it in 1684 became King.

Charles the second by the Treaty of Breda, ceded that part of Acadia which the French had been before possessed of to France: in which cession The Fort of Pentagoet lying on the East side of Penobscot river is the most westerly place mentioned.

In 1690, War being declared between France & England, The Colony of Massachusets fitted out an armament at their own expence & conquered the whole Territory between Penobscot & S^{t} Croix, & entirely removed the few french who were settled there from thence.

In 1691 The Massachusets being in the peaceable possession of this Country, by conquest, King William & Queen Mary erected the Colony of Massachusets & the Colony of Plimouth etc into one Province & granted to them among other things all the lands between the River Sagadehock & Nova Scotia (being the same Lands which were before granted by Chas. 2 to the Duke of York, except a small alteration in the inland Western boundary) then called Acadia, & thereafter to be called the Territory of Sagadehock; by which name it is distinguisht to this day.

By the Treaty of Ryswick King William ceded to France all conquered places in America: but this Tract was not named nor did the French ever take possession of or make any settlement upon it. During Queen Anns War The Massachusets made it a continual object of their Arms, having fitted out two expensive Expeditions against that Country & Nova Scotia, before it was finally conquered by a regular Army assisted by the Massachusets forces.

By the Treaty of Utrecht This Country was ceded to England under the name of Acadia, by which it had been before granted to the Massachusets by King William. The Massachusets immediately resumed their jurisdiction over the Country & in 1713 received the Submission of the Indians thereof as subjects of that Province. In 1717 Gov^{r} Shute held a treaty with the Eastern Indians among whom were several of the Penobscots, who renewed their subjection to Great Britain under the Massachusets. In 1722 a War broke out with the Penobscot & other Indians which continued 4 years at the expence of the Massachusets much greater than the whole Value of the lands between Penobscot & S^{t} Croix. In 1727 [1] Peace was concluded with those Indians,

[1] This date is somewhat uncertain: perhaps "1729." Probably the year 1726 is meant: see Publications of this Society, xx. 128–147.

who renewed their Submission to the Massachusets. And since that there have been many other instances of such acknowledgements.

The Province has heretofore been prevented settling this Country by the combined intrigues of the french Missionaries among the Indians, but had determined to do it at the end of the War. For which purpose in 1759 Governor Pownall with a large armed force erected a Very respectable fort on the river Penobscot, took a formal Possession [1] of that Country in the right of the Massachusets on the east side of the river, & having called the Penobscot Indians together, declared his intentions of settling that Country & threaten'd them with his resentment if they dared to attempt to interrupt him. And accordingly in 1761 Proposals were made to the General Court for settling 12 Townships of 60 families each on the East side of Penobscot: and 6 of the said Townships have been surveyed & Grants of them have passed to be submitted to his Majesty according to the Terms of the Charter.

Arguments in favor of the Massachusetts Title

Upon the aforesaid Grants being tendered for the Kings Confirmation a Question is made whether The Provinces Right under the Charter was not originally Void by the Treaty of Breda, or since avoided by the Treaty of Ryswick? to which another Question may be added, Whether if their Title is not good in strictness of Law, it ought not to be perfected upon principles of Equity or of Policy. And taking both these questions as one, We will consider it in four ways 1 Common Law, 2 Civil Law, 3 Equity 4 Policy.

1 Common Law. Every Grant contains in it implied Warranty, which Warranty is a perpetual Bar to the Heir of the Grantor. Nor will it alter the Case if the Grantor had no other title but possession. For if a disseisor makes a grant & his heir, as his heir, acquires the legal title, he shall be barred by the implied Warranty of the Grantor. Let K William possessor of this Country by Conquest be considered the Disseisor at common Law, The rest of the Argument follows. The Reason of the Law is that No one shall be allowed to defeat the grant of his Ancestor, under whom he himself claims.

2. Civil Law. By the right of Postliminium Where a Country, that formerly belonged to a state, is removed from the Enemy, all private rights are restored. Or in the Words of Puffendorf Lib 8 ca 6 sec 26 "If a part of a people be recoverd by the people they were for some time divided and torn from, they again incorporate with the old Body and return to the place & rights they had before."

[1] Cf. p. 248 note 3, below.

3. Equity. As this Province has for above 70 years acted under a royal grant & in consequence thereof expended in the defence of this land more than ten times the Value of it, if their Title is imperfect, the King ought in equity to make it complete.

4. Policy. The Great Purpose in America is to bring forward the peopling & improving the Waste lands there. If, Where Lands lie between two Provinces, one of them is ready to settle these lands & really wants them for the use of their supernumerary people, and the other neither can nor ought in prudence to settle them, having allready much nearer their headquarters land sufficient to employ them for at least 100 years to come, It surely would not be right Policy to prevent one Province extending its population, to add to the allready immense desarts of the other.[1]

Two letters from Bernard to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations show how sedulously the governor applied himself to the task of supplying the proper officials with all the information that he could gather which had any bearing upon the proposed settlements, while his emphatic insistence on the importance of developing the territory between the Penobscot and St. Croix, irrespective of the question of title, redounds to his credit. The first reads:[2]

BOSTON Ap. 8 1763

MY LORDS

I write this to introduce to your Lordships the Grants of six townships laid out on the East side of the River Penobscot, made by the General Court of this Province & submitted to his Majesty for his royal confirmation according to the terms of the Charter. And tho' the soliciting of this confirmation is probably the Business of the Grantees only, yet the Event is so intresting, to the Province in supporting their Right

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 83–88.

The House Journal for 1762 has at the end, filling pp. i–xix, "Appendix to the Votes Of the House of Representatives, For the Year 1762. A brief State of the Title of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay to the Country between the Rivers Kennebeck and St. Croix." On p. xix is the following:

The Committee appointed to prepare a State of the Title of the Province to the Country between the Rivers *Kennebeck* and *St. Croix*, have prepared the foregoing, which is submitted in the Name and by Order of the Committee.

January 18, 1763. T. HUTCHINSON.

The report was read and accepted in Council on January 20, and in the House on February 1, and consented to by Gov. Bernard.

[2] For the second letter, see pp. 228–230, below.

to originating grants of lands in this Territory, & to the Nation in encouraging a speedy cultivation of the Wast lands of North America, that I think it my duty to lay before your Lordships my sentiments upon both these points.

In regard to the Province's originating these Grants, I shall not enter into any disquisition of their Right to do so: If that is made a Question, the support of it must not depend upon me. I have perhaps already engaged too far in it, in what I have wrote upon the subject. At present I only mean to show in what manner they have exercised this power in these instances which are the first of the kind; and from thence to show that this power is in hands, which are not like to abuse it.

1. These Grants have been made without any other consideration than a Covenant to settle the lands; not a farthing has been paid or stipulated for on behalf of the province. 2. The Grants are not only made strictly conformable to the restrictions of the Charter, but there is also a limitation of the time in which the King's Confirmation is to be obtained, after which the Grants, which are in strictness only recommendations, for want of confirmation cease & determine. 3. The General Court has been so intent upon their main purpose, peopling the country, that they have not trusted to the forfeiture for not settling, which in other grants has been the only obligation hitherto used, but they have obliged the grantees to give Security to settle the lands within a certain time after the Grants shall be confirmed; which bonds were lodged in the Secretaries Office, before the Grants were made. From this I would infer, That the general Court have had the strictest regard to the public good in making these grants has shown itself worthy to be trusted with this power & therefore deserves to have its acts approved & confirmed, if weighter reasons not known here should prevail against it.

I need not urge to your Lordships the expediency of encouraging, by all proper means, the cultivation of the wasts of N America. The Sentiments of your Lordships have been fully shown by your unwearied endeavours to promote such purpose: And now the Motives to it have received much additional strength by the late great enlargement of his Majesty's N American Dominions. But perhaps It may be of use to endeavour to remove the obscurities which may lie in the Way of your Lordships approving the settlement, & arise from your doubts concerning the Province's right to originate Grants of Land within this Territory: which Question, if it is to be discussed with that deliberation which its importance will require, may not be determined within the time necessary to resolve upon allowing or putting a stop to this proposed settlement.

Undoubtedly This Settlement must be of general advantage to the public, whether it shall appear hereafter to be in this or that province or in neither of them: and the undertakers deserve all possible encouragement to induce them to pursue their Scheme, which is certainly planned with good judgement for the neutral support of one another. The whole 6 Townships are laid out upon a Neck of land lying between Penobscot River & a River called Mount desert river the Mouth of it being near the West End of the Island of that name. The whole Plan of the 6 Townships (each of which is intended to contain the Area of 6 miles square) extends not above 15 miles of longitude. The Spot is at present a Wilderness, & lies at a great distance from the settled parts of Massachusets province & at a much greater distance from the nearest settlements of Nova Scotia, & would, if duly promoted, be the means of connecting in time, one with the other. On the other hand if this settlement should now be prevented, It will cast a great damp upon undertakings of this kind, & may contribute to keep this great length of coast in the desert states in which It has hitherto continued.

I must therefore submit to your Lordships whether, in case your doubts concerning the right of the Province should still remain, It might not be advisable to disengage this Settlement from the dispute concerning the Right of the Province, and let the settlement go on to wait the determination of the right. To whatever province the Land should be allotted, it will not be the Worse for having 360 families upon it. I urge this not on behalf of the Province which will gain nothing by such a proceeding, but for the sake of the settlers, many of whom are embarked so deep in this Adventure that the disappointment may be their ruin. And with great submission I conceive, that this Method of favoring them is very practicable, as it seems to require nothing but that in the Kings confirmation there be a recital of the doubts concerning the Provinces Right to these lands and a proviso that this Grant & confirmation shall not prejudge the same, but that It shall remain to be considered & decided, this Grant & confirmation notwithstanding.

I have been the more particular and indeed the more earnest in this representation, as I think it would be a great pity that a Settlement so compact & so well calculated for the public Utility should be prevented. There was an application made to the general Court for 6 other Townships; but they do not go on: 3 of them are drop't already; one of the other 3 proceeds and I believe the other two will, if they are encouraged. These 3 Townships adjoin to the other six, & will help to strengthen them. The whole if they are allowed to proceed, will form a settlement of 540 families. The first settling of a wast Country is so hard a work

that a little Discouragement is apt to defeat it. I therefore hope that this undertaking will meet with your Lordships favour.

I am, with great respect, My Lords Your Lordships
Most Obedient and Most humble Servant
FRA BERNARD[1]

Meanwhile, dissatisfaction had been expressed in London with regard to some of Bernard's actions. The following extract of the minutes of proceedings of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations is dated December 2, 1762:

M^r^ Mauduit Agent for the Province of Massachusets Bay, attending pursuant to Order, was called in, and the following questions were put to him Viz^t^

"Have any Grants been lately made by the General Court of the Massachusets Bay of any Lands, Island or Islands; to the Eastward of the River Penobscot."

"If any such Grants have been made, what are they, and to whom, and has any Application been made to the Crown for Confirmation of them."

M^r^ Mauduit answered, that he believed there had been some Grants made to the Eastward of Penobscot, but was not prepared at present to give any precise Account of them, whereupon the Questions were wrote down and delivered to him, and he promised to give an Answer in a few days.[2]

Under date of December 10, 1762, occurs the following:

Read a Memorial of the Agent for the Province of Massachusets Bay, containing his answer to the Questions stated to him on the 2^d^ instant, relative to Grants made by the General Court of that Province of Lands between the Rivers Penobscot and S^t^ Croix.

Ordered, that this matter be taken into further Consideration when Application shall be made for His Majesty's Confirmation of any Grants, that shall have been made by the General Court of Massachusets Bay, of any Lands between the said Rivers.

In the meantime their Lordships were of opinion, that the Resolution of the Council of Nova Scotia of the 3^d^ of May 1762. upon the Application made to that Government by the General Court of Massachusets Bay, for ascertaining the Boundary Line between the two Provinces, was proper and discreet, and that the Governor of the Massachusetts

[1] Documentary History of the State of Maine, xiii. 308–311.
[2] Bernard Papers, x. 37.

Bay ought not, consistent with his duty, to have entered upon a Negociation of this kind with the Government of Nova Scotia, until he had known the Sentiments and received the Directions f^r^ his Majesty, upon a point of so great importance to his Majesty's Interests.[1]

Thereupon the following letter was sent to Bernard:

WHITEHALL Decem^r^ 24^th^ 1762

SIR

The inclosed copy of the Minutes of our proceedings upon some papers which we have lately received from the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, will mark out to you the Sense we have of your conduct, in entring upon a negotiation with the Government of Nova Scotia for ascertaining the Boundary Line between that Province and the Massachusetts Bay, without having communicated the affair to Us as it was your Duty to have done.

You cannot be ignorant that the River Penobscot has always been deem'd and declared to be the western boundary of Accadia or Nova Scotia, as possessed by France under the Treatys of Breda and Ryswick, and as ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, and thô we do not take upon us to declare that the Province of Massachusets Bay is, under this circumstance, absolutely precluded from any claim of property to the Eastward of that River, yet it was so far a matter of question, that, We cannot but think, that it was improper in you to assent to any Grants of Lands between Penobscot and S^t^ Croix, untill the question was determined; and that the Countenancing a proposition for ascertaining a Boundary which implys a restriction of the limits of Acadia to the River S^t^ Croix, without the participation of the Crown, was such an aggravation of your misconduct as our Duty to his Majesty will not permit us to pass over without animadversion.

We are Sir

Your most Obedient humble Servants

SANDYS
SOAME JENYNS
ED BACON
JOHN YORKE
EDMOND THOMAS[2]

Francis Bernard Esq^r^
Governor of Massachusets Bay

On the receipt of the above letter, Bernard wrote as follows to John Pownall:

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 38–39.

[2] Id. x. 41–42.

Boston Ap. 17. 1763

Dear S[r]

Last night I received a Letter from their Lordships dated Dec. 24 referring to a resolution of the board dated Dec 10, in both which I find myself severely censured for having negotiated with the Province of Nova Scotia for ascertaining the Boundary line between that Province & this, and for assenting to Grants of lands between Penobscot & St. Croix.

Ever since I have been in America I have studied, not only to obtain, but to deserve the Approbation of their Lordships; upon some occasions I have been favored with honorable Testimonials of their acceptance of my Services; and I have never as yet, that I recollect, been charged with one instance of gross neglect. I cannot therefore help taking to heart my being condemned without having an opportunity to explain my principles or conduct; either of which, I'm persuaded would have made this reprimand unnecessary.

I shall be quite uneasy 'till I have Vindicated Myself from this charge: and as to do this in as full a manner as my present feeling seems to demand will require a retrospect of this business for near two years past and a resort to many public papers I have no other way to ease myself for the present but to transmit to you the heads of my proposed Vindication drawn up hastily & without any address that it may be used in such a manner as you shall see cause to apply it.

I should have wrote directly to their Lordships, if the time between the coming in & return of the N Y Post by which I send this would have admitted of it. As it is, I must desire you would not let this Apology, hasty as it is, be wanting to my Vindication but will lay it before their Lordships whenever you shall see a fit and necessary Occasion for it. I shall consider at more leisure what it will be necessary to add to it in my next dispatches.

The Heads of an Apology for the Conduct of Gov[r] Bernard in regard to the Lands Eastward of Penobscot.

I was not a prime mover in Any of the proceedings of the General Court of the Province of Mass Bay in regard to the lands Eastward of Penobscot, not even in the grant made to me. I have been only the Executor of the general Courts resolutions in which I have acted with a conscientious regard to my duty, as far as my Judgement could point it out.

It was in pursuance of such resolutions that application was made to the Government of Nova Scotia to join in a Survey of the River S[t]

Croix which was supposed to be the undoubted boundary of the two provinces, altho' It might be doubted which was the River S^{t} Croix.

The Distinction of the River Penobscot bounding French Acadia & from thence being applicable to the limiting the Territory of Sagadehock was not then known, as far as I can learn to Any of the Members of the general Court. For my own part I can say that It was quite new to me when I was first advised of it long after that time.

The Apprehension that It might be a question which was the River S^{t} Croix, was founded upon an observation that there were at least 2 Rivers that fell into the Bay of that Name.

As the determining this question must depend upon comparing the appearance of the Country with the description of it as given by the old Navigators It became a Matter of Surveying only & therefore there was no doubt but that the two Provinces might take upon them to join in ascertaining such facts as should be necessary for the determination of the boundary.

It was never in the least presumed that these Observations should prejudge his Majesty; they were expressly designed to be submitted to him as informations subject to his judgement.

And As Soon as It was known that the Question of the boundary would not depend upon the identity of the River S^{t} Croix but upon Arguments distinct from those of land Observation the Purpose of the Survey of S^{t} Croix was laid aside.

The Grants of the 12 Townships Eastward of Penobscot were not resolved upon till after repeated Sollicitations of the intended Settlers & at a time when there was no apprehension on either side that the Right of the province to these lands would be disputed.

It was above 6 months After the Resolution of the General Court which empowered the Granters to Survey the lands, that I received an intimation from London that the Right of the Province to lands Eastward of Penobscot was doubted. I had before that wrote to the L^{t} Gov^{r} of Nova Scotia to let him know that I would consent to no other Grants on that Side Penobscot till his Majesty's pleasure concerning these should be known.

But I did not think I could with propriety stop the completion of these grants for that:

1. The Grantees upon the credit of a Resolution of the general Court having put themselves to considerable Expence in surveying &c It would scarce have been equitable to have refused them an opportunity of applying to his Majesty for a confirmation of their Grants;

2. the Province being desirous to settle these lands as soon as possible

& earnest to support their right thereto, the question whereof could be brought on by no means so proper as by submitting a Grant to his Majesty for his Confirmation, I could not consistently with the good understanding which I have hitherto preserved in the general Court, have obstructed their proceeding without having any instruction or order for so doing.

3. I had a third Reason for letting these grants proceed, which was that the settling this Country must be advantageous to the King at all Events Whether It should be adjudged to one Province or the other. And on this I have chiefly relied in my recommendation of these grants to their Lordships.

Nevertheless I took Care that in the draught of the Grants all proper Reservations and provisoes should be inserted; and that the whole Tenor of them should be significant of the humility with which they are submitted to his Majesty. Not only the Terms of the Charter are strictly observed, but there is a Proviso for avoiding the Grant, if his Majesty's Confirmation shall not be obtained in 18 months time: a Caution which exceeds that of a suspending Clause; which last is generally allowed to be a sufficient Apology for a Governor's consenting to an Act, the expediency of which he doubts of.

In regard to the grant made to me It was merely accidental that It was in this Country. It took its rise from an Opinion which prevailed in the general Assembly that the Province ought to make me a compensation for the expences of my second Commission & for some charges I had been at in making some additions & improvements at the Province House & the Governors apartment at the Castle, the whole of both these amounting to 600 pounds sterling.

This Compensation would have been made in Money if the Expences of the War had not discouraged pecuniary grants. It was then proposed to do it by grant of land in the Westward, & one or two Spots were mentioned for that purpose. Afterwards The Application of Settlers at Penobscot being agitated, The Assembly turned their Eyes to the Eastward for a Grant for me: and it was from some Members of the Assembly not Many days before the Grant was made that I first heard of the Island of Mountdesart. I had all along left it to the Assembly to make this compensation in what manner they pleased: And to the last I was no otherwise active in it than barely signifying my acceptance of this proposal.

This affords a plain proof that I did not at that time apprehend that the Right of the Province to these lands was like to be disputed. If I had, I should certainly have chose (as I might have done) a Grant of

lands to the Westward where the Right was undoubted, preferable to these where It is controverted.[1]

And eight days later Bernard sent the following letter to the Lords Commissioners:

BOSTON Ap 25 1763

MY LORDS

By a Letter dated the 8th inst I informed your Lordships that the general Court had passed a Grant for 6 Townships on the East side of the River Penobscot to be submitted to his Majesty for confirmation: and I humbly offer'd to your Lordships such observations & reasons as have induced me to recommend this settlement to your Lordships favor.

Some days after this packet was sent away I received your Lordships Letter of Dec 24; which has given me a most sensible Mortification: for I had flatter'd myself that I stood in such a degree of credit with your Lordships, that I should not easily have been suspected of acting, with intention in opposition to your Lordships opinion or in prejudice to his Majesty's right. As I am persuaded that upon a full & true state of this affair, your Lordships will readily acquit me of this imputation, I was desirous of being discharged from it as soon as possible. I therefore, by the return of this Post to New York, sent a short defence of my Conduct, inclosed in a letter to Mr Pownall, desiring him to lay it before your Lordships at such time as he should think it fit & necessary. I should have addressed myself immediately to your Lordships, if the hurry I was in had not made me prefer the form of a Memorial. And as upon a revisal I find it contains the chief substance of my defence, I shall avoid repeating as well as I can and in this explain such proofs as I shall think proper to introduce in support of my allegation.

The Proofs I have submitted to your Lordships are these:

A Copy of the order of the general Court for the settlement of the line between the Massachusets & Nova Scotia; a Copy of The Report of the Committee appointed for that purpose; a Copy of my letter to the Lt Govr of Nova Scotia (in pursuance of the report of the Committee) wrote in Council & recorded there; A Copy of the records of the election of Commissrs to join those of Nova Scotia to repair to St Croix & ascertain the line &c.; a Copy of my Letter to the Lt Govr of Nova Scotia, (in pursuance of the last mentioned act of the general Court) wrote in Council &c.

From these will appear; 1 That I was not a mover in this intended survey and that if I am blameable for any thing, it is only for consent-

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 67–73.

ing to the resolutions of the two houses: with what propriety I could refuse my consent thereto will be considered hereafter. 2 That the deliberation of the general Court turned solely upon these Questions: which stream was the River S^{t} Croix? & from what part of that River the Northern Line was to be run; and that they were not aware of an objection to their title arising from any other considerations. 3 That in my consenting to these resolutions & consequentially communicating them to the L^{t} Governor of Nova Scotia, I judged for the best if nothing then appeared to me to invalidate the report of the Committee which I found to be agreeable with the letter of the Charters of Nova Scotia & Massachusets Bay.

I cannot say whether at that time the boundary of Acadia as ceded by Charles the second to France was in my thoughts or not: but this I am sure of, that I had not the least apprehension that such boundary was applicable to the limitation of King Williams Grant to Massachusets Bay. As a presumptive proof thereof (the only kind of proof which such an asservation is capable of) It appears that my immediate Predecessor Governor Pownall, altho' he came to this Government directly from England, was not acquainted with this Objection to the Provinces right. If He had, I am sure that He who was never reckoned inattentive to this duty would not have taken a formal and monumental possession of the East side of Penobscot on behalf of the Province of Massachusets Bay, as it appears, from the inclosed Copy[1] of the record of that transaction, that he did. This Transaction alone, which I must suppose was communicated to your Lordships & was never, that I have heard of, excepted to, must justify me in presuming that the East side of Penobscot was allowed to belong to Massachusets Bay.

In regard to my consenting to the grant of the 6 Townships, I believe I might, after what I have allready said, safely trust my justification to the Grant itself, in which so much care has been taken to provide for the Kings rights and the public Emolument. But It may be necessary to state to your Lordships the times & manner in which it was made. The first Grant originated in the House of Representatives, Feb 20 1762, & having been concurred by the Council received my consent. (See Votes pa 265) The Grant amounted to a positive assurance of 6 Townships, of the contents of 6 miles square each, to the 360 Grantees, altho' It was incomplete untill by an actual survey the boundaries of the Townships could be ascertained. This Survey was not perfected till the end of the Summer following & it was certified upon Oath to the

[1] This copy is in Bernard Papers, x. 89.

general Court at the first Session after: when on Feb 24 1763 a positive Grant was ordered to be passed under the Province Seal to be laid before his Majesty for his approbation. (see the Votes [pa 277).]

Between the times of the originating the grant & the completing it by an Authentic Instrument, I was advised that probably an Objection arising from the bounds of Charles the 2^{ds} cession might be urged against the Provinces right: and the general Court received the same intimation from the Province Agent: but I was so far from thinking that that would authorise me without an order from your Lordships, to put a stop to this business, that I was rather inclined to forward it as much as might be, thinking it the best & easiest Way of bringing this right into Question: And I still persuade myself that when your Lordships shall have perused this Grant, you will think that the Gen^{l} Court has introduced their claim in as respectful or proper a manner as they could well have done. Nevertheless upon the first notice of these doubts concerning the provinces right, I resolved to consent to no more grants untill the present should be determined upon.

I am very unwilling to extend the trouble I now give your Lordships unnecessarily and therefore for the rest I shall only refer to my former letters on this subject; from the whole tenour of which I flatter myself your Lordships will perceive that from the first time I had reason to think that this Question was like to be controverted I have expressed an earnest desire that I might be involved in it as little as my station would permit and tho' I have thought it my duty to lay before your Lordships such arguments as I knew would be urged in favour of the Provinces right; yet your Lordships must have observed that the general Service of his Majesty in extending the population of his Dominions has been my chief purpose.

I am, with great respect My Lords, Your Lordships most obedient and most humble Servant

FRA BERNARD [1]

A letter to Bernard from the Lords Commissioners on March 11, 1763, shows a much more friendly attitude than their former letter displayed, due doubtless to Bernard's careful and elaborate arguments.

WHITEHALL, March 11th 1763

SIR

We have taken into Our Consideration your letter to Our Secretary, dated the first of December,[2] and the several papers which you have

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 75–81.

[2] See p. 210 note 3, above.

addressed to the Board, relative to the Grant of the Island of Mount Desart, which the General Court of Massachusets Bay is represented to have made to you in July 1762.

We can have no objection to your acceptance of this Grant as a Testimony of the approbation and favour of that Province, in whose Service, and in the Conduct of whose Affairs, you have manifested so much zeal and capacity, nor should We have delayed Our Representation upon it to the Crown, if the deed itself had been before Us. You are sensible there are some Circumstances peculiar to the situation of this Tract of Country which make it necessary to consider both the Case itself, and the manner of carrying such a Grant into Execution: When We shall be actually in Possession of the Grant We will bring the Matter to issue with all possible Dispatch, and endeavour to decide whatever questions arise upon it, in a manner which shall be agreable, and upon grounds which shall be just to all Parties concerned.

It may be proper to observe to you, that the doubt conceived upon the Claim of the Province of Massachusets is not founded upon the Allegation, that the lands to the East of Penobscot were not in the Possession of the Crown at the time of Granting the Charter, but upon the Operation which the Treatys of Riswick and Breda (by which Treaties this Tract of Country was ceded to France) should be admitted to have had upon the Charter itself.

We cannot take upon Us at present to say how far all future Consideration of this Question is precluded by the Order of Council grounded upon the Opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General in 1731, this is a delicate point, which should be reserved till the deed shall come regularly before Us, and in the meantime We cannot think it expedient to advise any conditional Grant whatever of this Island. We are

Sir

Your most Obedient humble Servants

C Townshend
Soame Jenyns
Ed Bacon
Orwell [1]

A few extracts from letters to Bernard will be pertinent. On February 23, 1764, Lord Barrington wrote:

I understand thro' M[r] Jackson, that your affairs concerning Mount Desert go on well; he has promised to give me notice when I can be assistant therein. Lord Hillsborough, the present first Lord of Trade,

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 63–65.

is the most intimate friend I have in the world, and I have not neglected to inform him of my connexions with, and good opinion of you.[1]

On July 12, 1764, John Pownall wrote to Bernard:

The Grant of Mount Desert will I hope be confirmed next week, I shall be happy to be the first one to acquaint you of it, for I have your interests most sincerely at heart.[2]

On July 13, 1764, the Lords of Trade wrote:

The Measures taken by the General Court for laying out Townships in the District of Sagadehock, is a Matter of great Importance, and is complicated with a great Variety of difficult Questions and Considerations; all which will be brought before His Majesty by a Report, that we shall make in a few Days upon the Petition of the Proprietors of six of these Townships to have their Grants confirmed.[3]

And on September 7, 1764, Barrington again wrote to Bernard:

I have lately had some talk with our friend Pownal about Mount Desart, who assures me your grant shall have his best assistance, seems to think it will pass to your Satisfaction: He & M[r] Jackson have promised to let me know when any help of mine is wanted.[4]

The foregoing letters and documents have been freely used to show the method of procedure adopted by Bernard and the General Court to obtain favorable action, in England, with reference to the Mount Desert grant. The difficulties which were to beset Bernard's petition have already been mentioned in William Bollan's letter of June 10, 1762. It will now be of interest to follow the petition after it had been presented to the proper officials. On December 12, 1763, it had reached the Privy Council and on December 21 it was referred to a committee of the Council, and by this committee, February 4, 1764, to the Board of Trade.[5]

In the records of the Board of Trade, July 16, 1764, some interesting statements in regard to land grants in the territory of Sagadahoc are to be found. There were two points which came up for consideration; the first, as to how far it might be consistent with policy to permit an extension of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and second,

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 163.
[2] Id. x. 175.
[3] Id. x. 179–180.
[4] Id. x. 189.
[5] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, vi. 359, iv. 614.

as to how far the conditions of the grants might be consistent with the laws of England and of Massachusetts. It was decided that as a matter of policy it was unwise thus to extend the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, since these new townships would mean an increase in the membership of the Assembly, which since 1692 had been enlarged from 84 to 170, while the Council still remained at 28. The remoteness of the settlements, their insecurity against hostile attack, the possibility of conditions which might arise whereby there would be a conflict with the laws of the province or with those of the established church of the kingdom caused the Board to look with disfavor upon the establishment of these new townships east of the Penobscot. But on the other hand, there was a doubt as to whether these observations were really of sufficient importance as to delay the settlement and improvement of so large a part of his majesty's domain. It was suggested that possibly it might be best to sever Sagadahoc from the province of Massachusetts Bay and erect it into a new and separate province. "How far this may be done," the record reads, "without the consent and concurrence of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, we do not take upon ours to determine." In view of the fact that the governor of the province was expressly prohibited from taking gifts or presents from the Assembly, another complication was introduced. "But Bernard's conduct," the Board reports, "has been without reproach, and there is no room to suspect undue influence in the case of a grant which cannot take effect without his Majesty's permission." And "The Board of Trade recommend confirmation of the grant unless it may tend to invalidate any right of the Crown."[1]

Consequently, on the next day, July 17, 1764, Bernard's petition to accept his grant of Mount Desert, with this recommendation of the Board of Trade, was sent back to the Privy Council with the request that the Council should "consider whether the Province of Massachusets Bay have, or have not a Right to make Grants of Land within the territory of Sagadahock."[2] The Privy Council took plenty of time in considering, for Bernard's petition was destined to remain in Council for more than five years.

Bernard must have learned that his petition was sidetracked, for

[1] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, vi. 369–371. [2] Id. iv. 615.

his next move was to formulate an appeal which he made direct to King George.[1] In this document are set forth his grievances, which were shared more or less by all the other grantees of the eastern lands; and several paragraphs in it set forth the difficulties and annoyances that beset Bernard in his attempts to develop the wilderness of Mount Desert. The document is entitled "A Statement of the Grant of the Island of Mount Desert to Francis Bernard and the Consideration for which it was made," and reads in part as follows:

Upon his informing the Lords of trade of this grant & the occasion of making it, they were pleased by their letter of Mar 11 1763 to write to him in the following words. "We can have no objection to your acceptance of this grant as a Testimony of the approbation & favour of that province in whose services & in the conduct of whose affairs you have manifested so much Zeal & Capacity; nor should We have delayed our Representation of it to the Crown if the deed itself had been with us." And He, about the same time & for some time after received frequent assurances that the grant would speedily be confirmed.

Under these Encouragements He thought He might safely venture to make preparations for settling the Island: and accordingly he has had the whole surveyed and has built some houses & erected a saw mill & markt out a town &c at the Expence of 4 or 500 pounds.[2] But

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[1] G. E. Street, who prints the document in full (Mount Desert, 1905, pp. 118n–120n), says that the appeal was "dated October, 1764" (p. 118), but the document is undated.

[2] In the Bernard Papers are two interesting documents. One (x. 226–228), dated September 8, 1764, is entitled "Proposals for settling a Colony of Germans at a Town in the Island of Mountdesert," and has been printed in the Bangor Historical Magazine, v. 1–2. The other (x. 207–208) is as follows:

Proposals for a fishery at Mount Desert, October 5, 1764.

The Governor at the desire of some of the Settlers there, has undertaken to provide two small Schooners & two large Whaleboats, with all proper fitting, To be employed in a fishery in the following Manner.

There shall be ten people employed in fishing, that is; two on board each Schooner, & three on board each Whaleboat, & one Shoresman with such assistants as he shall want & procure, who shall live at the flakes.

The Flakes with a house for the Shoresman, & a Storehouse for the fish, shall be built on a point of land which forms the West Side of the Strait which leads out of the South West harbour into the long Sound; all the persons concerned in the fishery shall assist in erecting the Same; The Governor finding doors

now upon account of the delay of the confirmation some Disorderly people in the neighbourhood have taken possession of the Island broke down the houses destroyed the timber & still continue to make great havoc & waste without his being able to redress himself for want of the completion of his title.

The Island, by the principal & intrest of the forementioned sums may be reckoned to have cost him already 1500 pounds, which is probably more than it would sell for, if put up to sale. He cannot therefore entertain a thought that, after having served so long & (he hopes he may add) so faithfully a government whose annual Income, at best, produces a bare subsistence & of late years has fell short of that, He shall be left to bear so heavy a loss from what was intended for his benefit. But tho' He has no reason to suppose that the intentions towards him are other than favorable, He has suffered a great deal & continues to suffer by the delay of this business.[1]

A plausible explanation of "the delay in this business" which Bernard deplores, is to be found in the Acts of the Privy Council;[2] a deal which illustrates the chicanery of the times, putting to blush the political intrigues of more modern days. In view of the fact that the Lords of Trade had written Bernard in March, 1763,[3] giving him the assurance that his grant would be speedily confirmed, in October of the same year the Privy Council is advising the king to hold fast to the territory between the Penobscot and the St. Croix in case there might be, at some future time, a boundary dispute between Massachusetts and Quebec; that he then might fix the

Windows & Nails & boards & Slate for the roof, & therefore having the property of the building.

All the fish that shall be caught in the said Boats, shall be brought to the flakes, there to be cured & kept in common; or in such Divisions partnerships as the fishermen shall choose to divide themselves: provided, that every boat at least shall be in partnership.

Towards the Close of the year, & at the ending of the fishery, at one or two times as shall be thought most convenient; all the fish so made shall be divided into five parts, & one fifth part, without any deduction or charge soever, except the proportion of Salt, shall be reserved to the Governor for the use of the Boats &c; the other four fifths shall remain to the fishermen in such Divisions & partnerships as they shall have agreed upon.

We whose Names are underwritten do agree to these proposals, & do promise & engage to conform thereto, & to observe the Same, In Witness whereof We have hereunto set our hands.

[1] Bernard Papers, x. 216–219.

[2] See p. 244 note 7, below.

[3] See p. 231, above.

Quebec boundary to suit himself, making a concession to Massachusetts by granting title to Sagadahoc, having already set the western boundary of Nova Scotia at the St. Croix. This document is quoted in full. On October 5, 1763, is recorded "Reference to Committee of a Board of Trade representation with draft of a commission for Montagu Wilmot to be Governor of Nova Scotia." On October 7 "the commission is approved with an addition proposed by the Committee in their report of 6 Oct., which quoted the representation of the Board of Trade that" —

they have also made the River St Croix the Boundary to the Westward, for, although it be true that the ancient Limits of this Province, as it was possessed by France under the Treaties of Breda and Ryswick and ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht under the name of Acadia, did extend as far West as the River Pentagoet or Penobscot, yet as it appears to have been determined in the year 1732, upon a full examination of the Claims of the Province of Massachusets Bay, as well by the Attorney and Sollicitor General, as by this Board, and finally by His Majesty in Council, that the said Province had a right of jurisdiction and property under the Limitation of the Charter, to the Country between the Rivers Sagadahock and St Croix, and as in consequence of this Examination, the Instructions given to Colonel Dunbar, and to the Governor of Nova Scotia to make Settlements within that Tract were revoked, and it was Ordered that the Province should not be disturbed in the possession they claim to have of this Country it does not appear to them that this question is for the present open to a New Discussion: But as they conceive there are many material circumstances in favour of Your Majesty's Right to the Country as far Westward as the River Penobscot which were not stated in the Case laid before the Attorney and Sollicitor General in 1732, upon which Case their Opinion and the Decision of the Council were founded, they do not think it advisable that this Restriction of the Western Bounds of Nova Scotia to the River St. Croix should pass without some reservation of Your Majestys Right to the Country between that River and Penobscot, being entered upon the Council Books; And they rather humbly propose this to Your Majesty, as it may be a means of hereafter removing any Objection which may be taken on the part of the Province of Massachusets Bay to the Southern Line of Quebec, as far as it concerns their Northern Limits, for if such Objection should be made, and it should appear upon examination they have any just ground for Complaint, it will be in Your Majestys power to make them

a reasonable Compensation, by allowing their Jurisdiction to extend as far Eastward as the River St. Croix, between which and the Penobscot they have lately made some considerable Settlements

[The Committee] being of Opinion that Your Majestys Right to the Country between the River St. Croix, and the River Penobscot (the ancient Limits of the said Province) ought to be reserved in a more publick manner than by an Entry in the Council Books, do therefore propose the following alteration should be made in the said Draught of a Commission for that purpose Vizt. After the appointment of Montagu Wilmot to be Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Nova Scotia, the description of the Boundarys of the said Province be left out, and the following words inserted in lieu thereof. Which We have thought proper to restrain and comprise within the following limits Vizt. to the Northward, Our said Province shall be bounded by the Southern Boundary of our Province of Quebec as far as the Western extremity of the Bay des Chaleurs; To the Eastward by the said Bay and the Gulph of St. Lawrence to the Cape or Promontory called Cape Breton in the Island of that Name including that Island, the Island of St. Johns, and all the other Islands within Six Leagues of the Coast; To the Southward by the Atlantick Ocean from the said Cape to Cape Sable, including the Island of that Name, and all other Islands within forty Leagues of the Coast, with all the Rights Members and Appurtenances what so ever thereunto belonging; And to the Westward although Our said Province hath anciently extended and doth by right extend as far as the River Pentagouet or Penobscot, it shall be bounded by a Line drawn from Cape Sable across the Entrance of the Bay of Fundy, to the mouth of the River St. Croix, by the said River to its source, and by a Line drawn due North from thence to the Southern Boundary of our Colony of Quebec.[1]

The same year that Bernard made his appeal to the king, the General Court appointed a committee on eastern grants and province boundaries. On November 27, 1764, this committee wrote a letter to Jasper Mauduit in which a few pointed statements were made. Among other things the committee stated:

The whole Province of Nova Scotia is expressly included within the Charter of this Province. The great difficulty of defending a Country so remote from our center made it a lesser hardship than otherwise it would have been for the Crown to take it from us after the Peace of

[1] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, iv. 576–579.

Utrecht and to settle a distinct government there; but for the Country between the Rivers Kennebeck and S^{t} Croix we have been at a continual expence in defending it, never imagining our right of jurisdiction and our right of granting the Property conditionally would ever be disputed, and yet as soon as that Country is freed from the dangers of Enemies our title both to jurisdiction and property as to great part of that Country is questioned and all our grants made in order to forward the settlement of it are disapproved.

This is a true state of our case. Notwithstanding all these discouragements we are bound in faithfulness to our trust to go on, as long as there shall be any room left for it, defending our cause and preventing if possible this Province which formerly was one of the first from being made the last in rank and importance of any of his Majesty's Colonies....

For the Territory east of the Kennebeck we suppose Lord Sterling's claim is over as we hear nothing lately said about it and indeed it never had the least foundation. Nor can we well conceive what exception can be taken to our title under the limitations in the charter. We know that none of our grants will be of any validity without the Royal confirmation. Our principal view in making grants of the townships was the cultivating and improving His Majesty's dominions which otherwise must remain a Wilderness and can be in no respect benificial to the nation.

We should be glad to be informed whether the exception be to our right to originate any grants, or whether it be to the particular grants either as to the Persons to whom the townships were granted, the conditions of the grants or to any other matter either in point of form or substance. If there be any prospect of the grants obtaining His Majesty's Confirmation we doubt not the General Court will do every thing proper on their part in order to promote the settlement of so considerable a part of the Province.[1]

This committee was wrong on one point, for the Earl of Stirling's claim was not "over," as will now appear. Evidently Stirling must have been assured by some one in authority that his petition for the restoration of the old County of Canada to him and his two associates was about to receive favorable consideration. Otherwise, why should he have launched a scheme for selling settlers lots east of the Penobscot, which is explained in the following advertisement, copied from a printed broadside in the Massachusetts Archives?[2]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 434–436.

[2] cxviii. 379. Some words, as indicated in the footnotes, are written in.

TO BE SOLD,

A TRACT of Land of One Hundred Thousand Acres, situate on the East Side of *Penobscot-River*, in the Eastern Part of *New-England*, on the following Conditions, *viz.*

The Tract is to be divided and laid out in One Hundred Lots, of One Thousand Acres each, bounding Westerly on the said River.

The Purchaser of each Lot, is to pay One Hundred Pounds Sterling, down, or secure the Payment thereof by Mortgage of the Land, or otherwise, and shall be intitled also to a Town Lot of Half an Acre, in a Town called, *Alexandria*, laid out at the Mouth of the River, and fronting on *Penobscot-Bay*; the whole to be held free of Quit Rent for ever.

The Purchaser is, on each 1000 Acre Lot, within three Years after the first Day of July, 1769, to settle at least one Family, or shall then forfeit his Grant; in which Case the Consideration Money shall be returned, with Interest, at Five *per* Cent.

A Map of the whole, with a State of the Title, is to be seen at the Earl of *Stirling*'s Office, at *Baskinridge*, in *Somerset* County; at *John Smith*'s Esq; at *Perth-Amboy;* at *Cornelius Low*'s, Junior, Esq; at *New-Brunswick;* and at *Isaac Ogden*'s, Esq; at *Newark;* all in *New-Jersey;* at *Philip J. Livingston*'s, Esq; in *Bayard-Street*, and at Mr *Gerard Bancker*'s, near the *Exchange*, in *New-York;* at *Jared Ingorsel*'s, Esq; at *New-Haven*, in *Connecticut;* and Messrs. *Hazen* and *Jarvis*'s at *Newberry*, in *Massachusetts Bay;*[1] also at Abrā Ogden's Esq[r] at Morris Town in New Jersey.

All Persons inclining to be concerned in this Purchase, are desired to enter their Names at either of the above Places, on or before the first Day of *November* next, in Order that the respective Deeds may be prepared.

Penobscot-Bay is one of the finest on the Coast of *New-England;* it abounds with Sea-Fish; its Navigation is safe and easy to Ships of any Burden. That Part of the River, on which this Tract is laid out, begins within two Leagues of the Bay; the Lands are as good as any in *America*, taking so large a Tract together: The Town Spot and the Islands in its Neighbourhood, are admirably well situated for carrying on the Cod-Fishery; the Rivers have great Plenty of Salmon. Those who have their Names first entered, will have the Advantage of taking the first Choice of their Lots, as to Situation.

If this Offer to the Public be duly considered, it will be found the most advantageous one that has appeared, especially to Farmers who

[1] The next eleven words are written in.

have large Familis of Children, and who have no great Stocks to provide them with; the Terms are intended lower than any other that has been offered for Lands so commodiously situated, purposely to encourage the Settlement of this Country, the Proprietor having other Lands in the Neighbourhood. An[1] Other Tract of 50,000 Acres on Castine River near the above Tract will be Laid out in Lotes of 500 Each to be Leased a Term of three Lives the first Seven Years from the 25 March 1769 rent free the remainder of the Term to pay three pence Sterling p Acre.

July 20, 1768.

These proposals were sent by Stirling to Bernard from New Jersey together with the following explanatory letter:

BASKENRIDGE August 10: 1768

SIR

I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency some proposals I have lately published for Setling and planting a Tract of Land belonging to me, scituate in the Eastern part of your Government; and which I have good reason to expect I shall be able to Effect so far as to the Amount of Two Hundred families next Spring, I also send your Excellency a printed State of my Tittle to that Tract of Country,[2] by which your Excellency will find, that it is founded on the same Original Patent under which all the other Lands within your Jurisdiction are held.

His Majesty in Council has long since been informed of my Right and Intention herein; and I cannot but hope that the Setlers on their Arrival within your Province will meet with every encouragement from Your Excellency that so laudable design merrits. I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's
Most Humble Servant
STIRLING[3]

His Excellency Gov^r Bernard

At a Council meeting held August 30, 1768, —

His Excellency laid before the Board a letter from the Earl of Stirling of the 10^th^ Aug^t^, signifying his intention to settle a Tract of Land, in the Eastern parts of this Province, which he pretends a claim to.

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[1] This entire sentence is written in.

[2] A copy of this printed broadside is in the Massachusetts Archives, cxviii. 378. It is entitled "A State of the Earl of Stirling's Title, to that Part of New-England, now commonly called Sagadahook."

[3] Massachusetts Archives, cxviii. 377.

Advised that William Brattle & James Bowdoin Esq^{rs} take the said Letter into consideration, and report the next Council day.[1]

At a Council meeting held September 7, 1768, —

The Committee appointed to take the Earl of Stirling's letter under consideration made Report and also reported a draft of a Proclamation relative to the business therein mentioned; the said Report was Accepted, and His Excellency issued a Proclamation accordingly.

The Report is as follows —

The Committee of Council to whom was refer'd the Earl of Stirling's Letter to his Excellency Gov^{r} Bernard dated August 10th 1768 with the printed State of his title to the Lands between S^{t} Croix and Pemaquid in the Eastern parts of this Province and his printed Advertisement for the Sale of part of said Lands, having duly considered the same, are humbly of Opinion

That in the answer to said Letter his Excellency be desired to inform the Earl of Stirling that some time after receiving from M^{r} Bollan the Province Agent a Copy of a Petition Signed by said Earl and others to his late Majesty relative to said Lands, a Committee of the General Court prepared a State of the title of this Province to the Country between Kennebec and S^{t} Croix: that by said State it appears that the persons claiming under Sir William Alexander first Earl of Stirling have no right or Title whatsoever to the said Country or any part thereof, and that the Province of Massachusetts Bay hath a clear and undoubted right, and equitable title to the Soil and Jurisdiction of the said Country and every part thereof under such restrictions & limitations as are expressed in the Province Charter.

That the General Court relying on the goodness of the Province title have granted twelve Townships on Penobscot River and to the Eastward on Condition that Sixty Families at least should be settled in each within a limited time: That a great part of the Families are already settled and in some of the Townships the whole number: That it is inconsistent with his Majesty's Interest that the said Grantees should be disrested,[2] That it would be manifest injustice in the Government to suffer it, and that this Government cannot suffer it unless it be done by his Majesty's Orders.

The Committee think it would be proper that a Copy of the said State, should accompany his Excellency's Letter which they cannot

[1] Council Records, xvi. 347.

[2] Only two examples of this verb, dated 1696 and 1726, are given in the Oxford English Dictionary.

but apprehend will induce the Earl of Stirling to desist from his pretensions.

The Committee are further of opinion that in order to prevent any uneasiness in the Grantees aforesaid and their associates arising from the Claim aforesaid and to prevent any persons purchasing or taking Leases of the lands advertized as aforesaid, his Excellency issue a Proclamation assuring such Grantees and Associates of the Protection of this Government and cautioning all Persons against purchasing or taking Leases of any of the said Lands under the s[d] Earl of Stirling.

The Committee herewith present the draft of the Proclamation, which with the foregoing Report is humbly submitted to your Excellency and Honors.

W. BRATTLE
JAMES BOWDOIN [1]

On the same day the following proclamation was issued:

By his Excellency Francis Bernard Esq[r] Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and Vice Admiral of the same.

A Proclamation

Whereas the Earl of Stirling hath published advertisements for the Sale of a large Tract of Land situated on the East side of the Penobscot River and for Leasing another large Tract on Castine River; said Tracts being part of a Tract in the Eastern parts of this Province extending from S[t] Croix to Pemaquid to which he has laid Claim by virtue of a Grant made in the year 1635 to William Alexander first Earl of Stirling by the Council established at Plymouth. And whereas by a state of the title of this Province to the Country between the Rivers Kennebec and S[t] Croix prepared by a Committee of the General Court and Printed in 1763 by order of the said Court it is alleged that the persons claiming under the first Earl of Stirling have no right or title whatsoever to the said Country or any part thereof, and it is asserted on the behalf of the province that the Province of Massachusetts Bay hath a clear and undoubted right & equitable title to the Soil and Jurisdiction of the said Country & every part thereof under such restrictions and limitations as are expressed in the Province Charter.

And whereas the General Court have granted twelve Townships within the Tract claimed as aforesaid, which Grants now lie before his Majesty for his royal approbation, in consequence of which Grants a

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxviii. 380–381; cf. Council Records, xvi. 349.

great number of Families have actually settled in the said Townships, in order to fulfill the Conditions of the said Grants if the same shall be approved, —

I have thought it fit to issue, and do by and with the Advice and Consent of his Majesty's Council issue this Proclamation, hereby declaring the Intention of this Government to protect & defend the said Lands & the inhabitants thereof against the said Earl of Sterling & all persons claiming under him untill his Majesty's pleasure shall be known therein and cautioning all his Majesty's Subjects against purchasing or taking Leases of any of the said Lands under any person or persons claiming under the first Earl of Stirling aforesaid.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston the 7th day of Septemr 1768 In the Eighth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King defender of the Faith &c.

By his Excellency's Command
God Save the King [1]

Events were now moving swiftly in Massachusetts and the provincial period was rapidly nearing the end. Bernard, who had no talent for conciliating and who believed in accomplishing ministerial purposes by force, by his intemperate speech and the open manner in which he endeavored to crush the ever increasing spirit of freedom, succeeded only in hastening the approach of the Revolutionary War. As part of a plan of lenient measures about to be put into operation by the home government, Bernard in April, 1769, received orders from the king to leave Massachusetts and return to England.[2] He had, the year before, been granted leave if he should find it necessary or expedient, but had given up all idea of so doing and was planning to develop Mount Desert and his other holdings of eastern lands. The ministry had advised his recall, which was by the people considered a victory gained. The king, to whom his conduct had been satisfactory, made him a baronet April 5, 1769,[3] without exacting from him any payment for the patent; at the same time ordering Bernard to quit his government and to return

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxviii. 382–383.
[2] Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, iii. 225–226.
[3] The title became extinct by the death of the sixth Baronet, Sir Thomas Tyringham Bernard, May 8, 1883.

home — an order, says Hutchinson, which "could not at any time have been more unexpected by him."

Accordingly, Bernard sailed for England, August 1, 1769, amid great rejoicing on the part of the populace. The House of Representatives preferred charges against him which were set forth in a petition [1] and sent to the king, but as no evidence was communicated to the Privy Council, when the day for a hearing came Bernard was not required to make a defence and the charges were dropped, February 28, 1770,[2] and the petition dismissed.

Returning now to the subject of Bernard's petition to accept the grant of Mount Desert Island, which was referred back to the Privy Council by the Board of Trade in July of 1764, it is evident that Bernard, soon after his arrival in England, took steps that led to favorable action upon his request, made eight years before.

The Privy Council on December 13, 1769, took up the matter after having concluded that jurisdiction over the territory in question belonged to Massachusetts, and referred the petition back to the Board of Trade.[3]

The Board of Trade proposed, May 4, 1770, "that the grant be ratified, without prejudice to the rights of the Crown in and over the territory of Sagadahoc: which proviso corresponds with a Board of Trade report[4] of 6 June 1732."[5] A committee of the Privy Council reported, March 8, 1771, "for confirming" the grant,[6] and on March 28, 1771, nine years and one month after the General Court of Massachusetts had made the gift, Bernard obtained a clear title to Mount Desert Island.[7] The Privy Council record, after reciting the facts in

[1] A copy of this petition is in Bernard's Select Letters, London, 1774, p. 89.

[2] Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, iii. 246 note. See the Letters of Dennys De Berdt, Publications of this Society, xiii. 293–461.

[3] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, v. 220.

[4] Id. iii. 282–283. [5] Id. vi. 484. [6] Id. vi. 504.

[7] In a letter to me Professor Charles M. Andrews, after pointing out that Bernard's petition to accept his grant of Mt. Desert was on July 17, 1764, sent back by the Board of Trade to the Privy Council with the request that the Council should "consider whether the Province of Massachusetts Bay have, or have not a Right to make Grants of Land within the territory of Sagadahock" (see p. 233, above), goes on to say: "Evidently this return of the report to the Board involved considerable investigation and probably a sending of the question, which was a legal one, to the standing counsel of the Board, at that time Sir Matthew Lamb. We know that Lamb was dilatory in getting his opinions back to the Board, and I presume that if we could get at the Board of Trade pa-

regard to the grant by the General Court to Bernard on February 27, 1762, continues:

And Whereas, the said Sir Francis Bernard Baronet, hath by Petition to his Majesty at this Board humbly prayed his Majesty's Royal Confirmation of the said Grant — His Majesty having taken the same into Consideration, and recieved the Opinion of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and also of a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most honorable Privy Council thereupon, is hereby pleased with the Advice of his Privy Council to declare his Approbation of the said Grant, and pursuant to his Majesty's Royal Pleasure thereupon expressed, the said Grant is hereby approved & confirmed accordingly; Provided nevertheless that his Majesty's Approbation and Confirmation of the said Grant, shall not have the Effect to prejudice the Right of the Crown, in and over the said Territory of Sagadehock, both as to the Dominion, and the Property of the Soil — Whereof the Governor, or Commander in Chief of his Majesty's said Province of Massachusetts Bay for the time being, and all others whom it may concern, are to take Notice, and govern themselves accordingly.[1]

When Bernard's grant was at last confirmed, he had been out of the province for a year and seven months and was unable to promote further settlement or development of his Mount Desert lands. Arriv-

pers we should find that the delay was due to Lamb's procrastination. Lamb died in 1768 and I know that he left a large number of colonial laws unreported, and it is more than likely that this matter of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts was among the matters that had not been examined. At any rate Bernard petitioned again towards the end of 1769, and his petition was received by the Privy Council and on December 13 was sent down to the Board of Trade. Just what the Board did with it I cannot say, as Lamb was dead and his successor, Richard Jackson, was not appointed until the middle of the year 1770 (the interim was November 26, 1768, to May 1, 1770). It may be that Lamb's report had come in or that the Board acted without legal advice, though the latter would be most unusual, or that they waited till Jackson came in. However, on May 4, 1770—the date looks as if Jackson had got down to business at once, and he was a very learned man—the Board sent in its second report on the petition, proposing that 'the grant be ratified, without prejudice to the rights of the Crown in and over the Territory of Sagadahoc,' a position corresponding to that taken by the Board in 1732 in the case of the petition of Samuel Waldo for land between the Kennebec and the St. Croix Rivers. It may be that all the Board did was to instruct its secretary or clerk of the reports to look up its own records, in order to find out what precedent had been established."

[1] Commissions, Proclamations, Pardons, etc., 1767–1775, pp. 207–209 (Massachusetts Archives). Cf. Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, v. 220.

ing in England, he had received the appointment to some government position in Ireland, from which he asked, in 1774, to be released.[1] On April 30, 1779, an act was passed to confiscate the estates of "certain notorious conspirators against the government and Liberties of the inhabitants of the late Province, now State, of Massachusetts Bay,"[2] and Bernard was deprived of his American property. Six weeks later, June 16, 1779, he died at Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire.[3]

By his will, made September 23, 1778, before the confiscation act was passed, Sir Francis left to trustees, for his son John, the island of Mount Desert, one half of which was restored to John Bernard by an act of the General Court, June 23, 1785; since he had "produced to this Court ample testimony of the uniform consistence and propriety of his political conduct previous to, during and since the late war, and whereas the estate of his father Sir Francis Bernard, deceased, has been confiscated, to wit, the Island of Mt. Desart which was by the last will and testament of said deceased made previous to said confiscation, devised to said John."[4]

On July 6, 1787, by act of the General Court,[5] an undivided half of Mount Desert was bestowed upon Bartolemy de Gregoire and his wife Marie Therese de la Mothe Cadillac de Gregoire, granddaughter of Sieur Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Lord of Mount Desert, thus recoginizing a portion of an old French grant made to Cadillac by Louis XIV in 1689. Mount Desert was held in common by John Bernard and Madame de Gregoire until 1787, when upon petition of Madame de Gregoire for a division, a north and south line through Somes Sound formed the boundary between the two grants; everything east of this line, including the Cranberry Isles, belonged to de Gregoire, and everything west of it to Bernard. Thus these two grants form the basis of all land titles on Mount Desert Island.[6]

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[1] Palfrey, History of New England, v. 408 note.

[2] Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 966–967.

[3] An interesting account of his last moments will be found in Hutchinson's Diary and Letters, ii. 318–319.

[4] Street, Mount Desert, p. 127.

[5] Id. pp. 128–130.

[6] Advertisements relating to the sale of the portion owned by the de Gregoires, inserted by them and by others, will be found in the following issues of the Massachusetts Centinel for 1790: May 19, p. 3/1; May 22, p. 2/1; June 2, p. 3/3; June 2, supplement, p. 4/3; June 5, p. 3/2; June 12, p. 4/3; June 19,

Bernard's persistent and finally successful efforts to obtain a royal confirmation of his grant contributed to one result that could not have been anticipated by him or others.

At one time during the Revolution, when the British were in possession of Castine, a scheme was fostered by the government for separating a portion of Maine from Massachusetts. It was planned to incorporate the territory between the Saco and St. Croix Rivers into the Loyalist province of New Ireland and on August 10, 1780, an order was approved in Council and by the king on the following day, one of its purposes being—

> To reward or Indemnify the Loyal Sufferers from the other Province, and at the same time lay the ground of an Aristocratic Power, the Lands to be granted in large Tracts to the most Meritorious and to be by them leased to the lower People in manner as has been practiced in New York, which is the only Province in which there is a Tenantry, and was the least inclined to Rebellion. The poorest Loyal Sufferers should however have Grants from the Crown.[1]

On August 18, 1780, the Privy Council referred to the Committee —

> the petition of John Calef, Esq., of Massachusetts Bay, on behalf of James Duncan, Benjamin Herrod, John Wire, Edmund Morse, Peter Parker, David Marsh and other grantees of land between Nova Scotia and the river Sagadahoc, setting forth that they . . . have taken the oath of fidelity and are desirous of being severed from Massachusetts Bay and made a separate province.[2]

In March, 1782, Dr. John Calef, the American agent for the Loyalists, who was then in London, revived the matter of this new province and the Council granted the prayer of petition, but the Attorney-General, evidently with a recollection of the outcome of Sir Francis Bernard's efforts to establish the right of Massachusetts to the territory which it was now proposed to take from her, ruled that the Crown had no right to the soil in question and that any attempt to erect the proposed province would be a violation of the

p. 3/3; July 28, p. 3/4; August 4, p. 4/4; August 11, p. 4/2; August 18, p. 4/4; August 25, p. 4/2; September 1, p. 3/3. The sale was to be at auction on September 2. Mr. Percival Merritt kindly called my attention to these references.

[1] 3 Collections Maine Historical Society, i. 150.

[2] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, vi. 484.

sacredness of the chartered rights of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. Consequently the Province of New Ireland never came into being.[1]

After the British Parliament in 1782 had acknowledged the independence of the United States, the question of the northeastern boundary between New Brunswick and Massachusetts at once arose. The British members of the peace commission were charged with violating their instructions "in not insisting on the River Penobscot, being the boundary between New Brunswick and the United States." It was contended that by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, under which the whole of Acadia was ceded to Great Britain, British territory extended as far as the Penobscot; and that Massachusetts had never rightfully exercised jurisdiction east of the Penobscot River. John Adams with Benjamin Franklin and John Jay, the American commissioners, took the contrary view, claiming the St. Croix River as the boundary of Acadia as granted by James I to Sir William Alexander, 1621. In the Diary of John Adams is this entry, under date of November 10, 1782:

Accordingly, at eight this morning I went and waited on the Comte.[2] He asked me how we went on with English. I told him we divided upon two points, — the Tories and Penobscot; two ostensible points; for it was impossible to believe that my Lord Shelburne or the nation cared much about such points. I took out of my pocket and showed him the record of Governor Pownal's solemn act of burying a leaden plate with this inscription:

"May 23. 1759. Province of Massachusetts Bay. Penobscot, dominions of Great Britain. Possession confirmed by Thomas Pownal, Governor."[3]

. . . I showed him also, all the other records, — the laying out of Mount Desert, Machias, and all the other towns to the east of the River Penobscot; and told him that the grant of Nova Scotia by James I. to Sir William Alexander, bound it on the River St. Croix.[4]

In a letter to Arthur Lee dated Jamaica Plain, April 2, 1783, the Rev. Dr. William Gordon said:

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[1] Cf. 1 Collections Maine Historical Society, vii. 199–206; 3 Collections Maine Historical Society, i. 147–157; Sprague's Journal of Maine History, ii. 219.

[2] Vergennes.

[3] The inscription is printed in full in 1 Collections Maine Historical Society, vi. 337–338.

[4] Works, iii. 304.

What may have been sent you from France, I know not; but you may DEPEND upon the following information.

The British would not allow the boundaries of Nova Scotia to terminate at the St. Croix, but demanded Kennebec at first, and afterwards insisted upon Penobscot as their ultimatum, until Mr. Adams produced the records of the Massachusetts, and the authorities of Shirley, Pownal, Bernard, and Hutchinson, as well as the original grant of Nova Scotia by James the First to Sir William Alexander, and invited the British minister to state a written claim of Kennebec or Penobscot as the boundary of Nova Scotia, that it might be answered in writing, which brought him to reason.[1]

Portraits of Bernard[2]

Of Bernard there were at one time three portraits in existence: (1) one, by an unknown artist, representing a young man, in possession of the family in England; (2) another, painted by Copley sometime during Bernard's administration in Massachusetts; and (3) a third, also by an unknown artist, presented by Bernard to Harvard College, now known as the mutilated portrait, which many years ago disappeared. Connected with each portrait is an interesting story.

(1) Of this portrait, owned by Governor Bernard's great-granddaughter, Mrs. Napier Higgins, two photographs were obtained by Dr. Charles E. Banks, an original member of the Club of Odd Volumes of Boston, and these were shown to the members of the Club at their meeting on November 16, 1887, as appears from the Club records:

Dr. Banks showed two very handsome photographs of probably the rarest representation to be had of any of the Govs. of Massachusetts: viz: the portrait of Gov. Francis Bernard. This picture is after one owned by Mrs. Napier Higgins, "Percy Cross House," Fulham, S. W. London from whom these were sent. The only other portrait known here is one which was copied by Mr. J. H. Daniel, an Engraver after one at Christ Church, Oxford, by Copley.[3]

[1] In J. L. Sibley, History of the Town of Union, Maine (1851), p. 23 note.

[2] This account is based on data furnished by Mr. Matthews. For further details, see his paper on "The Portraits of Sir Francis Bernard," published by the Club of Odd Volumes (1922).

[3] The words "by Copley" are interlined in pencil. For the extracts from the Club records I am indebted to Mr. Merritt.

Under date of November 21, 1888, there is mention in the records of "an engraving to be made by Wilcox after the portrait in England, a photograph of which, loaned by a former member Dr. C. E. Banks, is now in the hands of

On October 24, 1888, it was decided that an engraving of the photograph owned by Dr. Banks should be made by Mr. Wilcox, and it was duly made and published in 1889 as "the first print of the Club." From the Year Book of the Club the following is copied:

PORTRAIT OF SIR FRANCIS BERNARD [*Governor of Massachusetts*, 1760–69] ENGRAVED BY J. A. J. WILCOX FROM THE PAINTING IN POSSESSION OF THE FAMILY FOR THE CLUB OF ODD VOLUMES, BOSTON, MASS.

Plate 10 *by* 6¾ *inches, portrait* 4½ *by* 3⅝ *inches, Club stamp.* 51 *unlettered,* 100 *lettered copies on India paper.* 1889.

Of the two photographs of this Bernard portrait, Dr. Banks evidently kept the one from which this plate was made, the other he presented to the Maine Historical Society, whose librarian, Miss Evelyn L. Gilmore, writes that this photograph is marked: "From the portrait in possession of the Bernard family of Nether Winchendon, Aylesbury, Co. Bucks. Photographic copy furnished by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Napier Higgins, to Dr. Charles E. Banks, 1887, and by him presented to the Maine Historical Society, 1913."

The photogravure facing this page has been reproduced[1] from the photograph presented by Dr. Banks to the Maine Historical Society in 1913.

(2) The portrait by Copley owned by Christ Church, Oxford, shows Bernard as a much older man. On July 2, 1772, Bernard went to Oxford to receive an honorary degree. The record at Christ Church reads: "He received from the University of Oxford the Hon. Degree of D.C.L., and from Christ Church the honour of having his picture by Copley among the other illustrious Students in the Hall of that Society."[2] Since this portrait was presented to Christ Church in 1772 and since Copley did not reach England until July, 1774,[3] it follows that the portrait must have been painted during Bernard's residence in Boston from 1760 to 1769. This portrait was engraved by J. H. Daniels of Boston in 1887 and published by

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the Engraver being engraved;" and it was voted that the plate "be cancelled, and hung on the walls of the club room." On February 20, 1889, proofs of the portrait were shown to the members; and on April 24, 1889, it was announced that the plate had been cancelled.

[1] With the permission of the Club of Odd Volumes.

[2] Mrs. Higgins, The Bernards, ii. 235.

[3] Massachusetts Historical Collections, lxxi. 223.

Fra Bernard

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait owned by the Bernard family

him in a copyrighted print. The portrait was reproduced in 1891 by Fiske in his American Revolution,[1] in 1896 (from the Daniels print) by Foote in his Annals of King's Chapel,[2] and in 1908 by Avery in his History of the United States and its People.[3]

Curiously enough, there has long been a doubt among the members of the Club of Odd Volumes as to the authenticity of their print — a doubt which can now be set at rest. Mr. Daniels was a plate-printer who did much work for Dr. Banks; each heard of the existence of a portrait of Bernard in England; there was some rivalry between them about getting photographs; and in 1887 each received a photograph of an alleged portrait of Bernard. As Dr. Banks's came directly from a descendant of Governor Bernard, the authenticity of *that* was beyond dispute. But Mr. Daniels became uneasy about his photograph, sent an inquiry to Oxford, and in reply received the following letter:

Bodleian Library
Oxford
Aug. 10. 1887.

Dear Sir,

I enclose a receipt for the photograph-account and a certificate from the photographer, in the matter of Governor Bernard's picture. I can add my own testimony to the certainty that your photograph is from that picture. I am glad the matter is so satisfactorily concluded.

I am
Truly Your's
F. Madan
(sublibrarian)[4]

J. H. Daniels Esq.

In course of time the real facts were lost sight of, there was confusion between the two prints; and in the minds of the members of the Club of Odd Volumes the doubt was transferred from the Daniels

[1] i. 51.

[2] ii. 206. It was perhaps through Dr. Banks that Mr. Daniels learned of the painting at Christ Church. In January, 1888, the Rev. Henry W. Foote spoke of the Daniels print before the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in February presented a copy of the print to the Society. (2 Proceedings, iv. 61, 66.)

[3] v. 31.

[4] As the Daniels print was purely a commercial venture, Mr. Daniels naturally wished to have its authenticity placed beyond the possibility of a doubt. Hence he had the letter facsimiled, and presumably sent a copy of the facsimile with each copy of the print sold. The letter in the text is printed from such a facsimile found by Dr. Banks in a New York print shop in February, 1921.

print, where it belonged, to the Club of Odd Volumes print, where it was out of place.

(3) The story of the third portrait shows to what lengths our patriotic ancestors could go in venting their displeasure even upon the inanimate representation of their cordially hated royal governor, of whom it was said "That a worse cannot be found on this Side ——, if there."[1] In the Corporation records of Harvard College is this entry, under date of November 26, 1765·

> Whereas Govern^r Bernard, as we are inform'd by our Treas^r[2] hath offer'd to give his Picture to the College, Thereupon unanimously Voted, That We thankfully accept it.[3]

Accordingly, the portrait was duly sent by the governor and was hung in the College Hall.

Under date of October 6, 1768, a newspaper writer declared:

> From Cambridge we learn, that last evening, the picture of — —, hanging in the College-Hall, had a piece cut out of the Breast exactly describing a Heart, and a Note,— that it was a most charitable attempt to deprive him of that part, which a Retrospect upon his administration must have rendered exquisitely painful.[4]

The portrait was repaired, and on November 25, 1768, the Corporation voted:

> That the Picture of his Excellency Governor Bernard presented by him to the College, be put into an handsome Frame, the Expence to be defrayed out of the College Treasury: and that this, with the other Pictures in the Hall, be placed in the Philosophy Room.[5]

How the repairing was done, we learn from a newspaper extract dated March 14, 1769:

> G——r B——d's picture has been lately returned to Harvard-College to be *hung* up in the Library: Our American Limner, Mr. Copely, by

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[1] Boston Gazette, August 7, 1769, p. 2/2. [2] Thomas Hubbard.

[3] College Book, vii. 145. Cf. Donation Book, i. 81; J. Quincy, History of Harvard University, ii. 485.

[4] Boston Evening Post, December 19, 1768, p. 1/1.

[5] College Book, vii. 184. At a meeting of the Overseers on November 25, 1768, "A Vote of the Corporation at their Meeting this day Viz That the Picture of Governor Bernard with the other pictures in the Hall be placed in the Philosophy room . . . read and consented to" (Overseers' Records, iii. 13).

the surprising art of his pencil, has actually restored as *good a heart* as had been taken from it; tho' upon a near and accurate inspection, it will be found no other than *a false one.* — There may it long remain *hanging,* to shew posterity the true picture of the man, who during a weak and w——d Ad——n, was suffered to continue in the S——t of G——m——t, a sore scourge to the people, until he had happily awakened a whole continent to a thorough sense of their own interest, and thereby laid, the foundation of American greatness.[1]

When, how, or why this portrait disappeared has not been ascertained, but it is no longer in the possession of Harvard College.

Three towns — Bernardsville in New Jersey, Barnard in Vermont,[2] and Bernardston[3] in Massachusetts — perpetuate the name of a former governor of those once British provinces; a little village post-office on the western side of Mount Desert, in the town of Tremont, is called Bernard; and quite recently, the western peak of Western Mountain has been designated Mount Bernard.

Ancient prejudices die hard, and though adverse criticism was made when Bernard's name was attached to one of the Mount Desert peaks, documentary evidence bears testimony to Governor Bernard's active interest in the development of what is now Eastern Maine, to his persistent efforts, even in the face of censure, to inform the home government of the true status of the Massachusetts title to the lands between the Penobscot and St. Croix Rivers, a task which involved much study and considerable research, — all of which goes to show that it is not only fitting but eminently appropriate that the name of Bernard should find place on Mount Desert Island.

As the eastern mountain of the Desert group bears the name of Champlain, in honor of the skilful navigator and fearless explorer

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[1] Boston Evening Post, May 8, 1769, p. 1/3.

[2] Cf. New Hampshire State Papers, xxvi, 20–22, 627–628.

[3] Lucy C. Kellogg (History of the Town of Bernardston, 1902) says:

"The fact that the place was named for a Tory Governor has, at times, aroused the ire of some of her citizens, but some measure of consolation may be gleaned from the truism that the man could hardly have been held alone responsible for the age in which he lived, nor yet for having been born a British subject. May not the circumstance of his being considered by his king worthy to assume such a position, serve in some degree to mitigate this feeling?" (p. 2).

A search among the printed accounts of Bernardsville, New Jersey, has failed to reveal any criticism of the naming of the town.

who gave the Island of the Desert Mountains its name, so may the western height forever remain a monument to the memory of that scholarly gentleman, royal governor of the province of the Massachusetts Bay, Sir Francis Bernard, who essayed its settlement.

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited a book published in London in 1632,[1] speaking as follows:

The book I have here has an interest as a type of the books used in the early days of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies, and also for its associations. On the front fly-leaf is written, in different places, "Jn° Leverett His Book 1682," "To Mr Tho Davis This," "Wm Paddy His Booke 1660," "Jn° Leverett 3.10.1684," and "John Leveret Anno Domini millesimo setentesimo nonogesimo tertio 1693." Then come a few letters, impossible to read with certainty, and finally four lines in Latin. On the inside of the front cover is written "Cooke" and the letters "RI" joined together. And on the fly-leaf at the back of the book is written "William Paddy His Book." I feel sure that the book belonged at one time to Paddy and at another to Leverett; and, by comparison with an authentic signature, that the words at the top of the leaf are in the hand of John Leverett, later President of Harvard College.

The names of John Leverett and William Paddy, written in old script, were probably written by the same person, some time after Paddy's death, perhaps to show that the book had belonged to him. The writing does not resemble his handwriting and is dated two years after his death. It could hardly have been written by his son William, for he was but eight years old in 1660. The name John Leverett and the Latin are written in a different hand, resembling that of "Cooke" on the cover. Paddy's name, on the last leaf, is in quite a different hand from all the others, but still conveys the idea that Paddy had owned the book.

The senior William Paddy came in the James from Southampton, sailed April 5, arrived in Boston June 3, 1635. His name appears

[1] A Most Excellent Instrvction for the Exact and perfect keeping Merchant Bookes of Accovnts, by way of Debitor and Creditor, after the Italian manner: . . . By I. C. Gent. . . . London: . . . 1632. It is a folio, containing pp. i–viii, 1–152. The author was I. Carpenter.

on the list of freemen in Plymouth County in 1636 and on the list of those able to bear arms in Plymouth in 1643. He was deacon of the First Church of Plymouth and a member of the first representative Assembly of the Colony, convened at Plymouth, June 4, 1639. He married November 4, 1639, Alice, daughter of Edmund Freeman, one of the most important of the founders of Sandwich. By her he had six children; Elizabeth, John, Samuel, Thomas, Joseph and Mercy, all born in Plymouth, where she died April 24, 1651. That same year he moved to Boston, where he married (3–10–1651) Mary, sister of our earliest William Greenough and widow of Bezaleel Payton. They had children, born in Boston, William, Nathaniel, Hannah, Benjamin and Rebecca. He died August 24, 1658, and she died October 21, 1675. Several years ago his gravestone was found in digging up the street near the Old State House and it now stands in King's Chapel Burial Ground. How it came to be where it was found is not known. His residence in Boston was on North Center Street, sometimes called Paddy's Lane. All his children were alive, except Joseph, who died in infancy, when he made his will a few days before his death, and were named in that instrument and in addition Sarah and Mary Payton, children of his second wife by her former marriage.[1] In 1652 he was a member of the Artillery Company, and in 1656–7–8 a selectman of Boston. Under date of 1658 Nathaniel Morton in his New England's Memorial has a long account of him, showing that he was a man of much importance in the communities in which he lived.

Thomas Davis was an innkeeper and a son of William Davis, an apothecary in Boston and one of the executors of Paddy's will. Thomas Davis married Hannah, daughter of President John Leverett, whose mother was Sarah Payton, daughter of William Paddy's second wife by her former marriage. Elizabeth, daughter of Governor John Leverett, married Dr. Elisha Cooke of Boston in June, 1668. This may account for the name Cooke on the inside of the front cover.

The monograms I have been unable to decipher.

Dr. Charles L. Nichols made some remarks on the copy of the Bible used at the inaugurations of Presidents

[1] Paddy's will is printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, viii. 355.

Washington and Harding, and pointed out some errors of statement concerning the volume, its imprint, and illustrations, which have recently appeared in the public prints.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made some remarks on the early seals of Harvard College, and then read a paper entitled "Christo et Ecclesiæ," written by Mr. Clifford B. Clapp of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Gabriel, California.[1]

[1] This paper will be printed later in our Transactions.

APRIL MEETING, 1921

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. Henry Herbert Edes, at No. 62 Buckingham Street, Cambridge, on Wednesday, 27 April, 1921, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Messrs. M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE, MORRIS GRAY, and PERCIVAL MERRITT.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts, — Messrs. JOHN ELIOT THAYER and JOHN LOWELL.

Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER DOWSE of Sherborn was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. HAROLD MURDOCK read the following paper:

EARL PERCY'S RETREAT TO BOSTON ON THE NINETEENTH OF APRIL, 1775

The Battle of the 19th of April, 1775, may be divided into three distinct periods. The first has to do with the night march of Colonel Smith's detachment of Grenadiers and Light Infantry and culminates at daybreak on Lexington Common, where the troops in pursuance of orders to surround and disarm the fleeing minutemen delivered an unauthorized and fatal fire. The second period carries us to Concord and back to Lexington and includes the skirmish at the North Bridge, the destruction of military stores in the village, Captain Parsons' march and safe return from the house of Colonel Barrett, and the beginning of the running fight so stoutly maintained throughout the afternoon by the fast gathering minute-

men. The third and last period concerns Earl Percy, his arrival at Lexington with the First Brigade, his rescue of Smith's demoralized command at that place, and his conduct of the return march to Boston. It is this final phase of the battle that we are to review.

It was nearly half-past two in the afternoon when Smith's detachment re-entered Lexington on its return from Concord. As the harried soldiery streamed confusedly into the village they were held to a semblance of military order only by the desperate exertions of the officers. All faith had been lost in the oft-repeated assurance that reinforcements were on their way from Boston. The men were worn down with heat and fatigue, and their ammunition was shot away. With only their bayonets to depend upon, with the bullets of unseen enemies stinging them to death, it was only a question of time, of minutes rather than hours, until a surrender or general disintegration must have occurred. Smith had just received a painful wound and we must assume that Pitcairn had taken over the active command. I fancy that I can see the Major here and there in the midst of this confusion, active and resourceful always, a buoyant influence despite the forebodings that chill his heart—among the wounded and faint-hearted full of bluff courage and cheer, but where panic or insubordination threaten, cursing with a fervor that tends to relegate his exploits of the morning to the level of a tame rehearsal. Now he sees again, close at hand, the meeting-house of the Rev. Jonas Clark, and hears the first glad shout, then the wild cheer from a hundred throats, a cheer that in a moment is rolling all up and down the stricken column. As the air throbs with the glad tumult, the word passes from mouth to mouth that help is close at hand. Weariness and wounds are for the moment forgotten. The hostile fire drops to a mere patter like the passing of a summer shower.[1] The gathering stillness oppresses strangely and once again there is heard the tread of marching feet, the creaking of belts, and the rattle of side arms. Then the Major sees through haggard and bloodshot eyes the cause both of the tumult and the stillness, a scarlet line that stretches its imposing length along the rising land in front,

[1] "As soon as the Grenadiers & Light Infantry perceived the 1st Brigade drawn up for their support, they shouted repeatedly, and the firing ceased for a short time" (Diary of Lieut. Frederick Mackenzie, in 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 392).

Percy

Engraved for the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait in the Cary Memorial Library, Lexington

hardly a quarter of a mile away. All silent and immovable it stands, glittering and sparkling in the sun, the battle line of the First Brigade.

The casual observer who visits Lexington to-day might carry away the idea that Percy was the presiding genius of the place. While he made but one visit to the town and that of a flying nature, he has always been numbered as among its distinguished guests. He received a warm, if not a cordial, reception, and if he did not endear himself to the townsfolk of the time, he might have pleaded in defence that when in Rome he did as the Romans did. The old Munroe Tavern has on quite insufficient grounds been christened "Earl Percy's Headquarters," and the renovated rooms of the ancient hostelry contain, among other battle relics, prints and documents that have to do with him. The pleasant road winding up the slope behind the tavern now bears his name, a gun site chosen by his artillerymen is marked by a rude imitation of a cannon carved from solid rock, while in the Cary Library hangs his portrait in oil, a gift to the town from a modern Duke of Northumberland. There is far more in Lexington suggestive of Percy than of Captain Parker. The bronze effigy of the Minute Man gazing steadfastly down the old Boston road idealizes the spirit of Parker's command, but in no sense portrays the visage of Parker himself. On the Common cut in stone are certain words attributed to Parker which we may hope, nay believe, that he never uttered. These are almost the only reminders of the Lexington Captain that confront the tripper on his hasty rounds. I would not convey the impression that Lexington has proved recreant to its Revolutionary traditions or that it has turned to the worship of false idols. At a town meeting called a few years ago to consider the naming of "Percy Road," the spirit of 1775 blazed forth in unmistakable fervor. That there was a contest proved that the citizens were keenly alive to their historic inheritance, while the final result reflected great credit upon their sportsmanship and common sense.

Let us now try to imagine ourselves as standing in old Lexington on that bright April afternoon one hundred and forty-six years ago. I will ask you to believe that the First Brigade has been for more than five hours on the march, that the precocious lad in Roxbury has discharged with credit his declamation of the suggestive lines from the Ballad of Chevy Chase, that the absent-minded tutor in

Harvard Square has directed Percy along the right road and become one of the most innocent of offenders, that Percy has held his informing interview with the wounded Gould as he reclined in his chaise, and that now, at half-past two in the afternoon, the whole brigade stands drawn up in line of battle on the high ground east of Lexington as we saw it a moment ago.[1]

We should also refresh our memories as to certain well-known facts; namely, that the Brigade came out in response to Smith's early warning that the country was aroused, that there was a delay in starting because of a staff blunder thoroughly characteristic of the military annals of the Anglo-Saxon race,[2] that the long road through Roxbury was followed because all boats for river transportation were still moored on the Cambridge side of the Charles to await Smith's return, that the Brigade was made up of the 4th, 23rd, and 47th Regiments of Foot, the First Battalion of Marines, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery, and that the total strength of the command was

[1] The erroneous idea that the Brigade received Smith's fugitives within a hollow square at Lexington apparently originated with Stedman the British historian in 1794 (History of the American War, i. 119). Percy states in his report to Gage that he "drew up the Brigade on a height" (Letters, 1902, p. 50). Lieut. Mackenzie gives us the authoritative account of the disposition of the troops at Lexington and makes it clear that they stood in line of battle throughout the halt. He states that the Grenadiers and Light Infantry "retired and formed behind the brigade" (2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 392).

[2] This blunder is thus described in a letter dated Boston, July 5, 1775:

"The general ordered the first brigade under arms at four in the morning; these orders the evening before were carried to the brigade major's; he was not at home; the orders were left; no enquiry was made after him; he came home late; his servant forgot to tell him there was a letter on his table; four o'clock came; no brigade appeared; at five o'clock an express from Smith desiring a reinforcement produced an enquiry; the above discovery was made; at six o'clock part of the brigade got on the parade; there they waited expecting the marines; at seven no marines appearing, another enquiry commenced; they said they had received no orders; it was asserted they had; in the altercation it came out that the order had been addressed to Major Pitcairn who commanded the marines and left at his quarters, though the gentleman concerned ought to have recollected that Pitcairn had been dispatched the evening before with the grenadiers and light infantry under Lieut. Col. Smith. This double mistake lost us from four till nine o'clock, the time we marched off to support Col. Smith" (Detail and Conduct of the American War, 3rd ed., London, 1780, p. 10). This letter is found in an earlier but undated edition of the same pamphlet, entitled A View of the Evidence relative to the Conduct of the American War, etc., London, p. 72.

something less than one thousand men. In considering Earl Percy's activities let us first review briefly his military conduct in the handling of a difficult problem, and then consider with more care the charges of brutality and vandalism that have been levelled against him. Perhaps at the outset it will be well to glance at the fourth print of Doolittle's well-known series, entitled "A View of the South Part of Lexington." This portrays the meeting of Smith and Percy near the junction of the Boston and Woburn roads. The provincials appear in the foreground huddled behind the walls that line the last named thoroughfare. The Brigade is still in route formation facing the Common, while its flank guards are seen at work clearing up the hillsides. A field-piece is just going into action and Smith's jaded column can be seen in the background moving off by their right flank to gain the rear of the brigade. The British soldiers appear more like birds than men and one's first thought is that Doolittle has attempted a sinister caricature in portraying them as birds of prey. You will note, however, that the minute-men in the plate present the same aspect and that the phenomenon is all traceable to Doolittle's faulty conception of the cut of a military coat. From which we may infer that if Doolittle was a bad engraver he would have been a greater failure as a tailor. With a magnifying glass we can make out Percy and Smith on horseback in close consultation. That they appear like scarlet vultures does not detract from the value or realism of the view. But the really dominant features in Doolittle's engraving are the smoke and flames that hang in rigid petrified masses above three burning houses. It has been asserted that the greatest British devastation in Lexington was wrought almost in Percy's presence and Doolittle's print supplies powerful support to the charge.

The work of Doolittle in his series of Lexington prints is invaluable for its portrayal of local topography and for the record it gives of the current idea of the provincial dispositions and activities. On the other hand, his conception of British alignments must in the nature of things be less dependable. It is doubtful if Smith with a ball in his leg was able to sit his horse while he conferred with Percy as indicated in the print. To represent the Brigade as moving along the road in column of twos at this juncture is of course wholly inaccurate. We know on the clearest evidence that at the time the Grenadiers

and Light Infantry were passing through Lexington village, Percy had formed in line of battle and was swinging his six-pounders into position. It is probable, however, that, as depicted in the print, Smith did move by his right flank, passing through or around Percy's left to safety and shelter.

Percy had never imagined such a situation as he found at Lexington. He possessed military experience; he had served under Ferdinand of Brunswick, had fought at Minden, and was well versed in military science as it was then practised on the Continent. But now he found himself for the first time in a supreme command, facing a problem that was unique and bewildering, one for which European military formulas afforded no satisfactory solution. Had he been in telephonic communication with Boston he might have been weak enough to have called up General Gage and sought counsel from that timid and anxious man. Lacking this facility, he had to rely upon his military instinct and resourcefulness. He knew that the aim of his adversaries was to destroy or capture his command and that his plain duty was to conduct that command safely to Boston with the minimum of loss. He was unrestrained by any of those political considerations that benumbed the royal commanders in the later years of the Revolution. He believed that war had begun and that not only was he powerless to avert the shedding of blood, but that the safety of his men would require the infliction of the maximum of damage upon his foe. In this conviction he girded his loins and hardened his heart for the task before him. There can be no doubt that he listened to Smith's story and probably to Pitcairn's and Bernard's as well. We know what he learned as well as if he had recorded it in black and white for the benefit of posterity. The troops had marched from Concord under an incessant fire from unseen enemies concealed in houses and behind walls. Houses apparently deserted had been found by the rear guard to be full of armed enemies. The Americans had reverted to the methods of Indian warfare, not omitting — so it was alleged — the scalping of the wounded.[1]

[1] This refers to the atrocity perpetrated upon a wounded British soldier at the North Bridge in Concord. Gage in his "Circumstantial Account" addressed to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut says: "When captain Parsons returned with the three companies over the bridge, they observed three soldiers on the ground, one of them scalped, (his head much mangled, and his ears cut off,)

The first necessity of the case was to secure for Smith's shattered detachment some brief opportunity to recuperate from the fatigue and strain of twelve hours' rough campaigning. So, ordering Bernard and Pitcairn to look well to their men and to care for the wounded at Munroe's Tavern, Percy proceeded to clear away a zone that should be free from rebel musketry. His orders received prompt and ready obedience. Strong flank guards clambered along the slopes above the road, the field-pieces began to bark, and a round shot went crashing and splintering through the meeting-house of the Rev. Jonas Clark. There has been a persistent effort to include this shot in the list of Percy's barbarities. The Rev. Abel Muzzey in 1877, in recording his boyish memories of the aged men who had stood with Parker at Lexington, refers to this event as an "act of desecration" [1] and quotes from the anniversary sermon of the Rev. Isaac Morrill preached at Lexington in 1780, wherein he also emphasizes the impiety of the deed.[2] Inasmuch, however, as British witnesses record a provincial concentration within the shadow of the sacred edifice,[3]

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though not quite dead; a sight, which struck the soldiers with horrour" (2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 226).

The Rev. William Gordon, who had the facts from the Rev. William Emerson of Concord, wrote in his letter of May 17, 1775: "A young fellow coming over the bridge in order to join the country people, and seeing the soldier wounded and attempting to get up, not being under the feelings of humanity, very barbarously broke his skull, and let out his brains with a small axe, (apprehend of the tomahawk kind,) but as to his being scalped and having his ears cut off, there was nothing in it. The poor object lived an hour or two before he expired" (Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 630).

This event made a profound impression upon the soldiers, nearly one hundred of whom saw the victim, and gave rise to the conviction that the Americans scalped the wounded. In an intercepted letter written by a private soldier we find this comment: "These people . . . are full as bad as the *Indians* for scalping and cutting the dead men's ears and noses off, and those they get alive, that are wounded, and cannot get off the ground" (Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 440).

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxi. 382.

[2] "Let the mark of British tyranny made in this house of God, remain till time itself shall consume the fabrick, and it moulders into dust" (Faith in Divine Providence, the great support of God's People in perilous times. A Sermon, etc., 1780, p. 26).

[3] "They appeared most numerous in the road near the Church, and in a wood in the front and on the left flank of the line where our Regiment was posted. A few Cannon shot were fired at those on & near the road, which dispersed them" (Mackenzie, 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 392).

as we know that the place was used for the storage of the town supply of powder, and that no less a person than Colonel Baldwin of Woburn was narrowly missed by the flying ball, I think we are warranted in including this achievement of the Royal Artillery as among the justifiable acts of war.

"Houses and walls" — how many times had these words been dinned into Percy's ears during the scant sixty minutes of his halt! They were doubtless in his mind when his glance fell upon Deacon Loring's buildings and his well-laid stone walls. Perhaps the windows raked the road at too advantageous an angle; perhaps the structures interfered with the range of his artillery; at all events, it is certain that the walls offered tempting cover for a hostile force. So the command was given and Deacon Loring's buildings went up in flames and two hundred rods of his stone wall came down in dust. Two other dwellings were also fired, and Percy sat his white charger watching the operations of flank guards, artillery, and uniformed incendiaries and grimly approved it all.

It has been customary to ascribe these acts to the revengeful vandalism of a frenzied and humiliated soldiery and to allege that by condoning such outrages Percy made himself an accessory after the fact. But surely it is a more sensible theory to assume that the damage was wrought by Percy's express command as a necessary measure of protection for his men. We must remember that the Brigade still stood in battle line, that straggling under such conditions was well-nigh impossible, and that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that these men were infected with any fury or that they were not under perfect control. The Grenadiers and Light Infantry had gone to the rear, and must have been concentrated in the vicinity of the tavern. I am very strongly of the opinion that being in close proximity to Landlord Munroe's bar, they were giving their officers a thoroughly bad quarter of an hour. It is evident that the burning of houses and the destruction of walls were simultaneous parts of an orderly military operation. Smith's soldiers, described by Stedman as so exhausted that they lay on the ground, "their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like those of dogs after a chase,"[1] could certainly be trusted not to bestir themselves against stone walls; nor is it more rea-

[1] History of the American War (1794), i. 118.

sonable to assume that the men of the Brigade after a forced march of sixteen miles, with the knowledge that there were many more to go, would have entered upon any such athletic enterprise except by imperative order. You may demur at this theory and question my decision to regard the destruction wrought by the troops during the halt in Lexington as justifiable military acts, but surely any theory is more reasonable than that on the very threshold of a most difficult enterprise Percy should have been willing to adopt or abet any course of action detrimental to the discipline and control of his troops. If on the other side of Styx, Percy has been permitted to commune with the shades of Deacon Loring and the Widow Mulliken, I am sure that it required but a few words from him upon military practice, and the nature of his problem, to convince them that the destruction of their property was not wanton, but necessitated by certain grave responsibilities that rested upon him as a soldier.

Active along the line of the Brigade and busier still in the confusion down by the tavern are certain young officers with whom generations of American historians have had a long but by no means cordial acquaintance. We are reviewing an old familiar episode of our local history that for nearly a century and a half has inspired all sorts of publications and all sorts of enthusiasm and oratory. If my version proves out of harmony with generally accepted tradition, it is due in part to what I have learned from these youthful soldiers of the King. I set small store by a British official report and treat it with the same caution that I exercise toward a provincial affidavit supplied on rush order from the local Congress at Watertown. But these officers kept diaries, they wrote good manly letters home, they recorded defeat without peevishness, and their criticism was directed as much at their own service as at their foe. They cannot all have known one another, there is no taint of collusion in what they have to say. I do not think we can hope to understand what happened on the road to Charlestown Common if we continue to slight their evidence merely because we dislike the uniform they wear.

Lieutenant Mackenzie of the Royal Welsh Fusileers seems to have carried a watch on the 19th of April and I think that we may, as he did, place some dependence upon it. At 2 o'clock the Brigade came within sound of the firing. At 2.30, "being near the Church at

Lexington,"[1] they formed in line of battle. At 3.15 the Fusileers then holding the left of the line received orders to form the rear guard. In Mackenzie's words, "We immediately lined the walls and other cover in our front with some marksmen, and retired from the right of Companies by files to the high ground a small distance in our rear, where we again formed in line."[2] Here they remained "for near half an hour," partially hidden doubtless by the smoke screen of the burning houses. It must have been close to 4 o'clock before they had disappeared down the road beyond the Munroe Tavern, and Earl Percy had made his parting bow to hosts who were glad to have him go.

As we examine the British evidence it becomes clear that it was not until the arrival of Percy that the officers were conscious of any dominating leadership. Percy is a conspicuous figure in their narratives and commands unmistakably their confidence and respect. There is no attempt on the part of these officers to minimize the desperate condition of Smith's detachment, and on the other hand there is not a shred of evidence to indicate that they felt the slightest anxiety or solicitude for the safety of the column after Percy took command. Washington on receipt of the first accounts of the action declared that "if the retreat had not been as precipitate as it was, and God knows it could not well have been more so, the ministerial troops must have surrendered, or been totally cut off;"[3] but we find little trace of any such apprehension in British sources. The British officers had the sort of afternoon that tries men's souls, but I think we may safely conclude that they performed their duties undisturbed by any serious apprehension as to results.[4]

That the officers at the tavern did their duty well is evidenced by the fact that by half-past three the Grenadiers and Light Infantry were moving off in the van, followed in order by the 4th and 47th Regiments, the Marines, with the Fusileers covering the rear. Mackenzie states that the Marines relieved the Fusileers as rear guard after seven

[1] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 392.

[2] Id. p. 393.

[3] May 31, 1775 (Writings, ed. Ford, ii. 475).

[4] Percy's report to Gage says "We arrived at Charlestown, between 7 & 8 in the even, very much fatigued with a march of above 30 miles, & having exhausted almost all our ammunition" (Letters, p. 50). Evidently Percy had ammunition enough but none to spare. He avoided real peril by following the short route home.

miles had been covered, and that they in turn were relieved by the other regiments. The American fire was reopened shortly after the march began. Until Menotomy was reached, officers who had served with Smith regarded this fire as light, while in the Brigade it was considered as incessant and galling. The flank guards were efficient, and the pressure upon the marching column in the road was materially lessened. Within the area of Menotomy nearly eighteen hundred[1] fresh minutemen entered the contest, a force in itself much larger than the effective strength of Percy's command, and in the long street of the village occurred the heaviest fighting of the day. Here unwary Americans were caught between the flank guards and the marching column and bayoneted or clubbed to death. Fierce hand-to-hand fighting occurred within houses where the bayonets of the British gave them a decided advantage. More than half the American slain for the day fell along this short two miles of road. Here Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Bernard of the Fusileers was wounded, and Lieutenant Knight of the King's Own was killed;[2] but when the rear guard had passed the Menotomy River the worst of the fighting was over.

By this time the flank guards were becoming exhausted, but on the other hand the country was more open and afforded less cover for hostile marksmen. Percy notes a concentration in force at North Cambridge that portended a determined attempt to block his retreat.[2] This formation was broken up by a single cannon shot, and

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[1] As a result of research among the muster rolls in the Massachusetts Archives, Mr. Frank W. Coburn of the Lexington Historical Society estimates the number of provincial reinforcements entering the fight at Arlington as 1779 (The Battle of April 19, 1775, in Lexington, Concord, etc., 1912, p. 135). He gives the total number of Americans engaged during the day as 3760. Percy after joining with Smith had a force of 1500 men, but it is not certain that Smith's men should be rated as effectives on the retreat to Charlestown. Their ammunition was exhausted when they reached Lexington, and as the Brigade went out with only thirty-six rounds there could hardly have been any redistribution of powder and ball during the halt. Percy states in his report to Gage that he sent off the Grenadiers and Light Infantry in the van and "covered them" with his Brigade, —a hint that these troops may have been more of a hindrance than a help on the retreat. Probably the looting was in large measure due to them.

[2] De Berniere (General Gage's Instructions, 1779, p. 20; 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 218–219) gives the casualties among the officers as 2 killed and 13 wounded. Of these 4 occurred at the North Bridge, 1 near Concord, 8 near Lexington, and 2 in Menotomy. Probably Lieut.-Col. Bernard

the action resumed its irregular character. Mackenzie records the presence in the column of "about ten prisoners some of whom were taken in arms. One or two more were killed on the march while prisoners by the fire of their own people." [1] Before this Percy, suspecting the destruction of the bridge near the colleges, had determined to follow the short route to Charlestown. When he wheeled to the left in North Cambridge his officers are unanimous in their praise of the move. "We threw them," writes Barker with an enthusiasm foreign to him, "and went on to Charles Town without any great interruption." [2] Mackenzie records in his diary that Lord Percy "took the resolution of returning by way of Charlestown, which was the shortest road and which could be defended against any number of Rebels." [3] In a copy of Stedman's History of the American War, General Clinton made this manuscript note: "gave them [the Americans] every reason to suppose they would retire by the route they came but fell back on C'Town thus securing his retreat unmolested." Unmolested was too strong a word, but Percy's move was a shrewd one. It took his enemies by surprise, disarranged their plans, and saved both time and lives.

Charlestown had been thrown into a panic by the news that the Cambridge bridge was up, and that the troops were following the road to the Common. Wild rumors of their atrocities were in the air and everyone who could get away fled the town. The sun set at half-past six. An hour later the troops were on Bunker Hill, and all firing had ceased. Here they halted while Percy negotiated an agreement with the selectmen pledging safety to the persons and property of the townsfolk provided they kept their women within doors, and furnished the soldiers with drink. Shortly after eight o'clock the troops moved down into the village. Boats from the men-of-war were found waiting at the waterside, and the wounded were

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wounded and Lieut. Knight killed in the last named place were the only officers to fall after Percy began his march.

[1] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 394.

[2] Diary of a British Officer in Boston, in Atlantic Monthly (1877), xxxix. 400. The authorship of this diary is somewhat in doubt. In the Atlantic Monthly (xxxix. 389) the author is said to have been either Lieut. Peregrine Francis Thorne or Lieut. David Hamilton; but the late Rev. E. G. Porter showed in our Publications (v. 49–55) that the author was doubtless John Barker.

[3] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 393.

placed in them and rowed across to Boston. Returning they brought General Pigot and a force of five hundred men to occupy the heights commanding the neck. The Marines and Fusileers were ordered into the Town House while the officers gathered at the tavern hard by. Everywhere the cry was for drink, but there was no hint of riot or disorder. Jacob Rogers, who had fled with his family in the afternoon, came down in the early evening from his refuge at the house of "Mr. Townsend, pump-maker in the training field." Finding all things peaceful he started back for his wife and sisters only to meet them coming quietly up the street escorted by a certain Captain Adams. There is a Pepysian flavor about Rogers's chronicle: "I . . . found an officer and guard under arms by Mr. David Wood's, baker who continued, it seems all night; from thence, seeing everything quiet came home, and went to bed." [1] The moon rose shortly after ten and revealed the Somerset man-of-war at her old anchorage where Paul Revere beheld her the night before, and the surface of the harbor dotted with a multitude of slow moving boats. The midnight hour had long since clanged out from Christ Church steeple when the tramp of the war-worn Fusileers returning to their barracks echoed in the silent streets below. Percy was closeted with the governor at the Province House, and Charlestown after its fitful fever of doubt and terror slept well. I am inclined to think that the behavior of the troops in the little village across the river should be mentioned to Percy's credit as a soldier. He might well have complimented the selectmen on the performance of their part of the agreement, despite that transgression of Mrs. Rogers, her appearance on the street in company with Captain Adams.

That Percy displayed real military ability in his conduct of the retreat from Lexington has never been questioned. Friend and foe found themselves in complete agreement with Lord Drummond's statement [2] to Lord Dartmouth that "a piece of masterly officership" had been performed. He had brought his fifteen hundred men nearly a dozen miles along an exposed fire-swept road, standing his enemy off with such success that according to his own statement he

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[1] Jacob Rogers's petition, in Frothingham, History of the Siege of Boston, p. 372.

[2] June 9, 1775, in Percy's Letters, p. 54 note.

suffered a loss of only about forty killed.[1] When we consider the peculiar nature of his problem and that the advantages of numbers, initiative, cover, and choice of ground were always with his adversaries, is it too much to say that we are dealing with one of the brilliant military feats of the American Revolution?

We can hardly dismiss this phase of the subject without some mention of what is known as Percy's baggage train. American annals teem with details of its progress and fate. It came on far behind the column with a sergeant's guard of twelve men, and was finally ambushed and captured by a group of armed villagers in Menotomy. Some accounts state that it consisted of two wagons, one loaded with provisions, the other with ammunition. As the legend runs, the guard dispersed upon receiving the provincial fire, which killed two men and several horses. The fugitives fled in the direction of Spy Pond, giving themselves up to old Mother Bathericke, whom they found in a field digging dandelions.[2] The details of this surrender were transmitted to England, where they stirred caustic comment in the press and on the floor of the House of Commons. Stripped of this dandelion episode, and certain other improbabilities born of local anniversary oratory, the fact remains that the men of Menotomy did lay violent hands upon some portion of His Majesty's property. Strangely enough there is no mention of the existence or the loss of these supplies in the British official reports, or in the other British evidence upon which we depend. Mackenzie states that the Brigade went out with a vanguard of fifty men, and a rear guard of as many more, but he says nothing of a train. Had it been officially attached to the column, and gone out in its company as far as the Charles River in Cambridge, surely some of our witnesses should have noted and bewailed its disappearance. We are told that Percy was urged to take out a reserve supply of ball for his six-pounders, but in-

[1] "They kept up a constant fire upon us for upwards of 15 miles, yet only killed of us about 40 men" (Percy to Henry Reveley, May, 1775, in Letters, p. 55). Gage's first report (London Chronicle, June 13, 1775, xxxvii. 554) gave the British loss for the whole day as 65 killed, 180 wounded, 27 missing, a total of 272. This was subsequently amended (General Gage's Instructions, Boston, 1779, p. 20; 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 218–219) to read 73 killed, 174 wounded, 26 missing, a total of 273. Percy's killed during the retreat aggregated a little more than half of the fatal casualties for the day.

[2] Cf. our Publications, vii. 27–30.

sisted on limiting himself to the capacity of the side boxes. This might be construed as an indication that he had an aversion to baggage on a short forced march. I have wondered whether those mysterious wagons could have been an after-thought of the headquarters in Boston. Gage made up his mind slowly, and his best laid plans were wont to miscarry.[1]

We now come to the consideration of the charges of vandalism and brutality that have been brought against Percy, and I will ask you to listen to the indictments. This is from the first account sent to England by the provincial authorities:

They pillaged almost every House they passed by, breaking and destroying Doors, Windows, Glasses, etc. and carrying off Cloathing and other valuable Effects. It appeared to be their Design to burn and destroy all before them; and nothing but our vigorous Pursuit prevented their infernal Purposes from being put in Execution. But the savage Barbarity exercised upon the Bodies of our unfortunate Brethren who fell, is almost incredible: Not content with shooting down the unarmed, aged and infirm, they disregarded the Cries of the wounded, killing them without Mercy, and mangling their Bodies in the Most shocking Manner.[2]

Here is an extract from the sermon of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Langdon, President of Harvard College, preached before the Congress at Watertown on May 31st, 1775:

They acted the part of Robbers and Savages, by burning, plundering and damaging almost every house in their way, to the utmost of their power, murdering the unarmed and helpless, and not regarding the

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[1] The Rev. Dr. David McClure, writing April 19, 1775, seems in a measure to support this theory: "A waggon loaded with provisions was sent from Boston, for the refreshment of the retreating army, under an escort of 6 Granidiers. They got as far as this place, [Menotomy], when a number of men, 10 or 12, collected, and ordered them to surrender. They marched on, & our men fired, killed the driver & the horses, when the rest fled a little way, & surrendered. Another waggon sent on the same business, was also taken that day. It was strange that General Gage should send them through a country, in which he had just kindled the flames of war, in so defenceless a condition" (Diary, ed. F. B. Dexter, 1899, p. 161; cf. 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 158).

[2] Essex Gazette, April 25, 1775, p. 3/2–3. Also printed in the Massachusetts Spy of May 3, 1775, p. 3/2; and reprinted in Almon's Remembrancer, 1775, i. 33; Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 439, etc.

weakness of the tender sex, until they had secured themselves beyond the reach of our terrifying arms.[1]

Hear what the Rev. Jonas Clark has to say in a sermon preached at Lexington, April 19, 1776:

After they were joined by *Piercy's brigade*, in Lexington, it seemed as if *all the little remains* of humanity had left them; and rage and revenge had taken the reins, and knew no bounds! *Cloathing, furniture, provisions, goods, plundered, carried off, or destroyed! Buildings (especially dwelling houses) abused, defaced, battered, shattered and almost ruined! And as if this had not been enough, numbers of them doomed to the flames! . . . . Add to all this; the unarmed, the aged and infirm, who were unable to flee, are inhumanly stabbed and murdered in their habitations! Yea, even women in child-bed, with their helpless babes in their arms, do not escape the horrid alternative, of being either cruelly murdered in their beds, burnt in their habitations, or turned into the streets to perish with cold, nakedness and distress! But I forbear — words are too insignificant to express, the horrid barbarities of that distressing day!*[2]

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Bancroft and Frothingham reflected these accusations in a fashion that would have satisfied the earliest prosecutors, and in 1880 the Rev. Charles Hudson, the historian of Lexington, declared before the Massachusetts Historical Society "that we have discovered no general traces of barbarity until the troops became subject to Percy's command, when a general system of vandalism prevailed."[3] Since then it has been customary to depict the British commander as devising and practising a brutal method of warfare abhorrent to civilized standards. He is held personally responsible for some half-dozen alleged offences of the troops against non-combatants, all that in nearly a century and a half it has been possible to unearth.

Before reviewing these specific acts, let us consider the broad charge of vandalism and brutality. I will ask you to consider first the nature of the problem with which Percy had to deal and will at the outset

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[1] Government corrupted by Vice, and recovered by Righteousness. A Sermon, etc. (Watertown, 1775), p. 8.

[2] Narrative, pp. 7–8, appended to his "Fate of Blood-thirsty Oppressors, and God's tender Care of his distressed People. A Sermon," etc., Boston, 1776.

[3] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvii. 322.

Plate IV. A View of the

1. Colonel Smith's Brigade retreating before the Provinc
2. Earl Percys Brigade meeting them.
3 & 4. Earl Percy & Colo. Smith. 5 Provincials.

Engraved for
from an original

7. The Flanck-grieards of Sievays Party ate.
A Fieldpiece pointed at the Lexington Meetinghouse
The Burning of the Houses in Lexington

Society of Massachusetts
Lexington Historical Society

submit the evidence of some of the King's officers whose qualifications as witnesses I have already explained.

They "concealed themselves in *houses*, & advanced within 10 yds. to fire at me & other officers," writes Percy in discussing the provincial morale in a private letter to General Harvey.[1]

"The soldiers shewed great bravery . . . forceing *houses* from whence came a heavy fire." This is the entry of Ensign Henry de Berniere of the 10th Regiment in his diary found in Boston after the withdrawal of the British garrison.[2]

Captain W. Glanville Evelyn of the King's Own writes to his reverend father in Ireland:

> We observed on our march [out] . . . that the *houses* along the road were all shut up as if deserted, though we afterwards found these *houses* full of men, and only forsaken by the women and children; having executed our orders, and being on our return to Boston, we were attacked on all sides, from woods and orchards, and stone walls, and from every *house* on the roadside (and this country is a continued village), so that for fourteen miles we were attacking fresh posts, and under one incessant fire. . . . Whenever we were fired on from *houses* or *barns*, our men dashed in, and let very few of those they could find escape.[3]

Here is what Mackenzie of the Fusileers has to say:

> Before the Column had advanced a mile on the road, we were fired on from all quarters, but particularly from the *houses* on the roadside & the adjacent stone walls. . . . The soldiers were so enraged at suffering from an unseen enemy, that they forced open many of the *houses* from which the fire proceeded & put to death all those found in them. These *houses* would certainly have been burnt had any fire been found in them, or had there been time to kindle any, . . . Some *houses* were forced open in which no person could be discovered, but when the Column had passed, numbers sallied out from some place in which they had lain concealed, fired at the rear Guard, and augmented the numbers which followed us. If we had had time to set fire to these *houses* many Rebels

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[1] April 20, 1775, in Letters, p. 53. The italics in the extracts which immediately follow are mine.

[2] "General Gage's Instructions, Of 22d February 1775, . . . With a curious Narrative. . . . Also an Account," etc., Boston, 1779, p. 19. Cf. 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 218.

[3] April 23, 1775, in Memoir and Letters (ed. G. D. Scull, Oxford, 1879), p. 54.

must have perished in them, . . . Many *houses* were plundered by the soldiers, notwithstanding the efforts of the officers to prevent it. I have no doubt this influenced the Rebels, & many of them followed us further than they would otherwise have done. By all accounts some soldiers who stayed too long in the *houses* were killed in the very act of plundering by those that lay concealed in them.[1]

And now comes Barker of the King's Own, a testy young subaltern of a keenly critical mind. In his diary you read as follows:

We set out upon our return; before the whole had quitted the Town we were fired on from *Houses* and behind Trees, and before we had gone ½ a mile we were fired on from all sides, but mostly from the Rear, where people had hid themselves in *houses* till we had passed, and then fired; . . . We were now obliged to force almost every *house* in the road, for the Rebels had taken possession of them and galled us exceedingly; but they suffered for their temerity, for all that were found in the *houses* were put to death. . . .[2] Our Soldiers the other day, tho' they shew'd no want of courage, yet were so wild and irregular, that there was no keeping 'em in any order; by their eagerness and inattention they killed many of our own People, and the plundering was shameful; many hardly thought of anything else; what was worse they were encouraged by some Officers.[3]

Lieutenant-Colonel James Abercrombie of the 22nd Regiment did not arrive in Boston until the 23rd of April, or four days after the battle. On May 2nd, after making "the Strictest enquiry amongst the Officers," he penned his analysis of the event to his friend Lieutenant-Governor Colden of New York: "They were fired on from every *House* and fense along the Road for fifteen Miles, I cannot

[1] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 393, 394.

[2] April 19, 1775, in Atlantic Monthly, xxxix. 400.

[3] April 23, 1775, in Atlantic Monthly, xxxix. 544. Confirmation of the character of the fighting is found in intercepted letters of British private soldiers printed in Force. One man writes, April 28: "They did not fight us like a regular army, only like savages, behind trees and stone walls, and out of the woods and houses, where in the latter we killed numbers of them" (4 American Archives, ii. 440). Another writes, April 28: "When we found they fired from the houses, we set them on fire, and they ran to the woods like devils" (id. p. 440). A soldier of the Royal Welsh Fusileers in addressing his "Dear Parents" April 30, records the following: "As we came along they got before us and fired at us out of the houses, and killed and wounded a great number of us, but we levelled their houses as we came along" (id. p. 440).

commend the behavior of Our Soldiers on the retreat. As they began to plunder, & payed no obediance to their Officers." [1]

Here is a body of evidence coming from a variety of sources, all unofficial in its character, and indicating in unmistakable terms that the fighting throughout the afternoon was of the house-to-house variety. The British and American accounts agree on the use of trees, walls, orchards and other cover; but the American witnesses are wholly silent as to the firing from houses. Read what Holmes has to say in his American Annals: "An irregular yet very galling fire was kept up on each flank, as well as in the front and rear. The close firing from behind *stone walls* by good marksmen put them in no small confusion." [2] Or turn to Thacher's Military Journal and read the following: "The provincials concealed themselves behind *stone walls*, and with a sure aim thinned the enemies' ranks." [3] You find the same note in Gordon's History: "The close firing from behind the *walls*, by good marksmen, . . . put the troops into no small confusion." [4]

Why this prominence given to houses on the one side and to stone walls on the other? Were our British friends deceived, were they all lying as they wrote their diaries and addressed their relatives and friends, or were our ancestors writing history in ignorance of facts or with an exaggerated sense of duty to their cause? There is something to be said in support of the theory of ignorance. It is doubtful whether any one person acting with the uncommanded thousands that sustained the popular cause that day could have known to what extent houses were being used as a menace to the troops. The men who fought the British in Menotomy and Cambridge were strangers in those towns, they came from long distances, and included several companies of Pickering's regiment from Essex County. They ranged about at will, in small groups, and all windows appealed to them as convenient loopholes from which to shoot a redcoat. The American contention has been from the first that the damage inflicted by the troops on private property was unprovoked and wanton, and upon this premise rest all the charges alleging against Percy ruthlessness

[1] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xi. 306.
[2] American Annals (1805), ii. 327; (1829) ii. 206.
[3] Military Journal during the American Revolution (1823), p. 19.
[4] History (1788), i. 482.

and worse. Mr. Hudson admitted in 1880 that the British were justified in attacking any house from which they were fired upon.[1] To my mind it is clear beyond all reasonable doubt that the fighting along Percy's line of march was of the kind so minutely described by Abercrombie and his comrades. Tons of depositions turned off on provincial presses to meet the political exigencies of the hour cannot break the force of such evidence as this.

When the provincials drifted into the practice of using private houses as fortresses, they certainly adopted the best military policy to retard and demoralize their foe. By so doing they also placed all such private property under suspicion and in actual jeopardy. Their tactics introduced new problems for the British and went far to nullify the control of battalion and company officers. As the aim of the provincials was to impede, wear down, and ultimately capture their foe, so the purpose of the British was merely to cover their distance before the setting of the sun. The movement of the column continued steadily eastward at the rate of about three miles an hour, but the constant detailing of squads to clean up belligerent posts must have resulted in the hopeless mixing of units and the serious impairment of discipline. It was a difficult business to keep track of the groups operating indoors and to get them out before the rear guard came along. Is it reasonable to suppose that anything but the most imperative military necessity would have tempted the officers to engage their men in indoor fighting, conscious as they were of the long miles ahead and of the westering sun sinking surely to its rest? There were bad men in Percy's rank and file and plenty of light-fingered gentry, as there were in Washington's army in Cambridge a few weeks later. And so in the words of Abercrombie "they began to plunder."

We find nothing in the official reports of Gage or Percy concerning the misdemeanors of the troops, and it is well that we can mingle with our youthful witnesses and hear from them the frank gossip of the mess-room. And yet it is possible that we may take their confessions too seriously. The British officer of that day, however easy-

[1] "We do not censure him [Percy] for any warlike attacks upon our troops, or for firing upon any dwelling within which our soldiers had taken refuge, or from which they assailed the king's troops. So far he would be justified by the laws of war" (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvii. 322).

going in his personal habits, was a martinet in the performance of his professional duty. He had been taught that old-time military maxim that an army that plunders is never a good one. To him, looting was a loathsome thing because it begot straggling and insubordination and was in every way subversive of discipline. We cannot accept our British evidence as confirming the American assertion that Percy's men staggered along the Boston road under a weight of ill gotten plunder. Looting of some sort was certain to accompany the mode of fighting the British had had forced upon them. But despite Barker's caustic thrust at some one, the officers were evidently vigilant, the column was cumbered with the transportation of wounded, the flank guards required frequent relief, skirmishing was incessant, there was a heavy pressure on the rear guard, and altogether there was too much to do, and too little time to allow of getting away with substantial plunder. Small articles for which the knapsack was a convenient receptacle did suffer, food and drink for obvious reasons were swept away, but on the whole I fear that from the standpoint of an ambitious looter the day's work was not altogether a happy one. Now looting begets straggling or is the result of it. If you will turn to the British official report, and there are times in reading American history when official reports as well as affidavits must be consulted, you will find the total British missing for the day given as 26.[1] A score of these we can trace from provincial sources to the captured baggage train and to the period of Smith's command before Percy had arrived upon the scene. Is it reasonable to suppose that a force of fifteen hundred men could have marched under fire twelve miles through an enemy's country systematically plundering all the way and have appeared at roll call the next morning with only six men missing? The officers were shamed by the wildness, inattention, and disobedience that cropped up among their men, and yet as you read and re-read the story of the march you are impressed with the fact that on the whole they dominated a difficult situation, and did their duty well.

And then the thought occurs, what wretched propagandists these martial Britons were! The whole countryside was accusing them as destroyers and plunderers of private property, and conscious of a

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[1] Cf. p. 270 note 1, above.

measure of guilt they remained silent and inert. Had they possessed a fraction of the political sagacity displayed by their foes, they might have set up a very plausible defence. Abercrombie had his chance. Might he not have urged in all sincerity that the British were not the first or the last strangers to infest deserted houses on the 19th of April, and that the charge of exclusive opportunity could not be levelled against the troops? Was it not true that for every minute allowed a soldier in which to misbehave, scores of light-fingered provincials had an hour? But his mind could not shape itself to propaganda. He had no interest in the exaggerations or possible misdeeds of his enemy. His Majesty's troops had misbehaved, they had begun to plunder, and as an honest officer he was disgusted and sick at heart.[1]

Of course vandalism is an evil of which looting is but a single phase. Houses along the road were battered and shattered in battle and other minor damage was doubtless wrought in wantonness and hate. I think that in any Boston mess-room on the 20th of April we should have received frank admissions from the officers that probably some houses were entered by mistake and that possibly others known to be innocent were invaded by small groups, temporarily out of hand. It is certain that the soldier was in an ugly mood. He had gone out despising the Boston mob, and his temper had not been improved by his experiences on the road. If opportunity offered to drive his bayonet through a mirror or to break china in the corner cupboard, many a man there was who would have regarded the occasion as Heaven sent.

Mackenzie is the only one of the officers we have cited who alludes to the burning of houses. Our gallant Fusileer writes in shame and humiliation of the looting, but he records incendiarism as merely a necessary and ordinary episode of the day. If we admit the contention

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[1] Gage's defence penned to Governor Trumbull May 3rd, 1775, is as follows: "The troops disclaim with indignation the barbarous outrages of which they are accused, so contrary to their known humanity. I have taken the greatest pains to discover if any were committed, and have found examples of their tenderness, both to the young and the old but no vestige of cruelty or barbarity. It is very possible that in firing into houses, from whence they were fired upon, that old people, women, or children may have suffered, but if any such thing has happened, it was in their defence and undesigned." (Trumbull Papers, ii. 298–299.)

of the British that the fighting was of the house-to-house character, their disposition to keep the home fires burning falls into the category of a mere commonplace of war. This accounts for omission to mention it in the diaries and letters of our other witnesses. All incendiarism except that practised during the halt in Lexington proved abortive, owing to the closeness with which the provincials followed the rear guard, a fact that Mackenzie records with evident regret.

The earliest provincial account alleged that the British disregarded the appeals of the wounded, killing and mangling without mercy. Now the provincials killed exceeded the number of their wounded, a fact that in some measure confirms the charge;[1] but we must remember that, aside from those slain by gunfire at Lexington and at the North Bridge, nearly all of the provincials killed fell in close combat within houses or in hastily constructed defences outside. We have just noted the temper of the private soldier. He had been fooled, ambushed, and shot in the back until he had lost all faith in American non-combatants, and was strongly of the opinion that the only good American was a dead one. On the other hand the hatred of the people for the troops, always fanatical in its intensity, had become inflamed by what they regarded as the unprovoked slaughter at Lexington and Concord. I doubt that quarter was asked, or thought of, in those fierce hand-to-hand fights along Percy's line of march, and the bayonet and gunstock did make ugly wounds.

We come now to the consideration of specific outrages inflicted by the troops upon the persons of inoffensive non-combatants. There are just six cases of this sort that call for examination. Three of them fall naturally into one group: the killing of Raymond, "a lame man," at the Munroe Tavern in Lexington; of William Marcy in North Cambridge; and of the fourteen-year-old lad Barber on Charlestown Neck.

John Raymond's name appeared on the first lists of the provincial slain, but it was not until fifty years later that he took his place in history as the victim of a military outrage. William Munroe, the proprietor of the tavern who was out with the minutemen on the

[1] The provincial losses are given by Phinney (History of the Battle of Lexington, 1825, pp. 27–30) as 49 killed, 36 wounded, 5 missing, a total of 90.

19th of April, made the following deposition in 1825: "On the return of the British troops from Concord, they stopped at my tavern house in Lexington, and dressed their wounded. I had left my house in the care of a lame man, by the name of Raymond, who supplied them with whatever the house afforded, and afterward, when he was leaving the house, he was shot by the regulars, and found dead within a few rods of the house."[1] This brief statement of Munroe's suggests an atrocity, and a tradition plausible but none too robust has developed since 1825 to the effect that Raymond, after mixing a punch, left the place in fear of his life and was shot by soldiers as he was hobbling away. The setting for this tragic legend was well chosen if you agree with me that there was probably trouble and disorder within the tavern where maddened men of Smith's detachment came thronging and panting to the bar. Credible as the story is, it has never become solidly established in the annals of the day. Phinney, Frothingham, and Bancroft ignored it, and we might well follow their example had not Hudson revitalized the tale in his History of Lexington[2] and in a contribution to Drake's History of Middlesex County. Here are his words taken from the last named work:

> The officers with Percy resorted to Munroe's tavern just below. The occupants of the house left the place in affright, leaving only John Raymond, an aged man, who was at the time one of the family. The intruders ordered him to supply them with all the good things the house afforded, which he readily did. But after they had imbibed too freely, they became noisy, and so alarmed Raymond that he sought to escape from the house; but was brutally fired upon and killed in his attempt to flee from danger.[3]

The credibility of Munroe's story has not been enhanced by this elaboration of Hudson. I think that I have proved beyond any reasonable doubt that the soldiers about the tavern were of Smith's command and that the brigade in battle formation nearly half a mile away was involved in skirmishing throughout the halt. It is clear also that, inasmuch as it was close to half-past two when Smith came within sight of the Brigade, and that at half-past three his men

[1] In Elias Phinney, History of the Battle of Lexington (1825), pp. 34–35.
[2] (1868), p. 202; (1913), i. 175.
[3] History of Middlesex County (1880), ii. 26.

resumed their march down the Boston road, their presence in and about the tavern could not have consumed much more than half an hour. Hudson's tale of Percy's carousal with his officers suggests poetical or historical licence and may have been responsible for the christening of the tavern as "Earl Percy's headquarters." I have tried to show what Percy's problems and responsibilities were at Lexington and I think you will agree with me that if he galloped down the road once or twice for a momentary inspection of what Pitcairn[1] was doing, this was about all the time or attention he could have allowed to the vicinity of Munroe's tavern. Had the officers of the Grenadiers and Light Infantry spent their precious time in the diversions portrayed by Hudson, drinking themselves into a state of noisy exaltation, the Fusileers would hardly have received their orders to form the rear guard at 3.15 and the van would have been fortunate to have passed over Charlestown Common by the light of the rising moon.

Now Munroe, an honest man, deposing at eighty-two years of age concerning events that happened fifty years before, states that Raymond was lame; Hudson, in every way a worthy and distinguished citizen, declared[2] that he was oppressed by the burden of years. If you will turn to the genealogical register appended to Hudson's History[3] of the town, capably edited and handsomely republished by the Lexington Historical Society, you will find that John Raymond was born September 5, 1731, and so was in his forty-

[1] Placing Pitcairn in command of the troops near Munroe's Tavern is a mere conjecture, as his name is not mentioned by any of our witnesses after Percy took command. Possibly Bernard was in command at this point and Pitcairn may have been assigned to the Marine battalion that came out with the Brigade. Whoever commanded the Marines seems to have borne the brunt of the afternoon's fighting. If we estimate the strength of the battalion at four or five companies, or not more than 175 men, we cannot be far from the truth. Two other companies may have gone out with Smith. The official report giving the total regimental losses in killed and wounded indicates that 27 per cent of the casualties were suffered by the Marines. If we confine ourselves to the killed, the Marine percentage was 37. This is an extraordinary showing when compared with the 14 per cent of the King's Own Regiment, a larger unit and the next heaviest sufferer. These figures suggest that nearly 50 per cent of Percy's casualties on the retreat occurred in the Marines.

[2] In 1880: see p. 280, note 3. But in 1868 Hudson had merely called him "infirm" (History of Lexington, p. 202; Genealogical Register, p. 189).

[3] (1913), ii. 552. Cf. Lexington Vital Records, p. 62.

fourth year at the time of his death. Moreover you will learn here and from other sources that he was a regularly enlisted member of Captain Parker's company, from which fact we might well infer that the lameness mentioned by Munroe was merely a temporary affliction.[1] He was among the sixty-seven absentees from the early morning muster on the Common, but we cannot trace his movements between that time and his appearance at the tavern in the afternoon. Of course if the British had learned or if they suspected his military status, they would have treated him as a prisoner and if as a prisoner he tried to escape, he would very properly have been shot. Fifty years was a long time to wait for Raymond's conversion from the status of an apparent belligerent to the category of an aged and infirm victim of British brutality. I find it hard to resist the conviction that had murder been committed at the tavern as alleged by Mr. Hudson in 1880, Langdon and Clark would have exploited the fact in 1775. Clark's silence is the more remarkable because the tragedy occurred within the narrow limits of the parish that had been confided to his spiritual charge.

The first mention of Marcy's fate is to be found in the sermon preached by President Langdon before the Congress of the Colony, May 31st, 1775: "A man of weak mental powers, who went out to gaze at the regular army as they pass'd, without arms, or thought of danger, was wantonly shot at and kill'd by those inhuman butchers, as he sat on a fence." [2] If we accept this statement at its face value, we may yet question the wanton character of the deed. Perhaps more than one soldier who had been straining his eyes for a fair shot at some of the hidden marksmen who were picking off his comrades saw, through drifting powder smoke, Marcy seated on the fence. I think we may assume that his slayer knew nothing of his mental deficiencies or suspected that he was unarmed. If the fall of the victim was noticed in the column I am afraid that the sentiment aroused was not one of pity, but of grim satisfaction that one enemy had received his just deserts.

We have an interesting side light on this case that is somewhat harmful to Langdon's hasty conjecture. Near the present corner of

[1] In the roll of Parker's company given in the first (1868) edition of Hudson's History is found the name of John Raymond (p. 383).

[2] P. 9 note.

Massachusetts Avenue and Spruce Street in North Cambridge, a party of provincials had taken position behind a barricade of empty casks. They fell victims to the vigilance of a flank guard, a hot fight ensued, and Isaac Gardner of Brookline, John Hicks and Moses Richardson of Cambridge, and one or two others were killed. We have it on the authority of the Widow Hicks that, alarmed by the long absence of her husband from home, she in the early evening sent her fourteen-year-old son in search of him. The boy found him lying by the roadside, dead, and near him were the bodies of Moses Richardson and William Marcy. This places Marcy in the midst of undoubted combatants, on the very spot where one of the sharpest encounters of the day occurred, and we know that he was buried with Richardson and Hicks in a common grave on the night of the battle.[1] In view of these facts we must regard Langdon's statement with serious misgiving. All that we know of William Marcy himself is contained in the following extract from the records of the Cambridge selectmen, dated September 3rd, 1770: "Voted, to warn out of the town, William Marcy, a man of very poor circumstances; he for some time hath lodged in Steward Hastings' barn, the Steward paying the charges."[2] Marcy made a more dignified exit from Cambridge than the selectmen had planned, and his name is now inscribed on a monument erected by the city in 1870 to commemorate "the Men of Cambridge who fell in defence of the Liberty of the People, April 19, 1775."

Barber was the youthful brother-in-law of Rogers whom we met in Charlestown, from whose affidavit we learn that the lad was shot as he was looking out from a window on Charlestown Neck. Curiously enough Mackenzie mentions these houses "close to the Neck, out of which the Rebels fired to the last."[3] It was a pity that at a time when so many were fleeing for their lives, this boy should have been left gazing from a window among houses from which firing was still going on. The sun had set when the British passed this point. In the gloaming the lad's youth and innocence were not discernible to the soldiers, but the sight of a face in the window had come to have a sinister significance to them. So Barber went down to his death, but not I think as the victom of a military atrocity.

[1] Paige, History of Cambridge, p. 413. [2] Id. p. 413 note.
[3] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 394.

The fourth case is that concerning Hannah, wife of Deacon Joseph Adams of Menotomy. She made affidavit to the facts on May 17th, 1775. Two weeks later, President Langdon epitomized the case in the following words: "A woman in bed with a new-born infant, about a week old, was forced by the threats of the soldiery, to escape, almost naked, to an open outhouse; her house was then set on fire, but soon extinguished by one of the children which had laid concealed till the enemy was gone." [1] This was the incident that inspired that passionate outburst of the Rev. Jonas Clark, "Yea, even women in child-bed with their helpless babes in their arms, do not escape the horrid alternative, of being either cruelly murdered in their beds, burned in their habitations, or turned into the streets to perish with cold and nakedness and distress!" [2] Hannah Adams states [3] that as she lay in her bed, three soldiers broke into her room. As one pointed his bayonet at her breast, she cried out in terror, "For the Lord's sake do not kill me!" There was little comfort in the profane and laconic reply of, "Damn you!" Here a comrade interposed with the words, "We will not hurt the woman, if she will go out of the house, but we will surely burn it." Leaving in the house "five children and no other person," she threw a blanket about her and with her babe "crawled into a corn-house near the door," but fortunately not "to perish with cold, nakedness and distress" on that bright April afternoon.

This is not a pleasant story, but perhaps it hardly justifies the fevered denunciation of the Rev. Jonas Clark. It is notable as the one recorded instance of indignity offered by the soldiery to the gentler sex. Here in this room, so far as the 19th of April is concerned, we see the British soldier at his worst. The stage was set in every detail for a most revolting tragedy, rude and angry soldiers and an unprotected mother with her children. But the villains in the piece were not of the deepest dye, there was no lust for butchery in their hearts, nor had they a mind that Mrs. Adams should be burned alive in her habitation. What the three uniformed offenders would have said in their own defence we shall never know. Were they part of a

[1] Sermon, pp. 8–9 notes.

[2] Cf. p. 272, above.

[3] May 16, 1775, in Journals of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress (1838), p. 677.

squad acting under orders to burn the place or were they stragglers? It is certain that no officer was with them. It would be interesting to know a little more of the attendant circumstances and whether it were possible that as Mrs. Adams lay in her room some part of the premises had been put to military uses by armed patriots from out of town. If the house had been so used, or if the soldiers believed such to be the fact, they would of course have regarded Mrs. Adams with some suspicion, and might even have been inclined to question the age of her babe. We cannot summon Deacon Adams as a witness, because he ran away and was throughout the episode lying concealed under hay in the barn of the Rev. Samuel Cooke.[1] The soldiers had seen him leave the house and he had drawn their fire in his flight across the fields. Possibly this precautionary measure of his may account in part for the military invasion of his home.[2]

Now Hannah Adams's infant was eighteen days old on the 19th of April.[3] This child grew into womanhood, married, and must often have heard her mother, who lived until 1803, discuss with the older children the family experiences in which they were participants on that fateful day. We might well expect that the terrors of the episode would increase with repeated telling, but on the contrary under the mild influence of the family tradition the Rev. Jonas Clark's denunciation has long since lost its sting. We are told that Mrs.

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[1] Samuel Cooke (1708–1783; H. C. 1735) was long the minister of the second precinct, Cambridge (now Arlington).

[2] In 1864 the Rev. Samuel A. Smith gave us this account of Deacon Adams's activities. He "knew that his life would be in danger, both on account of his name, and also for his reputation for patriotic zeal, but thinking that they would not harm women and children, as the troops came in sight left his house, . . . and fled across the fields. He was hotly pursued, and, as he was running under cover of the stone walls, he heard the bullets whistle over his head. He kept on, however, and had just time to cover himself over in the hay-loft in Rev. Mr. Cooke's barn, . . . when his pursuers came up and began to search for him, sticking their bayonets here and there into the hay. They did not dare to remain long, and he escaped" (West Cambridge on the Nineteenth of April, 1775, p. 34).

Deacon Adams was a prominent man in the community, was precinct treasurer for nineteen years and selectman of Cambridge for four years.

[3] Born April 1, 1775. Her name is given as Ann by Paige (History of Cambridge, p. 478), as Ann or Anne by Cutter (History of Arlington, pp. 185, 260), but as Anna in Cambridge Vital Records, ii. 10. She married James Hill (1773–1852) on October 11, 1796. In 1831 Hannah Hill, daughter of James and Ann (Adams) Hill, married Thomas Hall.

Adams was fully dressed on the arrival of the soldiers, having been assisted in that process by two daughters aged respectively twenty and fourteen. The brutal redcoats degenerate into mere burglars of a rather genial type. "Why don't you come out here?" queries a soldier when the head of nine-year-old Joel Adams is thrust from under a bed. "You'll kill me if I do," replies the prudent boy. "No we won't," is the prompt and reassuring reply. Then out crawls the child and follows the soldiers about, a rapt spectator of their activities, which are largely of a pilfering nature. We are told that when they laid thieving hands upon the church communion silver, Joel ventured a word of warning and an assurance that the deacon would "lick" them for that offence. A[1] touch of the original tragic flavor is restored to the story, when upon leaving, the soldiers break up the chairs and set them alight with a brand from the fireplace. Then comedy once more gaily trips the stage in the person of the youthful Joel, who saves the situation by attacking the flames with a pot of the deacon's home-brewed beer.[2]

In the next case we have to consider, the authorities began to disagree at the outset. President Langdon states that "two aged helpless men who had not been out in the action, and were found unarmed in a house where the Regulars enter'd, were murdered without mercy."[3] After a year of reflection the Rev. Mr. Clark referred to the incident in these words, "the unarmed, the aged and infirm, who were unable to flee, are inhumanly stabbed and murdered in their habitations!"[4] Between the dates of these statements of Langdon and Clark, the tragedy had been located not in the habitations of the victims but in the bar-room of the Cooper Tavern in Menotomy. Here is an extract from the deposition of Landlord Benjamin Cooper and his wife, Rachel, dated May 19, 1775:

> The king's regular troops . . . fired more than a hundred bullets into the house where we dwelt, through doors, windows, &c. Then a number of them entered the house, where we and two aged gentlemen were all unarmed. We escaped for our lives into the cellar. The two

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[1] This is the story as repeated in 1854 by Mrs. Hill, then in her eightieth year, to Samuel Griffin Damon: see Christian Register, October 28, 1854, xxxix. 169.

[2] S. A. Smith, West Cambridge on the Nineteenth of April, 1775, p. 37.

[3] Sermon, p. 8 note.

[4] See p. 272, above.

aged gentlemen were, immediately, most barbarously and inhumanly murdered by them: being stabbed through in many places, their heads mauled, skulls broken, and their brains dashed out on the floor and walls of the house.[1]

Now these two aged, helpless, infirm and unarmed men were Jason Winship and Jabez Wyman, and we learn from the genealogical records of Cambridge and Woburn that they were brothers-in-law, aged respectively forty-five and thirty-nine years.[2] We learn too from a letter of that staunch patriot, the Rev. John Marrett of Woburn dated July 28th, 1775, that "they were drinking flip;" and, in utter disagreement with the views of the Rev. Jonas Clark, that they "both died like fools." He was "not certain they were unarmed," but on making inquiry was informed that such was the fact.[3]

Our local historians in accepting the story of the flip are far from admitting that "both died like fools." To my mind the second fact is a necessary corollary of the first and they must stand or fall together. We must remember that at the very moment these aged and unarmed men were engaged in their legitimate and private business, there was raging all along the half-mile of road to the west the heaviest fighting of the day. Hundreds of newly arrived Americans closed in upon the redcoats, and all along the village street the British gunfire rattled and rolled. Gunstocks thundered on the surface of splintering doors, and from within houses came shouts and shrieks of angry men battling to the death. Old Samuel Whittemore, seventy-nine years of age, went clanking by the tavern door with his newly cleaned musket and pistols, and a newly ground edge upon his sword. He concealed himself at a point but a few hundred feet distant from where

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[1] May 19, 1775, in Journals of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, p. 678.

[2] Jason Winship was baptized in Cambridge June 28, 1730 (Paige, History of Cambridge, p. 697). Jabez Wyman was baptized in Woburn December 26, 1736 (Bond, Genealogies and History of Watertown, ii. 976). (The statement in Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 412, that Wyman was born July 24, 1710, is clearly an error.) Wyman married Lydia Winship (sister of Jason) in Cambridge January 13, 1767 (Cambridge Vital Records, ii. 437). On March 23, 1773, Jabez Wyman of Cambridge, "laborer," and wife Lydia, deeded land in Arlington to Ammi Cutter. The Rev. John Marrett states (in S. Dunster, Henry Dunster and his Descendants, 1876, p. 88) that Wyman at one time worked for the Rev. Mr. Cooke.

[3] In S. Dunster, Henry Dunster and his Descendants, pp. 88, 89. The letter was written by Marrett to his uncle the Rev. Isaiah Dunster.

Landlord Cooper stood at his bar, and opened fire as the British vanguard came along. He was discovered after killing his man. From the road and from the rear there was a rush upon him. It is alleged that two more Britons fell before a bullet from the flank guard entered his head. Wounded and helpless upon the ground he was savagely clubbed and bayonetted by the infuriated soldiery. Sturdy efforts have been made to include this affair in the list of Percy's barbarities, notwithstanding the fact that the old gentleman made a happy and complete recovery, dying finally at the ripe age of ninety-seven, leaving, we are told, a virile progeny of one hundred and eighty-five souls.[1]

Must we believe that in this perturbed environment, Benjamin Cooper and his wife Rachel, Winship, and Wyman, did play their unconcerned and stolid parts at the tavern bar as has been long alleged? Can we doubt that a fire, or a runaway horse in Menotomy street on the day before, would have thrown all four into a fever of excitement, and a whirlwind of motion? The quaffing of flip was not the opportunity of a life-time; prohibition had not then been born. Yet there they stand at the bar as those hundred bullets come whistling through the place, and the soldiers come roaring and cursing into the room. The landlord and his wife vanish away, but the two victims stand their ground until such brains as the legend leaves in their possession are beaten out and spattered upon the walls.

It is reasonably clear that the Rev. John Marrett believed the victims at the Cooper Tavern to have been drunk, and if we accept this theory it goes far to explain an otherwise incomprehensible incident. Marrett speaks plainly, as witness these words: "They were drinking flip. Wyman was warned of the danger but says he, 'let us finish the mug, they won't come yet.' He died as a fool dieth." If they were very drunk, their condition would warrant Clark's allegation that they were "unable to flee;" if their intoxication had reached the surly or quarrelsome stage, the tragedy explains itself. It may occur to you that a political aroma hangs about that deposition of Benjamin and Rachel Cooper. That they prevaricated

[1] For further information concerning Samuel Whittemore, see S. A. Smith, West Cambridge on the Nineteenth of April, 1775, pp. 42–44; Cutter, History of Arlington, pp. 75–77, 317; Paige, History of Cambridge, pp. 414–415, 688; Columbian Centinel, February 6, 1793, p. 3/2.

through inadvertence or design respecting the ages of Winship and Wyman, we must regretfully admit. In view of this fact are we justified in accepting the balance of their assertions, particularly such as have reference to the number, condition, activities and armament of guests upon their premises? The tavern stood within the limits of a battle-field, three Britons had just been killed within a few rods of the door, and while we shall never know just what happened within the house, most assuredly in that warlike atmosphere non-combatants drunk or sober would have been allowed scant time in which to prove their innocence. The affair at the Cooper Tavern has long been cherished as authority for that sweeping charge of the Rev. Jonas Clark, "the unarmed, the aged and infirm, who are unable to flee, are inhumanly stabbed and murdered in their habitations." [1] The names of Jason Winship and Jabez Wyman are now inscribed with that of William Marcy upon the monument erected in Cambridge to honor those "who fell in the defence of the Liberty of the People, April 19, 1775."

Finally some mention must be made of Jason Russell of Menotomy, if for no other reason because he with Winship and Wyman was in the mind of the Rev. Jonas Clark when he uttered the lament I have just quoted. Russell was fifty-eight years of age and is said to have been lame. Until the middle of the nineteenth century he was generally referred to as a helpless bystander, an infirm victim of British brutality. Since that time he has been placed where he doubtless belongs, in the ranks of the brave and determined men who opposed the King's troops in arms. Singularly enough this change of status has in no way abated the persistence of the allegation that he "was barbarously murdered in his own house, by Gage's bloody troops." [2] If he was a slaughtered innocent, well and good; but if a combatant, he is entitled to the honors of a soldier, dead.

The story of Jason Russell is briefly this. He started across the fields to conduct his family to a place of safety, but he left them by the way, and returned to his house alone. "He barricaded his gate with bundles of shingles, making what he thought would be a good

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[1] See p. 272, above.

[2] From the inscription on the old stone in the precinct burying ground, said to have been written by the Rev. Mr. Cooke.

cover from which to fire on the enemy as they returned." [1] Ammi Cutter sought to dissuade him from his purpose, but he refused to leave, declaring that "an Englishman's house was his castle." [2] A party of the Essex militia who were "unsuspiciously lying in wait" at this point were surprised by the flank guard and took hasty refuge in Russell's house. Jason Russell was shot as he was entering the door and the troops followed, "killing all they found inside, save a few who fled to the cellar, the latter shooting whoever of the British attempted to descend the cellar-stairs." [3] Unless we are prepared to assert that every shot fired and every wound inflicted by the British was a wanton atrocity, I think we may dignify the memory of stout-hearted Jason Russell by declaring that he fell in battle in defence of a cause that was more to him than life.

Is Percy guilty or not guilty of the charge of instigating or abetting a system of savagery on his retreat? I admit that I find nothing to support such a charge either in our knowledge of the man or in the American evidence that is offered in support of the indictment. That he embittered the fighting after taking over the command is indisputable, but only in the same sense that Grant embittered the fighting in Virginia as compared with the standards of McClellan. He knew nothing of the cases of Raymond, Marcy, or Barber, of Hannah Adams, Jason Russell, or the two men at the Cooper Tavern. We may be sure that he ordered buildings to be fired or instructed his officers to burn them as military circumstances required. He must have known of the looting, and it is preposterous to suppose that he did not adopt through his officers the most strenuous measures to break it up. He could have known little of the petty details of the fighting, but he kept the column moving at its even steady pace and, in spite of irritating circumstances and some unavoidable confusion, brought it over Charlestown Common on schedule time with about forty killed and only six men missing.

Unlike Colonel Smith he carried away no bitter memories of the day and harbored no resentment against his enemies for the methods they employed. In fact he highly commended their tactics as ad-

[1] S. A. Smith, West Cambridge on the Nineteenth of April, 1775, pp. 37, 37–38.

[2] Cutter, History of Arlington, p. 69.

[3] Id. p. 69.

mirably adapted to their purpose. He had believed the people to be cowards and had so expressed himself in letters to his father. After Lexington he frankly confessed his error. "Whoever looks upon them as an irregular mob will find himself much mistaken" is his comment to General Harvey. "For my part, I never believed, I confess, that they would have attacked the King's troops, or have had the perseverance I found in them yesterday."[1] In Almon's Remembrancer in 1775, there appeared this bit of Boston gossip: "Lord Percy said at table, he never saw anything equal to the intrepidity of the New England minute men."[2] I should like to feel that there was sitting at the same table that other soldier who remarked, "the rebels were monstrous numerous, and surrounded us on every side; . . . but they never would engage us properly."[3] We know what Percy's reply would have been to that, for we have it in his letters: "they knew too well what was proper, to do so. . . . They have men amongst them who know very well what they are about."[4]

The comments of Percy's officers, while less sportsmanlike than those of their chief, are for the most part free from criticism of the tactics employed by their enemy on the 19th of April. Lieutenant William Carter was an exception;[5] Evelyn still insisted that the provincials were cowards, but sustained by a mad fanatical zeal; while Captain George Harris, afterwards Lord Harris of Indian fame, expressed a wish to meet the Americans in a fair stand-up fight and give them the drubbing they deserved.[6] Aside from these we find no trace of rancor in the battle narratives of the King's officers. To my mind these officers from their commander down conducted the retreat in the spirit of gentlemen, and not of brutes. As long as war is war, and nations and peoples continue to assert their just

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[1] April 20, 1775, in Letters, p. 52.

[2] Remembrancer, 1775, i. 80.

[3] Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 441.

[4] April 20, 1775, in Letters, pp. 52, 53.

[5] On July 2, 1775, Lieut. Carter wrote: "Never had the British army so ungenerous an enemy to oppose; they send their Rifle men, (five or six at a time) who conceal themselves behind trees, &c. till an opportunity presents itself of taking a shot at our advanced centries, which done they immediately retreat. What an infamous method of carrying on a war!" (Genuine Detail, etc., 1784, p. 7).

[6] S. R. Lushington, Life and Services of General Lord Harris (1845), p. 40.

or fancied rights by force of arms, I think we may regard the story of Earl Percy's march in its incitements to barbarities and in its freedom from such excesses upon either side, as a creditable chapter in the military annals of the Anglo-Saxon race.

In conclusion, despite his faults and misdemeanors, I can almost find it in my heart to say a kind word for the British common soldier. I wonder if, after the lapse of nearly one hundred and fifty years, it would be sacrilege to include the name of Thomas Atkins in the list of the heroic sufferers of the day. He had undergone trials that were long and sore, he had been insulted and his uniform reviled, he had encountered New England rum, and for resulting offences he had been rigorously punished by his officers. He went out on an excursion through the King's dominions, he was upon the King's business, and was affronted by armed men who denied the King's authority. He was marched and driven to the last ounce of his strength, and believed that he had been made the victim of sneaking, scalping assassins who were afraid to show their faces. It was a far cry from the military ethics of the French Guard at Fontenoy to those of these rebels of kindred blood. He did not know that he was contending with unselfish patriots who were risking all in a righteous cause, who were willing to die that liberty might live. As footsore and weary he strode manfully along, nursing that wicked bayonet of his, and devoid of all compassion toward his foe, we should at least remember that he had suffered much, that he was very brave, and that he did not understand.

Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD announced a forthcoming volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, being a check-list of broadside issues of the press in Massachusetts, 1639–1800. The broadside was the forerunner of the news-sheet and later newspaper and was used for official announcements and political controversy. The first issue from the press in Massachusetts was a broadside — the Freeman's Oath. Twenty years later a sheet of verses, and after another twenty years regulations for small-pox treatment, marked the developing use; but to Benjamin Harris is due the

first political broadside and the first news-sheet. Customs and legal forms came into use towards the end of the seventeenth century, but not before 1704 were the behavior and dying speech of a criminal embalmed in that form. Attempts at illustration were crude and infrequent. The colony seal, engraved by John Foster, decorated some laws and proclamations, and Andros introduced the royal arms, but only on a single occasion. Harris, the printer, was successful in introducing it after 1692. The first true illustration is found on a sheet of 1718. Mr. Ford also glanced at the ballad literature of the day, a field yet to be studied carefully.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke as follows:

In his interesting paper on "Germanisms in English Speech: God's Acre," contributed in 1913 to the Kittredge Anniversary Papers,[1] Dr. John A. Walz showed that this term had for three centuries been occasionally employed by English travellers in Germany; that it is an adaptation of the German *Gottesacker*, first found in the sixteenth century, and not, as Longfellow asserted in 1841, "an ancient Saxon phrase;" and that the vogue which the term now enjoys is due to Longfellow's poem bearing the title "God's Acre."

Whenever the philologist pits himself against the poet he is bound to lose, though he have analogy, etymology, and usage on his side. It is true that "acre" in nineteenth-century English is used exclusively as a measure; generations ago it ceased to have the meaning of field, as a look at the *New English Dictionary* tells us; yet Longfellow's adaptation of the German word became a permanent part of the modern English vocabulary, especially the poetic vocabulary. Without knowing it, yes, without intending it, Longfellow added a beautiful word to the stock of English. Its adoption into the language was doubtless greatly favored by the general misunderstanding which saw in it a revival of an old English phrase.[2]

With these conclusions, there can be no dispute. But on one point it is possible to take issue with Dr. Walz — namely, the application

[1] Pp. 217–226.
[2] Id. p. 225.

of the term to the old burial place at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue (formerly North Avenue) and Garden Street. "I do not know," says Dr. Walz, "who first called the old burial-ground in Cambridge 'God's Acre;' my earliest reference is Palfrey's *History of New England*, 1860, but the name cannot have been applied to it before 1841. There is not a scrap of evidence in the early records or town histories that the old Cambridge burying ground or any other burying ground in New England was ever called 'God's Acre' before the publication of Longfellow's poem, or that the phrase was at all known." [1] When Dr. Walz was preparing his paper, he asked me whether I had noted instances of the term before 1841, and though I pointed out one or two from English travellers I was unable to adduce any from American sources. But since then three American examples have come to light. The earliest is the most interesting. Speaking of John Rogers, who was President of Harvard College from 1682 to 1684, Cotton Mather wrote in the Magnalia, printed in 1702: "But that the Character of this Gentleman may be more perfectly exhibited, we will here take the Leave to transcribe the *Epitaph* engraved on his Tomb, in *God's-Acre*, at *Cambridge*." [2] In two other places in the same work Mather also mentions the Cambridge burial ground. Alluding to Charles Chauncy, who was President from 1654 to 1672, he says: "All that we will add of this Good Man, shall be the *Epitaph*, which is now to be read on his Tomb-stone in *Cambridge*." [3] And referring to Urian Oakes, who was President from 1675 to 1681, he remarks: "The Rest of the Report that we will give of this *Memorable Person*, shall be but a Transcript of the *Epitaph* on the Tomb-stone in the *Sleeping-place* at *Cambridge*, dedicated unto his *Memory*." [4]

After the lapse of more than a century and a quarter the term is again met with in Cambridge. In an article called "Historical

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[1] Id. p. 223.

[2] Magnalia (1702), bk. iv. pt. i. § 5, p. 130. As is of course well known, much of the Magnalia had already appeared in print before the publication of the volume in London in 1702. The portions not previously printed must have been written before June 8, 1700, when Mather wrote: "I this Day putt up my *Church-History*, and pen down Directions about the publishing of it. . . . A Gentleman, just now sailing for *England*, undertakes the care of it; and by his Hand I send it for *London*" (Diary, i. 353).

[3] Bk. iii. pt. ii. ch. xxiii. § 12, p. 141. [4] Bk. iv. pt. ii. ch. v. § 11, p. 188.

Sketches of Harvard College," confessedly derived from the Magnalia, a writer in the Harvard Register for October, 1827, said that "President Rogers died on the 2d July, 1684, three days after Commencement,[1] and during an eclipse of the sun. He was interred in God's-acre, (probably the present burial ground). A stone was placed over his grave with a Latin inscription thereon, written by Mather, at the expense of the students." [2] Finally, in the same magazine for December, 1827, in an article entitled "Commencement in Olden Time," the writer draws a fancy sketch of the College as it existed about 1720 and says:

> Massachusetts was raising her modest walls, blushing in her maiden beauty, beneath the encouraging glances of maternal "old Harvard;" and Stoughton stood exulting in youthful prime. The Hotel, Market, and College-house, and all the rest of our *Classic* buildings sunk into the dust. Post office, there was none! — Lawyer's office, there was none! — Printing office, there was none; and the Barber's pole slipt from its fastenings, and rolled off, a little acorn, into the surrounding forest. The place of Divinity Hall was occupied by a dismal swamp; Professors' Row was overgrown with brushwood; the church disappeared, and God's acre arose on a little knoll, with a few roughly hewn stones to mark where two or three worthies had laid themselves down to rest.[3]

Quite possibly these two articles were written by the same person, though there is no means of knowing with certainty. The "Advertisement" to the Harvard Register states that "The articles, with a few exceptions, have been written by undergraduates in the few leisure moments which could be snatched from more important pursuits, and the pieces not written by undergraduates, were the composition of those who are otherwise connected with the University."

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[1] The writer should have said "the day after Commencement."

[2] P. 250. That this account is drawn from the Magnalia is sufficiently obvious, but is made certain by the statement on the same page: "Whilst Mr. Winthrop was travelling in the low countries, he endeavoured to persuade Johannes Amos Commenius to become President; 'but the influence of the Swedish embassador,' (says Mather, from whose Magnalia this account is principally taken,) 'proving too strong, this incomparable Moravian became not an American.'" This gives us a reference to the alleged offer of the presidency to Comenius before the one dated 1860, which was cited by me (our Publications, xxi. 147) as the earliest after the publication of the Magnalia.

[3] Harvard Register (1827), p. 302.

At all events, Longfellow did not come to Cambridge until 1836, and so he is eliminated as the possible author of the two articles.

Mr. PERCIVAL MERRITT read the following communication:

The second French newspaper to be published in Boston was the Courier Politique de l'Univers.[1] The Columbian Centinel of Wednesday, November 21, 1792, contained "Proposals, for publishing a periodical Paper in the French Language, entitled Le Courier Politique de l'Univers." The publication was projected with the view of giving a just idea of the present state of France, and a connected summary of the French Revolution, by a succinct account of all events which had occurred in France since 1788. It was also proposed to furnish details of such occurrences in the sugar colonies as were connected with events in France, or which might be of interest by their relation to the commerce between the United States and those colonies. The paper was to be published on Monday of every week, and consist of four pages in quarto, the first number to be delivered in Boston on the 10th of December, and to be sent by post the same day to other parts of the Continent. The subscription price at Boston was two dollars for six months, and three dollars for the same period in places distant more than fifty miles from Boston. Subscriptions were to be received by J. Bumstead, Printer, Union Street; by the Editor of the Columbian Centinel; and by the different printers in the United States and West Indies. The prospectus was followed by a supplementary statement in the nature of a postscript:

After these Proposals were sent to the Press, a wish to conciliate the favour of the publick, induced the Editor to seek for some *American* assistance, in which he has been successful. The *Courier de l'Univers*, will therefore be published in *French* and *English*, in columns corresponding to each other.—The Editor who has engaged to furnish *four* quarto pages in a number, will frequently give *six*, and sometimes *eight*, without add-

[1] The first newspaper was the Courier de Boston, April 23 to October 15, 1789. It was printed entirely in French, and was published weekly for Joseph Nancrede, instructor in French at Harvard College from 1787 to 1800. I acknowledge my indebtedness to the Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820, by our associate Mr. Clarence S. Brigham (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, xxv. 208, 209).

ing any thing to the price of subscription. In this form the *Courier de l'Univers,* by supplying an *English* Translation, will be serviceable to those who are imperfectly acquainted with the *French* Language.[1]

The proposals appeared again in the Centinel of Wednesday, December 12, prefaced by the statement that "The PROSPECTUS of a News-paper, in *French* and *English,* publishing in this town, the *first* number of which was issued on Monday last, contains sentiments and observations worthy general perusal, — we therefore re-insert it." The same issue of the Centinel contained a reading notice of the Courier Politique, stating that it had "commenced publishing . . . on *Monday* last," and that "The EDITOR is a man of talents; and has resources of information, direct." [2]

Now the "American assistance" to which the Proposals referred was supplied, in part at least, by John Quincy Adams. In a letter to his father written from Boston, December 16, 1792, Mr. Adams stated that —

A French and English newspaper has been commenced in this town which is to contain among other things a summary account of the French Revolution. This account is very handsomely written by one of the Aristocratic party now here, having been driven from the Island of St. Domingo by the triumphant faction there.[3] He has aimed at impartiality as much as he could; but if you read the narrative you will find he is very bitter against the Duke of Orleans to whom he attributes all the calamities of his country. The first number only has been published, and the editor has forwarded one of them to you which he will continue to do. The translation of that part of the paper will be done by me, and I imagine the paper itself will not be continued long after that publication is finished. The proposals are only for six months.[4]

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[1] Columbian Centinel, November 21, 1792, p. 3/1–2.

[2] December 12, 1792, pp. 1/4–2/1, 2/4. The Argus of December 11, 1792 (p. 3/1), contained a satirical article under the heading of "The French Revolution Defeated." It read in part: "TWENTY-FOUR FRENCHMEN, *in and near the town of Boston,* have entered a PROTEST, in the office of a Notary Public in Boston, against the *French Revolution*. . . . But, as these PROTESTORS have a Gazette of their own, under the PRIEST, which will be out within a day or two, we will refer the readers to that for the wonderful effects of this new experiment in War, and Politicks."

[3] Identified by Mr. Ford as probably a M. d'Hauteval.

[4] Writings (ed. Ford), i. 125.

Brief references to the Courier Politique are to be found in the issues of the Centinel of Wednesday, December 26, 1792, and Wednesday, January 9, 1793, and an extract from it is quoted in the Argus of January 8, 1793.[1] The life of the paper, however, was even more brief than Mr. Adams's expectation. The Centinel of Saturday, January 19, 1793, contained the following advertisement:

M. ROUSSELET, *Editor of the* Courier Politique de l'Univers, *being suddenly called to the Island of Guadeloupe, by the desire of a great number of its inhabitants, in order to fulfill the duties of an apostolic missionary has the honour to testify his regret to the subscribers to his paper, that he is unable to complete the task he had undertaken. Professionally engaged in support of the religion of which he is a minister, he makes this sacrifice to his duty, of an undertaking, the object of which was to promote the triumph of truth. He thanks his subscribers for the encouragement, with which they have favoured him: requests their acceptance of the numbers which they have received, and informs those of them to whom he has given receipts that by calling in the course of the next week, at Mr.* JOSEPH BUMSTEAD'S *printing office in* Union-Street, *thier Subscription money shall be returned to them.*[2]

The advertisement apparently implies that the final issue of the paper was that of Monday, January 14. If this supposition is correct the total number of issues was six, December 10, 1792, to January 14, 1793, inclusive.[3] It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Brigham states that "no copy of this paper has been located."[4] With regard to the identity of the editor, Mr. Rousselet, it may be said that he was the Abbé Louis de Rousselet, a French Catholic priest and the second pastor of the Church of the Holy Cross, Boston.[5] His sudden call to the Island of Guadeloupe proved to have

[1] Columbian Centinel, December 26, 1792, p. 3/2; January 9, 1793, pp. 1/2, 2/1; Argus, January 8, 1793, p. 3/3.

[2] January 19, 1793, p. 3/3.

[3] December 10, 17, 24, 31, 1792; January 7, 14, 1793. On December 12, 1792, the Rev. William Bentley made this entry in his Diary: "The Courier de l'Univers, a second french & english paper appeared in Boston this week. Its duration may not exceed the other, which had but small encouragement" (i. 415).

[4] Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, xxv. 209.

[5] Mr. Brigham kindly sends me the following letter from the Isaiah Thomas Papers in the American Antiquarian Society:

BOSTON, November 18, 1792.

SIR,

Inclosed are proposals for a new weekly french paper, of which I am to be editor. It will probably be published in a few weeks; and upon the receipt of mine,

unhappy consequences. The practical control of Guadeloupe was wrested from the English in October, 1794, by the French Revolutionists under Victor Hugues, appointed Commissioner to the Island by the National Convention. After his success some three hundred French Royalists were put to death. It is stated that fifty were guillotined in the space of an hour, and that the Abbé, who had ministered spiritually to them while in prison, shared their fate on the scaffold.

I request you to forward me one of yours in exchange. In a few days you will see the same proposals printed in English in the newspapers from Boston, which, I hope, will give you more ease to find me so many subscribers as you could in your town. Three dollars are to be paid by subscribing, and the names of the subscribers taken upon a private [*torn*]. My design is to allow you five per cent upon every [subscri]ption you will receive. I desire you consequently to do for my paper what I would be very happy to do for yours. As soon as you will have found some subscriptions, let me know the quantity and the names of the subscribers, if you are willing to oblige him who is very sincerely,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

L. DE ROUSSELET, P.C.

My direction is the R^{d} Mr. L. de Rousselet, at Mr. Joseph Bumstead's printing-office, Union-Street, Boston.

Isaiah Thomas, Esq.

While the meaning of the letters "P.C." following de Rousselet's signature is not absolutely certain, they probably stand for the words "Prêtre Catholique."

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1921

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, 21 November, 1921, at half-past six o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER DOWSE accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT of Cambridge was elected a Resident Member.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by the Rev. Dr. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

The Society has held five meetings during the year, three in the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, to which we again acknowledge with sincere gratitude our indebtedness; one, that of January, in the home of our Registrar, Mr. Alfred Johnson; and one, that of April, in the home of our Treasurer, Mr. Henry H. Edes.

At these meetings a wealth of papers and communications have been presented, all of which will be available to members when the current volume of Transactions is issued, and all of which will make valuable additions to our store of historical knowledge.

The Society was duly represented at the Annual Conference of Historical Societies held in Washington.

An annual report of the Council is perhaps necessarily a rather dry document, which it were well to make as brief as possible. At the same time, there are certain facts pertaining to our activity which ought to be known, not only in the interest of open diplomacy, which

seems to be the order of the day, but because they bear directly upon the success of our Society in its more serious undertakings. Assuming a genuine solicitude on your part in the well-being of our Society, your Council ventures to lay these facts before you.

The demand for our Publications is increasing. During the past year the number of sales has been of unprecedented size. Several of these sales have been of full sets; and among our new customers, four have asked to have their names entered as permanent subscribers to all future publications. These are the Bigelow Free Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library, Leland Stanford Jr. University, and the University of Pennsylvania. Quite apart from this increased demand, is the purchase by the New England Society in the city of New York of a large number of copies of the Plymouth Church Records. Your Council feels that this fact indicates a greater general recognition of the value of the work we are doing, and is fain to share its gratification with you.

Those of us who have occasion to refer to our Publications feel grievously handicapped by the lack of a general index. You will be glad to know that a consolidated index covering the first twenty-five volumes is in process of compilation, and has been well advanced during the year. But in this work, and in fact in all our activities of like nature, we feel the pinch of poverty. Our resources have been recently increased by two bequests, that of Mr. Wheelwright of $20,000, and that of Mr. Leverett of $30,000. Whatever confidence we may have felt by reason of these bequests has however been dissipated by an over-balancing increase in the cost of making a book, and the wolf is again at the door leaner and hungrier than ever. We have found it necessary to discontinue temporarily further work on certain volumes of collections, like the Harvard College Records and the Instructions to the Royal Governors of the Province. It is altogether too bad that the hope of seeing these valuable documents in print should be again deferred, but unless more gifts or bequests are forthcoming we can do no other. We feel, moreover, that Fate has been amazingly kind to us in permitting us to enjoy the invaluable services of our Editor at a salary which, by the wildest flight of imagination, can only be called nominal, and which, even so, is made possible by the generosity of a very few of our members. Your Council feels that it cannot justly withhold these facts from you.

The extent of our activity and our usefulness is a matter that lies in your own hands, and must be determined by the degree of your own interest and substantial support.

One member during the year has availed himself of the privilege of commuting his annual dues. This may be done by the payment of $100, which is added to our permanent endowment. No further annual dues are required of those who make such a payment.

The Editor reports that since the last Annual Meeting, Volume XXI, containing the Transactions for the year 1919, and Volume XXII, containing the first half of the Plymouth Church Records, have been published. Volumes XV and XVI, containing Harvard College Records, are *in statu quo*, still going through the press. Volume XXIII, containing the second half of the Plymouth Church Records, is in cast proof as regards the text and in galley proof as regards the index, and should be ready for publication before another summer. There seems to be a cabalistic significance attaching to this Volume XXIII which may perhaps explain the evil fortune that has overtaken the Editor's industry at this point. His normal tribulations have been greatly augmented by a printers' strike, which has lasted six months and is not yet wholly settled. In consequence whereof, Volume XXIV, which is the current volume of Transactions, is not half done, and the Editor refuses to predict the date of its appearance. You are asked to possess your souls in sympathy and patience.

During the year five gentlemen have been elected to Resident Membership:

Alfred Lawrence Aiken,
Frederick Lawton,
George Hubbard Blakeslee,
John Endicott Peabody,
William Bradford Homer Dowse.

And during the year the Society has suffered a heavy loss through the deaths of four Resident Members and one Corresponding Member:

Barrett Wendell, Overseer of Harvard College, and Professor of English, Emeritus. His sound scholarship, enlivened by an unusual natural discernment, a thoroughgoing originality of thought and expression, an uncompromising courage, and a faculty for committing judicious indiscretions, made him for thirty-five years one of

the most picturesque and at the same time most illuminating teachers in America. He was a pronounced, fearless, and lovable personality.

Charles Pickering Bowditch, a soldier, a philanthropist, and a thoughtful scholarly gentleman, who, inheriting the obligations that attach to a great family name, fulfilled those obligations in such wise as to leave that name enriched by an added lustre. In all his varied and useful activities he was animated by a quick sense of personal responsibility for the welfare of the community of which he was an honored and a distinguished member.

John Endicott Peabody, whose death occurring but five months after his election to this Society prevented his attendance at a single meeting of the Society, and who therefore stands to us for a promise unfulfilled. Descended from our oldest families, educated in England, he impressed all who knew him by the vigor of his nature, by his excessive vitality and love of life. He was a trained and discriminating critic of art, a passionate lover of the great outdoors, frank and hearty and generous. His purposes were broken off by a death which, at any age, would have been untimely.

Lindsay Swift, editor and publicist, for forty-three years identified with the Boston Public Library. In him were preserved the best traditions of the journalist — fidelity to fact, unbiased judgment, breadth of sympathy, and industrious scholarship. The apparent contradictions in his nature vanished when one understood his aversion to any form of partisanship. He was a conservative in that he hated radicalism as a school of thought. He was a radical in that he scorned the fetters of class conservatism. He was a competent individualist, a free lance abundantly able to take care of himself. He worked in a serene seclusion, and the fruits of his labors are of lasting value.

James Phinney Baxter, historian and public servant, poet and philanthropist, six times Mayor of Portland, president of the Maine Historical Society and of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. His early success in business was but the opportunity for his truer and larger life — a life of literary and historical achievements of lasting value, of wise and disinterested public service, and of far-sighted philanthropies. His long span of ninety years, beginning in humble things and ending in universal honor, respect, and affection, presents a stirring picture of the best kind of success.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 16 November, 1921.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 16 November, 1920		$126.38
Admission Fees	$40.00	
Annual Assessments	610.00	
Commutation from one member	100.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	506.20	
New England Society in the City of New York, for 300 copies of the Plymouth Church Records	1,533.69	
Contribution from a member	5.00	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	800.00	
Interest	6,663.70	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan	1,050.00	
Mortgages, discharged or reduced	11,950.00	
$5,000 General Electric Company's 6's, sold	5,050.00	
$5,000 Western Electric Company's Notes, sold	5,000.00	
$2,000 Northwestern Bell Telephone Company's Bonds, sold	1,950.00	
Provident Institution for Savings, withdrawn for Investment	250.00	35,508.59
		$35,634.97

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press	$8,904.31
A. W. Elson & Company, photogravure	194.00
Consolidated Index to Volumes 1–25	300.00
Salary of the Editor	1,000.00
Stewart, Watts and Bollong, auditing	10.00
Postage, stationery, and supplies	73.25
Clerk hire	98.50
Proof reading and transcribing	7.95
Commonwealth of Massachusetts, photostating	5.70
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fuel, lights and janitor service	20.00
Library Bureau, index cards and cabinet	18.00
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	30.00
Union Safe Deposit Vaults	25.00

Cotton & Gould, record Book	$20.50	
J. Franklin Jameson, annual subscription toward the Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
Miscellaneous incidentals	505.20	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan	550.00	
$3,000 United Electric Securities Corporation 5% bonds	2,250.00	
$7,000 Northwestern Bell Telephone Company's 7% bonds	6,812.50	
$5,000 American Agricultural Chemical Company's 7½% bonds	4,875.00	
$5,000 Northern Pacific-Great Northern Railroad Company's 6½% bonds	4,956.25	
$5,000 Philadelphia Company's 5% bonds	4,350.00	
Interest in adjustment	450.68	
Deposited in Provident Institution for Savings	25.00	$35,531.84
Balance on Deposit in State Street Trust Company, 16 November, 1921		103.13
		$35,634.97

The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$40,500.00 in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Greater Boston
70,541.25 in Bonds elsewhere described in this Report having a face value of $80,000
25.00 on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
$111,066.25

The investments of the Society yield an average annual income of upwards of 6%.

The bonds bought during the year are all of high grade, and many have been purchased at prices below par, so that at maturity our bond securities will furnish an addition of nearly $10,000 to the principal of the Society's endowment.

A Trial Balance of the accounts as of 16 November, 1921, is hereto annexed and made a part of this Report.

HENRY H. EDES
Treasurer

BOSTON, 21 November, 1921

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash	$103.13	
Income	5,415.12	$5,518.25
Mortgages	$40,500.00	
Provident Institution for Savings	25.00	
$20,000 Western Telephone and Telegraph Company's bonds	16,960.00	
5,000 New England Telephone and Telegraph Company's bonds	3,915.00	
5,000 Union Pacific Railroad Equipment Trust bonds	5,000.00	
5,000 Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company's bonds	4,775.00	
5,000 Wickwire-Spencer Company's bonds	5,000.00	
5,000 New York Telephone Company's bonds	3,937.50	
5,000 Detroit Edison Company's bonds	4,397.50	
5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company's bonds	3,762.50	
5,000 United Electric Securities Corporation bonds	3,750.00	
5,000 Northwestern Bell Telephone Company's bonds	4,862.50	
5,000 American Agricultural Chemical Company's bonds	4,875.00	
5,000 Northern Pacific-Great Northern Railroad Company's bonds	4,956.25	
5,000 Philadelphia Company's bonds	4,350.00	111,066.25
$80,000		$116,584.50

CREDITS

Henry H. Edes		$4,500.00
Editor's Salary Fund	$1,200.00	
Publication Fund	10,000.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000,00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	
William Watson Fund	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund	2,503.00	
General Fund	17,381.50	
George Vasmer Leverett Fund	30,000.00	112,084.50
		$116,584.50

Boston, 16 November, 1921

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 16 November, 1921, have attended to their duty and report, that they find the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to them.

This Report is based on the examination of Stewart,Watts and Bollong, Certified Public Accountants.

JOHN ELIOT THAYER
JOHN LOWELL
Committee

BOSTON, 21 November, 1921

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Mr. MORRIS GRAY presented the following list of candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

VICE-PRESIDENTS
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG
GEORGE FOOT MOORE

RECORDING SECRETARY
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER
HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR
ALFRED JOHNSON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Dr. Homer Gage, the Rev. Dr. Kirsopp Lake, the Rev. Abbot Peterson, and Messrs. George Pomeroy Anderson, Walter Austin, Francis Tiffany Bowles, Winslow Ware Churchill, Francis Lowell Coolidge, John Henry Edmonds, James Melville Hunnewell, William McDougall, George Andrew Reisner, Elihu Thomson, Harry Walter Tyler, and James Benjamin Wilbur. The PRESIDENT presided.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1921

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 22 December, 1921, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. GEORGE POMEROY ANDERSON of Boston was elected a Resident Member; and Mr. JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR of Manchester, Vermont, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE spoke as follows:

A RELIGIOUS SOCIETY AT HARVARD COLLEGE, 1719

In January, 1909, I exhibited to the Society a little manuscript volume written out by Ebenezer Turell, of the Class of 1721, which contained "An account of a Society in Harvard College" organized in October, 1722. The "scheme of proposals" then drawn up shows that the object of the society was to afford an opportunity for debates, for "discourses of about twenty minutes" to be made at each monthly meeting, and for general conversation and comparing of notes. The members whose names have been preserved belonged to the classes of 1719, 1721, 1722, and 1723.[1]

The Library has lately received a sheet of manuscript, found in the J. Hammond Trumbull sale, and presented by Mr. M. B. Brainard of Hartford, Connecticut. This brings to view a society which had its beginning in 1719, an earlier date than anything which has been noted hitherto. It will be seen that this society was organized for

[1] Our Publications, xii. 220, 227–231.

distinctly religious purposes, and can hardly be the same as that organized in 1722. Presumably this society is identical with the "Society of Young Students" to which Thomas Robie preached a sermon in 1721.[1] The document follows:

Cambridge January y^e^ 10 — [A]nno Dom: 1723

The articles which all that belong to the Private Meeting, Instituted at Harvard College, 1719, assent unto.

It being our indispensable Duty as well as undeniable Interest, to Improve All Opportunities and advantages, that God is graciously favouring us with, to His Honour and Glory, and our eternal wellfare; as also to avoid all those Temptations and allurements to Evil, which we are in Danger to meet with; And to Edifie, Encourage, and Excite one another in the ways of Holiness, and Religion: we to that End, assent to the following articles, viz:

1 That we will meet together for the worship of God twice in a week; viz on Saturday and Sabbath-Day Evenings.

2 Being met together, we shall as God Enables us, perform the several injunctions Of our Meeting, the first (as to his station in College) beginning, and so Proceeding to the last, except any one, for good reasons, shall Desire to be Excus'd.

3 That we will bear with one anothers Infirmities, and that we will Divulge Nothing of what nature soever; that is done at our meetings.

4 When we are absent from our meetings, we will Endeavour to behave Ourselves so that none may have occasion to speak Evil of us.

5 That all manner of Disagreing, strifes, or Quarrellings, with one another Shall be suppress'd by us, and that we will live in Love, Peace, and Unity, with One another.

6 That if any one sees or hears another speak, or Do anything unbecoming [a] Member of such a society, he shall reprove him as far as he shall think [the] Reproof worthy; but he shall do it with all meekness, Love, and Tender[ness] Towards him.

N:B: all marked thus (*) Joined to the Meeting since I did

Gilman	Hunting	Pynchon	*Church	*Belcher
Baulch	*Smith	Lord	*Bruer	*Bradstreet
Cabot S^r^	Smith	*Jewet	*Vaughan	
Bowman	Cutter	Prentice	*Parker	
Tufts	Williams		*Wood	
Hall	Warren			
Lewis	*Webb			
Allis				

[1] See pp. 156–159, above.

Cambridge January y^e 10^th Anno Dom: 1729

The articles which all that Belong to the Private Meeting, Instituted at Harvard College, 1719. assent unto.

It being our indispensable Duty as well as unfeignable Interest, to improve All Opportunities and advantages that God is graciously favouring us with, to His Honour and Glory, and our eternal welfare; as also to avoid all those Temptations and allurements to Evil, which we are in Danger to meet with; And to Excite, Encourage and Excite one another in the ways of Holiness, and Religion: we do this Day assent to the following articles, viz:

1 That we will meet together for the worship of God twice in a week; viz on Saturday and Sabbath-Day Evenings.

2 Being met together, we shall as God Enables us, perform the several injunctions of our Meeting, the first as to her station in Collage Beginning, and so Proceeding to the last, Except any one for good reasons, shall Desire to be Excused.

3 That we will Bear with one anothers Infirmities, and that we will Divulge Nothing of what nature soever that is done at our Meetings

4 When we are absent from our meetings, we will Endeavour to Behave Our selves so that none may have occasion to speak Evil of us.

5 That all manner of Disagreeing, Strife, or Quarellings, with one another, Shall be suppressed by us, and that we will live in Love Peace and unity, with one another.

6 That if any one sees or hears another speak or do any thing unbecoming a Member of such a society, he shall reprove him as far as he shall think it Reproof worthy; but he shall do it with all meekness Love and Tender Towards him.

N.B: all marked thus † Join to the Meeting since I Did

Gilman	Hunting	Lynchon	†Church	†Belcher
Baulch	†Smith	Lord	†Bruer	†Broadstreet
Cabot S^r	Smith			
Bowman	Cutter			
Fuller	Williams	†Depot	†Vaughan	
Hall	Warren	Prentice	†Parker	
Lewis				
Allis	†Webb		†Wood	

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original in the Harvard College Library

Who may have been the writer of the document I have not discovered, and apparently no clue is to be found. Nicholas Gilman, whose name stands first in the list of members, left a diary from which extracts are printed in Arthur Gilman's Gilman Family, but such items as are there printed refer in no way to this society, and do not lead one to expect that a more careful examination of the diary, which is still unpublished and in private ownership, would reveal anything further.

Of the members whose names are given at the bottom of the paper, arranged in the order of their classes (1724–1728), all are found in the Quinquennial Catalogue except Vaughan in the group from the Class of 1727. This is just too early to be identified from the Faculty Records in which the names of freshmen are given with some fullness, beginning with the Class of 1729. The name is included without initials in the list given by Mr. Matthews, where it appears as of the Class of 1726 and with the indication that he died while in College.[1] Mr. Matthews tells me that he has been unsuccessful in his efforts to identify Vaughan, but has found two allusions to him, one of which shows why he was in the list assigned to the Class of 1726, while the other describes his death and funeral. The first extract, dated October 2, 1725, is from the Faculty Records:

Vaughan, Junior Sophister, having petition'd yt a year might be given him in his college standing, The President & Fellows having considered his age, viz. 23 years, and yt his Learning may admit of such a favour; but principally from the discouragements he is under from his Father's Aversion to an Academical Education, together with y^e^ straitness of his circumstances, & difficulties of supporting himself here a longer time, do grant his Request (i. 9).

The second extract, not dated, but between entries of December 14, 1725, and January 28, 1726, is from President Wadsworth's Diary:

Vaughan a Senior Sophister, having been some time sick at m^r^ Stedman's in Cambridge, died Jan. 10. 1725/6. and on y^e^ twelf of y^e^ same Month he was buried. when the second Bell toll'd (or thereabouts) his corps was brought into y^e^ College Hall, y^e^ scholars, and other Gentlemen who attended the Funeral, went into y^e^ Hall, when the corps was

[1] Our Publications, xvii. 275, 284.

carried forth, all y^e^ Undergraduates, y^e^ Juniors walking first, went in order before y^e^ corps to y^e^ Grave. The President, Fellows, and other Graduates, with Inhabitants of y^e^ Town who attended y^e^ Funeral, went in order after y^e^ Mourners to y^e^ Grave. This *Vaughan* came from Newport in Rhode Island. The Lord sanctify this Providence, to all y^e^ scholars (pp. 23–24).

The names of the members of the society follow in alphabetical order, with the Class to which each belonged. All but Lewis and Wood received the degree of A.M. Of the twenty-six members, fifteen became clergymen, namely: Allis, Balch, Bowman, Bradstreet, Cabot, Cutter, Gilman, Hall, Jewett, Parker, Prentice, both Smiths, Warren, and Webb.

Samuel Allis 1724
William Balch 1724
Jonathan Belcher 1728
Jonathan Bowman 1724
Simon Bradstreet 1728
Daniel Brewer 1727
Marston Cabot 1724
Benjamin Church 1727
Ammi Ruhamah Cutter 1725
Nicholas Gilman 1724
David Hall 1724
Edward Hunting 1725
Jedidiah Jewett 1726
Joseph Lewis 1724
Joseph Lord 1726
Stephen Parker 1727
Thomas Prentice 1726
Joseph Pynchon 1726
Josiah Smith 1725
William Smith 1725
Simon Tufts 1724
—— Vaughan 1726
John Warren 1725
Nathan Webb 1725
John Williams 1725
Joshua Wood 1727

Mr. JOHN WOODBURY exhibited a copy of An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times, written by the Rev. John Brown (1715–1766),[1] with numerous annotations in the handwriting of Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), "Benefactor of Harvard College, and distinguished friend of civil liberty." The pamphlet contains a severe criticism of the effeminacy in social life and venality in politics in England as the author saw them in the middle of the eighteenth century. The book had perhaps been sent by Hollis to the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, and contains many comments on the margins in Hollis's

[1] A sketch of Brown will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography. The book was originally published in 1757 and went through several editions.

own hand. Mr. Woodbury spoke of Hollis and his career, and his industry in spreading the doctrines of civil liberty, chiefly by sending books containing these doctrines to the libraries of universities all over the world.[1]

Mr. Alfred Johnson spoke at length on "Maine as a Massachusetts Frontier, and some of its early Forts," and illustrated his subject with lantern slides of maps, plans, and views.

Mr. Albert Matthews communicated the following paper, written by Dr. Roger P. McCutcheon of Denison University, Granville, Ohio:

THE OBSERVATOR AND INCREASE MATHER

A note on Seventeenth Century Book-reviewing

A minor incident concerning Increase Mather was thus noted in 1725:

> About this time [1684] some wicked Men circumvented Letters of Mr. *Mather*'s writing to a worthy Person at *Amsterdam*, which contain'd nothing that could give Offence to the Higher Powers. These Letters enabled them to imitate his Hand, in subscribing of his Name. They forg'd a Letter full of impertinent, as well as treasonable Expressions, whereof not one Sentence was his; and with a Date, *Boston*, 10 *m.* 3 *d.* 1683. they subscribed his Name to it. . . .
>
> Sir *Roger L'Estrange* did, in several of his *Observators*, publish some Scraps of the *forged letter*, with his Comments. Copies of it were Carried to *Barbadoes* and the *Caribbee* Islands, and were made part of the Entertainment, whilst the chearful Bowl was employ'd to drown their Thoughts.[2]

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[1] Mr. Woodbury has given the volume to the Harvard College Library.

[2] Memoirs of the Life of the late Reverend Increase Mather, . . . With a Preface by the Reverend Edmund Calamy, D.D., London, 1725, pp. 35–36. Cf. C. Mather, Parentator, Boston, 1724, pp. 93–96. The forged letter itself is printed in full in the Mather Papers (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 104–107) and in the New England Historical and General Register, xxxix. 23–25. An abstract appears in the Calendar of State Papers, America & W. Indies, 1685–1688, no. 1915, pp. 613–615. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Albert Matthews for several of these and later references.

While the incident itself has been thoroughly studied,[1] L'Estrange's treatment of the forged letter as a sample of contemporary practices in book-reviewing may be deserving of a brief comment. The modern reader discovers certain noteworthy differences between L'Estrange's work and that of the present day. Among these are a large use of quotation, a careless attitude to facts, a certain unscrupulousness in attack, the dialogue form, and the continuation of the "review" over several numbers.

The method L'Estrange uses is that of the expositor, who quotes a passage of the text under consideration, and then comments extensively on it, for the instruction of his hearers. "The Observator Preaches upon a New-England-Text" reads a headline from one of the issues in which Mather's supposed letter is discussed. After a brief introduction, the passage reads: "In the *First Epistle* of *Mr* Mather, *Minister of the Second Church in* Boston, *in* New-England; *to Mr* Gouge, *Minister of the* English Congregation *at* Amsterdam, *fol.* 3. You will find these Words." [2] A sentence from the forged letter then follows, and is expounded at length. Always, the expositor is unfriendly. For a generation this method of quoting your adversary, then killing him by comments, had found favor with the English journalists. One remembers the bickerings between Mercurius Aulicus and Mercurius Britanicus, the royalist and parliamentary news-books of the period of the Civil War. John Taylor, the water-poet, even reprinted one entire issue of Britanicus, in order to ridicule it more thoroughly.[3] By means of the actual quotations from the forged letter in the four issues of the Observator which consider it, one could reconstruct a considerable amount of the letter. Although this method of extensive quotation and abstract seems unusual to us, it was even then being used in the Transactions of the Royal Society to introduce English readers to books of real merit. It is the method used in the first English journal of books, the Weekly Memorials for the Ingenious, which had begun in 1682. In the regular book-journals, of course, the comments are almost

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[1] See the Mather Papers, pp. 407–11; Palfrey, History of New England, iii 556–558; and allusions in Robert N. Toppan's Edward Randolph (Prince Society).

[2] Observator, no. 176, Monday, December 1, 1684.

[3] In his Mercurius Aquaticus, 1643.

entirely lacking, as would be expected from the obvious difference in purpose.

The modern reader is also impressed with a certain careless attitude toward truth. No present-day editor of a journal of opinion, even of one so obviously partizan as the Observator, would print extensive comments from a correspondence without some investigation as to its authenticity. In this connection L'Estrange's opinion of news-books may be quoted; oddly enough, it comes from the first issue of the Intelligencer, of which he had been editor: "A *Publick Mercury* should never have my *Vote,* because I think it makes the Multitude too *Familiar* with the *Actions,* and Counsels of their Superiors." [1] Now while L'Estrange had been in charge of the official newspapers he had shown enough regard for truth to correct misstatements.[2] But the Observator was not a newspaper, it was a journal of opinion; moreover, the time of the Popish Plot (the circumstance which really had called the Observator into existence) abounded in statements which were most unsubstantially based. They were days when the journalists went back for their models to the Civil War period. When a parliamentary journalist was accused of adding a cipher or two to the mortality statistics of some battle, he admitted that "we have Presses here can spell a victory short, or over, as well as you." [3] "The Common News-Papers are Partial, and Factious," L'Estrange wrote for a headline to the Observator of May 28, 1683; yet his own journal can scarcely be called impartial.

L'Estrange is also following the orthodox tradition in the sharpness of his attack. His tone seems to us needlessly virulent. In a time of turbulent shouting, he outdoes his contemporaries only by sheer vocal strength, not by any essential difference in vocabulary. Certainly to his adversaries he did not seem unusually venomous. On the contrary, he won their respect. One of his chief disputants, Henry Care, editor of the rival paper, the Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome, pays him a somewhat left-handed compliment, but a fairly earned one. Care thought he had found an Observator written

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[1] Intelligencer, no. 1, August 31, 1663.

[2] E.g., see the Intelligencer, no. 23, March 21, 1663–4, p. 192.

[3] Mercurius Britanicus, no. 49, August 26–September 2, 1644, p. 387.

by some understudy, and exclaims: "Can you be so dull, as not to perceive how the *Stile* varies? Ther's as much difference as between a *Mountebank* and his *Zany*, or *Bays* the Play-wright, and *Durfy* the Ballad-maker. *Roger* was wont to have his *lucid Intervals*, his sage *Sentences* sometimes, and a Spice of the Politicks." [1]

To the modern reader the use of the dialogue form in political reviewing seems most curious. In the seventeenth century, however, the method was in general use by literary men and had indeed been anticipated in the periodical literature. As early as 1643 the parliamentary news-book Mercurius Britanicus had invented a question-and-answer device as a further means of influencing opinion. The Weekly Pacquet, which has already been referred to, began in 1678, and carried a weekly dialogue between "Tory" and "Trueman." The first issue of Heraclitus Ridens, February 1, 1681, had as its sub-title "A Discourse between Jest and Earnest," which was later changed to "A Dialogue between Jest and Earnest." When the Observator first appeared, April 13, 1681, L'Estrange was but following the journalistic fashion when he cast his own remarks into dialogue form. As late as 1708 the dialogue was still in favor as a form for periodicals. A monthly journal of books begun in that year was entitled "Censura Temporum, The Good or Ill Tendencies of Books, Sermons, Pamphlets, &c. Impartially Consider'd, In a Dialogue Between Eubeulus and Sophronius."

While we can find prototypes for most of the qualities in L'Estrange's review which strike us as unusual, it seems that we may fairly credit him with originating the "continued review." The first mention of Mather's forged letter occurs in the Observator for November 26, 1684, no. 173. The treatment of the letter extends over parts of three later issues, nos. 174, 176, and 177, for November 27, December 1, and December 3, respectively. Although the Observator appeared somewhat irregularly, sometimes twice, sometimes three times a week, in no case was there any great loss in continuity due to lapse of time. The method of the Observator made it easy to reopen a subject in successive issues, and the relatively small size of the paper (half-sheet folio) made a full treatment in one issue often inadvisable, if not impossible. So the Observator, to an extent

[1] Weekly Pacquet, no. 34, April 16, 1683, p. 271.

greater than its contemporaries, employed the method of continuing subjects beyond a single issue. The Mather item is not an isolated instance. Algernon Sidney's "Paper Delivered to the Sheriffs" was first commented on in the Observator, no. 463, for December 27, 1683, and the comment was still in progress in no. 469, for January 7, 1684.

The PRESIDENT announced the death, on the 13th of December, of LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT, a Resident Member.

JANUARY MEETING, 1922

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 January, 1922, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. GEORGE POMEROY ANDERSON accepting Resident Membership, and from Mr. JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. WALTER AUSTIN of Dedham, and Mr. FRANCIS TIFFANY BOWLES of Barnstable, were elected Resident Members; Mr. JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN of New York was elected a Corresponding Member; and Mr. JOHN SINGER SARGENT of London, England, was elected an Honorary Member.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read the following paper, written by Dr. Octavius T. Howe of Boston:

BEVERLY PRIVATEERS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

At the opening of the War of the Revolution Beverly numbered about 3000 inhabitants. Its sea coast extended for six miles along the north shore in alternate sections of rocky point and sandy beach. Back from the shore line, from Manchester on the east to Wenham on the north and Danvers on the west, the land, broken and rolling, was dotted with farms and partly covered with pine woods. The soil was fairly fertile for New England and watered by numerous brooks. The inhabitants were farmers tilling their own farms,

fishermen, mariners, merchants, professional men, and the mechanics and middlemen necessary in every village. Manufactures were only such as commerce and fishing necessitated, rope making, sail making and probably some ship building. There were five small distilleries where molasses from the West Indies was converted into rum.

The harbor was for vessels of the size used in those days, a safe, convenient and fairly deep one. In the harbor between the Point and the site of the bridge now connecting Beverly and Salem lay the wharves, the first, counting from the ocean side, Union wharf, now Guffey's, next Bartlett's and Glover's, later occupied by Colonel Israel Thorndike. At the head of this wharf on Water Street was a large storehouse with an archway entrance from the street. Next Lovett's and Standley's wharf, then Stephen Nourse's wharf, later occupied by Nourse & Stephens, next followed in order, Pickard and Woodbury's, J. & H. Morgan's, Foster and Lovett's, Picket's, Ober's now Preston's, Deacon John Safford's, and Distillery wharf. There were also a few wharves in Bass River, used during the war for captured prizes. At the head of the wharves and along Water Street were the warehouses of the Beverly merchants, and along the shore from the Point toward the Cove were the fish flakes where the salted cod were dried in the sun. Most of the merchants and importers did a retail as well as wholesale business, selling to the fishermen, salt, nets, lines and clothing, and exchanging dress goods, rum, sugar, linen and flour for fish, grain, lumber and country produce.

Prior to the Revolutionary War Beverly was essentially a fishing village and all its commerce was based on this staple. In 1772 the fishing fleet consisted of 30 vessels of the following ownership, tonnage and value:

NAMES OF OWNERS	VESSELS OWNED	TONNAGE	VALUE IN POUNDS
Benj. Davis	3	160	900
Josiah Batchelder	2	120	600
Thomas Woodberry	1	55	300
Jonathan Lovett	2½	150	750
William Bartlett	2	120	600
Thomas Stephens	1¾	90	450
Israel Thorndike	6⅜	150	900
J. & A. Cabot	2	120	600
P. Obear & Co.	2½	65	300
Carried forward	23⅛	1030	5400

NAMES OF OWNERS	VESSELS OWNED	TONNAGE	VALUE IN POUNDS
Brought forward	23⅛	1030	5400
H. Thorndike	1	65	300
Benj. Ober	1	65	300
Isaac Thorndike	1	55	300
Zebulan Ray	1	60	300
Benj. Dodge	1	60	300
Benj. Lovett	2	130	600
	30⅛	1465	7500

The whole value of the fishing industry is given as 17,825 pounds. Most of the fishing vessels were schooners and all small enough to trade, when not fishing, with the West Indies, a trade restricted by both France and England to vessels of seventy tons or under. The best cod fish were sent to Spain, the inferior to the West Indies.

The total value of the exports from Beverly in 1772 is not obtainable, but besides fish the merchants of Beverly exported masts, spars, and manufactured lumber in its various forms. Vessels engaged in foreign trade were as follows:

NAMES OF OWNERS	NO. OF VESSELS	TONNAGE	VALUE IN POUNDS
Thomas Davis	1	100	300
Josiah Batchelder	1	60	300
Livermore Whittredge	1	90	300
Isaac Thorndike	1	80	300
J. & A. Cabot	2	300	940
S. Raymond	1	90	350
John Dyson	1	90	400
Israel Thorndike	2	100	600
	10	910	3490

There was also a coasting trade to Maine for lumber, to Maryland and Virginia for flour, and to Carolina for rice, not to mention the West India trade, which was large, and both coasting and fishing vessels were used in this. The total tonnage of the town, probably underestimated, is given as 2406 tons.[1] In 1772 the value of the real estate in Beverly is given as 113,000 pounds, personal property 45,000 pounds, making the total valuation 158,000 pounds. In 1775 the fishing fleet consisted of 35 schooners manned by over 300 men. In 1775 Beverly was only surpassed in Essex County by Salem and Newburyport in the wealth, and by Ipswich, Marblehead, Salem, and Newburyport, in the number of its inhabitants. It had many

[1] Nathan Dane Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society).

Hugh Hill

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait owned by Mrs. Charles Ober

stores, seventy is the number given, and rivalled or surpassed Salem in the quantity and quality of the merchandise offered. This was chiefly due to the large importing house of J. & A. Cabot. The firm doing business under this name consisted of George Cabot,[1] Joseph Lee,[2] John and Andrew Cabot, and they had gradually built up a large business making the Spanish trade a specialty. Their agents and correspondents in that country were the firm of Joseph Gardoqui & Sons and as early as 1770 their vessels, under command of George Cabot, Stephen Cleveland, and Benjamin Lovett, were shipping the catch of the Beverly fishermen to Bilbao and bringing back salt, iron, cordage, silks, linen, and liquors to the home port. Occasionally they sent vessels to Charleston for rice and to Virginia for tobacco and shipped thence to their correspondents in Bilbao.

Next in importance to the Cabots was the firm of Brown & Thorndike. The senior partner, Moses Brown,[3] moved to Beverly in 1772 and a few years after formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, Israel Thorndike.[4] Mr. Brown was a public spirited man, enthusiastic in the cause of American independence, a sergeant in Larkin Thorndike's company at Lexington, and an officer in several of the battles of the Revolution. His partner, Israel Thorndike, was a young man of great virility and ambition and as an officer of the State navy and commander of several privateers did good service to the public cause. The firm dealt largely in broadcloths, velvets and dress goods, and also sold supplies to the fishermen.

One of the oldest houses was that of John & Thomas Stephens. They were of old Beverly stock, descendants of John Stephens who came over in 1700. The firm owned several merchant and fishing vessels and did a general importing business. Other prominent business men were Josiah Batchelder, Jr.,[5] mariner, captain, mer-

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[1] George Cabot (1751–1823), United States Senator, President of the Hartford Convention, etc.

[2] Joseph Lee (1744–1831), born in Salem.

[3] Moses Brown (1748–1820), born at Waltham; H. C. 1768; raised and commanded a company which left Beverly August 9, 1777; present at the battles of Long Island, Trenton, and Harlem Heights.

[4] Israel Thorndike (1755–1825), son of Andrew and Anna (Morgan) Thorndike.

[5] Josiah Batchelder, Jr. (1737–1828), representative to the General Court; member of Congress; innholder; surveyor of the port of Beverly.

chant, shipowner and politician; William Bartlett,[1] first Naval Agent in Massachusetts for the new republic; Larkin Thorndike, soldier, merchant and shipowner; John Dyson, William Homans,[2] Thomas Davis,[3] Jonathan Lovett, William Leach,[4] Livermore Whittredge,[5] Benjamin Lovett, Thomas Woodberry,[6] and Ebenezer Ellingwood.

Although the above names appear most often in the mercantile and privateering history of Beverly as owners of vessels and privateers, it must be remembered that they were by no means sole owners of the vessels credited to them. As a matter of policy and insurance a merchant preferred to own only a sufficient share of a vessel to give him control and the balance, often a half interest, was held by men whose names do not appear. Most of the vessels sailing from Beverly in the first three years of the war were manned by Beverly crews and always included a strong contingent of Lovetts, Herricks, Gages, Thorndikes, Batchelders, Ellingwoods, Fosters, Obers, and Woodberrys, and the two latter families could have officered and manned a large privateer with men of their own name.

The citizens of Beverly had been zealous in resisting what seemed to them the tyranny of Great Britain, had, like all the other sea port towns, evaded the Navigation law, applauded the destruction of tea, sympathized with Boston over the Port Bill and contributed liberally to the poor of that city. Their Committee of Correspondence included such names as John Leach, Benjamin Jones, Henry Herrick, Samuel Goodridge, Josiah Batchelder, Joshua Cleves, Nicholas Thorndike, Andrew Cabot, Joseph Wood, Livermore Whittredge, Israel Thorndike, Edward Giles, William Dodge, William Taylor, John Lovett, 3rd, Thomas Stephens, and Josiah Batchelder, Jr. These men and many like them made Beverly a town whose naval history stands second to none in the records of the American Revolution.

[1] William Bartlett (1745–1809), fourth in descent from William Bartlett of Frampton, Dorset, England.

[2] William Homans (1749–1837), born at Marblehead, died in Beverly.

[3] Thomas Davis, born September 25, 1755, son of Thomas and Abigail (Stephens) Davis of Salem.

[4] William Leach (1758–1838).

[5] Livermore Whittredge, born February 24, 1740; descended from William Whittredge, who came over in 1635 and settled in Ipswich.

[6] Thomas Woodberry, born May 10, 1743, son of Thomas and Lucy (Herrick) Woodberry.

In writing a history of the privateers of Beverly, one encounters certain difficulties which lead to unavoidable omissions and occasional confusion. Salem and Beverly had one custom house and one naval officer, and vessels really belonging to Beverly were often credited to Salem. The Salem Gazette, the natural source of information about Beverly vessels, was not published from soon after the beginning of the war until 1781.[1] The petitions for commissions for commanders of private armed vessels in the Massachusetts Archives were usually signed by agents and do not necessarily give information of the real owner, and in addition are themselves defective. A paucity of nomenclature, so that for example there were 24 *Dolphins* and 14 *Fortunes* sailing as privateers during the war, and the curious custom of giving a new vessel the name of one lost or taken by the enemy, add to the confusion. Changes of name, rig, and ownership occur with startling rapidity, and these, with a general looseness of statement and an astonishing inaccuracy of description, characteristic of the times, make the puzzle a hard one to unravel. For these and other reasons there were probably more privateer and letter of marque vessels sailing from Beverly during the war than are described in these pages. The spelling of family names follows as far as possible that found in the Massachusetts Archives, but as names are sometimes spelled in two ways in the same petition it hardly seems necessary to be particular. No vessels have been included unless sailing from or partly owned in Beverly.

I

It is the opinion of some critics, including such an authority as Captain Mahan, that privateering as a means of injuring the enemy is inferior in its results to the use of state and national vessels. This is probably true, but it presupposes that the money spent in equipping private armed vessels would be expended on the navy and that the men manning the vessels would enlist in the national service. As a matter of fact in the Revolutionary war it would have been impossible to raise by taxation a tithe of the money spent on private armed vessels and had the State owned the vessels they could have been filled only by impressment. The red tape and rigid discipline

[1] For the newspapers of Salem, see Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, xxv. 463–476.

of a public vessel did not appeal to men as did the freer life of a privateer; and state ownership was regarded by shipowners as less efficient than private control.

George Washington took command of the army at Cambridge, July 3, 1775, but it was not until September that he found time to take up the question of warfare upon the sea. Already Rhode Island and Connecticut had ordered the equipment of armed vessels, South Carolina and Georgia had cruizers afloat, and a sloop from Philadelphia had taken the magazine at New Providence. It is probable that privateers from Massachusetts without commissions were already cruizing, but it was not until September 2, 1775, that the first regular commission was issued. On that date, acting under general powers, General Washington writes to Nicholas Broughton of Marblehead: "You being appointed captain in the army of the United Provinces of North America are directed to take command of a detachment of said army and proceed on board the schooner *Hannah* at Beverly lately fitted out with arms, ammunition and provisions." The *Hannah* was an ordinary fishing schooner belonging to Colonel John Glover, who, although a resident of Marblehead, owned a wharf in Beverly and conducted his fishing business from that place. In accordance with these orders Captain Broughton, taking a detachment from Colonel Glover's regiment of Marblehead fishermen, men well fitted for the purpose, hoisted his flag on the *Hannah* and sailed on his first cruize. On September 7, 1775, he writes to Washington: "I beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that I sailed from Beverly last Tuesday with a fair wind and proceeded on my course. Took a ship off Cape Ann and sent her into Gloucester." This prize, the first taken by a regularly commissioned Massachusetts vessel, was the English ship *Unity*.

Colonel Glover and Stephen Moylan, the latter acting secretary to Washington, had been appointed a committee to secure vessels by purchase or charter for the service of the United Provinces, and on October 9, 1775, Colonel Moylan writes Washington that the owners of the *Hannah* object to putting extra sails on the vessel, it being customary to provide only foresail, mainsail and jib. "Col. Glover," he continues, "has given the strongest proof of his good opinion of the schooner by putting his brother and favorite son on her. We have hired a schooner from Marblehead. She is noted for

her good qualities and will be ready to take in the *Hannah's* company in 12 or 14 days if any misfortune should follow. She is taken on the same terms as the other two, four shillings per ton per month or five shillings, four pence, lawful money."

At the time the *Hannah* sailed from Beverly, there were two vessels lying at the wharves of that town which had been hired for the same service, the *Lynch* and the *Franklin*. On the return of the *Hannah*, Captain Broughton was ordered to take command of the *Lynch* and Captain Selman, also of Colonel Glover's regiment, of the *Franklin*. The *Lynch* carried six guns and 75 men, the *Franklin* four guns and 60 men, the crews of both vessels being drawn from Colonel Glover's regiment. The two vessels were ordered when ready to cruize in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and intercept two English transports bound for Quebec and expected about this time.

The provisioning and arming of these vessels proceeded slowly, but by October 19 they were ready and Stephen Moylan writes to General Joseph Reed: "Capt. Broughton and Capt. Selman will be ready to sail tomorrow. The latter is in want of a surgeon and we believe it will be difficult to prevail on the captain and crew to sail without one. Please send one." General Reed writes in reply: "Dr. Spofford agrees to go. Please fix on colors for a flag. What do you think of a flag with a white ground, a tree in the middle, with 'Appeal to Heaven.'" Dr. Spofford came as agreed, but they did not sail until the 24th, and then without the new colors. Their signal was ensign at main-toppinglift. On November 2, 1775, Captain Broughton writes from the White Head, four degrees west of Canso: "Have taken a ship with a cargo of provisions belonging to Enoch Rust of Boston and sent the vessel to New England." Although some ten prizes were taken by Captain Broughton, nothing was seen of the two transports and the *Lynch* and the *Franklin* returned to Beverly.

Washington had not been pleased with the leisurely way in which the *Lynch* and the *Franklin* had been fitted out at Beverly and in a letter to Colonel Moylan questions Colonel Glover's management of the affair. On October 24 Moylan writes in reply:

I sincerely believe Col. Glover has the cause at heart and has done his best in fitting out these four vessels. There is a reason and I think it is a substantial one why a person born in the same town or

neighborhood should not be employed in public affairs in that town. It is the spirit of equality which reigns throughout the country which makes him afraid of exerting his authority. He must shake every man by the hand and pray do, my brother, do, my friend, whereas a few hearty damns from a person who does not care a damn for them would have a much better effect.

On the same day Colonel Moylan writes to Joseph Reed:

Colonel Glover showed me a letter of yours which has mortified him much. I really and sincerely believe he has the cause much at heart and that he has done his best in fitting out these last four vessels for the public service. You cannot conceive the difficulty and delay there is in procuring the thousand things necessary for these vessels. I daresay one of them might be fitted in Philadelphia or New York in three days, because you would know where to apply for the different articles but here you must search all over Salem, Marblehead, Danvers and Beverly for every thing that is wanted. I must add to these the jobbing carpenters who are the idlest scoundrels in nature. If I could have procured others I should have dismissed the whole gang of them last Friday; and such religious rascals are they that we could not prevail on them to work on the Sabbath. I have stuck very close to them crying shame and scolding them for their tory like disposition.

Washington, an aristocrat by birth and a soldier by avocation, regarded with indignation the lawless acts of some of the early privateersmen and felt only contempt for their evident desire to imitate the showy externals rather than the discipline of the navy. On November 6, 1775, at his direction, Colonel Moylan writes a rather sarcastic letter in regard to Captain Martindale of the brig *Washington*, then fitting out at Plymouth: "The General is apprehensive that Capt. Martindale will make the outfit of his brig too expensive. The intention of fitting out these cruisers is not to attack armed, but take unarmed, vessels. I don't see the use of a drum and fife but if it will give Capt. Martindale any pleasure he shall have them." Again in November he writes: "Our rascally privateersmen go on mutinously if they cannot do as they please. Those at Plymouth, Beverly and Portsmouth have done nothing worth mentioning in the way of prizes." Early in December he writes again: "The plague, trouble and vexation I have had with the crews of all the armed vessels are inexhaustible. The crews of the *Washington* and *Harrison* have actually deserted them."

The schooner hired by Colonel Glover to take the place of the *Hannah* was named the *Lee*, and Captain John Manly of Marblehead was appointed her commander. Captain Manly was one of the few naval officers who seemed to suit Washington and he held during the whole war a deserved reputation for conduct and courage. Born at Torquay, England, in 1733, he settled in Marblehead when a young man and during the Revolutionary War commanded in rapid succession the schooners *Lee* and *Hancock*, the privateers *Cumberland* and *Jason*, and the frigate *Hague*. The good fortune of his early career did not continue and he was three times taken prisoner and confined in English prisons.[1] On October 28, 1775, he sailed on his first cruize with a crew drawn from Colonel Glover's regiment. On November 30th Washington writes: "I hear good accounts of the schooner *Lee*, Capt. Manly, he has taken a large brigantine from London for Boston and sent her into Cape Ann. Capt. Adams in the *Warren* has taken a schooner laden with potatoes and turnips."

The *Franklin* after her cruize under Captain Sellman had remained in Beverly harbor and Captain Samuel Tucker was appointed her commander. On February 9, 1776, he sailed from Beverly on a cruize in company with the *Lee*, Captain Waters, and in conjunction with the *Defence* and several other privateers was fortunate enough to take the transports *George* and *Annabella*. In his instructions to Captain Tucker, Washington had written: "Treat prisoners with kindness and humanity. Their private stock of money and clothes must be returned to them." It is to the credit of the officers of American privateers that these instructions, especially the first, have usually been observed; but privateering is rough business, and a disposition to make free with the property of prisoners has characterized the privateers of every nation.

The officers and crews of the vessels commissioned by Washington received the same pay[2] as officers and privates in the army of the United Provinces and in addition one-third part of the value of every vessel and cargo taken, after condemnation in the Courts of

[1] John Manly died February 12, 1793: cf. Publications of this Society, v. 274 note.

[2] Captain's pay per month, £ 4; 1st lieutenant, £ 3; 2nd lieutenant, £ 2.10.0; surgeon, £ 2.10.0; master, £ 2.0.0; boatswain, £ 1.10.0; steward, £ 1.10.0.

Admiralty. If the vessel was armed, one-half, instead of one-third, was given as prize money. As afterwards construed this meant sufficiently armed to attempt resistance and not a mere technical armament. Of this prize money the captain received six shares, the 1st lieutenant five shares, the 2nd lieutenant four shares, the master two shares, the master's mate one and a half shares, the gunner the same, and the mariners each one share.

On December 20, 1775, Congress resolved that the seized vessels carried into Massachusetts should be proceeded against by the law of nations and libelled in the Courts of Admiralty of that state. Such courts had already been established, and on December 12, 1775, Colonel Timothy Pickering writes:

> To the Hon. the Council of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.
>
> May it please your Honers,
>
> The Secretary has just informed me that your Honers have thought fit to appoint me Judge of a Court to try the justice of the captured vessels infesting the sea coast of America which shall be brought into the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex and Essex. Your Honers will please accept my thanks for the appointment. I am, may it please your Honers,
>
> Your most obedient servant,
>
> TIM. PICKERING, Jr.

The first sitting of the court was held March 16, 1776.

About November 1, 1775, William Bartlett of Beverly was appointed first prize agent in Massachusetts for the United Colonies with instructions to libel all prizes in his jurisdiction and after legal condemnation sell them at auction and distribute the proceeds.[1]

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[1] In some cases there seems to have been actual distribution of the cargo instead of a sale at auction and division of the proceeds. The following deposition is from the Nathan Dane Papers:

"I James Fuller Lakeman of Lawful age do Testify, in the Summer of the year One thousand, Seven hundred and eighty I went a Voyage from Gloucester to Bilbao in a Ship called the *Gloucester Packet*, William Coy, commander. I acted as Mariner on board and in the passage from Bilbao we took a Prize. She was a British brig of more than a hundred Tons, Loaded with salt and I was put on board of her with the Prize Master and four Men to Bring her and we arrived safe at Gloucester in the month of July Where the said Cargo was Divided and I Received thirty Bushels of it for my share. I exchanged my Share of said Salt at two Bushels of corn for one bushel of Salt and Corn was then one dollar a Bushel, hard money."

Mr. Bartlett entered on his duties with a high respect for the dignity of his office and considerable doubt as to what his duties were. As some Massachusetts privateers were probably cruizing without commissions and as courts had not yet been erected to try prizes regularly taken, he was naturally at a loss what to do and disposed to seek General Washington's advice. His letters to the General, and Washington's terse, caustic and somewhat impatient replies are rather amusing. Mr. Bartlett's first letter to Washington bears the date of November 4, 1775:

Sir.

Since I have had the honour of a commission under Your Excellency I have never had an opportunity before to return you my hearty thanks. I have the pleasure of informing Your Excellency that this morning at daylight there appeared two sloops at anchor under one of our islands called Misery. One of them came to sail and went on in a direct course for Boston. The other being very much torn to pieces in a gale of wind was unfit to proceed on her course. Two resolute people in a small boat went off and took her before we knew of it at this portion of the town. However, some of Capt. Brown's stationed men went down and brought her up in this harbor. My instructions are short in regard to such cases and I beg Your Excellency will give me particular instructions. The crew of the vessel consisted of Capt. Ritchie, his father, one white man, one mulatto and a negro. He refuses to give up his papers.

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

William Bartlett.

Four days later Mr. Bartlett writes again to know what he shall do with a schooner from Ireland brought in by five Beverly men who put out from shore and seized her. Colonel Moylan replies for Washington:

Sir.

Your favor of the 8th to his Excellency came this morning. As the people on board object to your taking charge of the schooner and as having anything to do with vessels brought in as the *North Briton* was will give you and the General trouble, it is his advice that you have nothing to do with them. Suppose you give the vessel to the Committee of Public Safety. In short get rid of her as best you can and let us hear nothing further thereon.

There were a number of illegal seizures, by boats from the shore, one of them, probably the earliest, by Hugh Hill, afterwards commander of the Beverly privateers *Pilgrim* and *Cicero*.

To the Hon. the Council and House of Representatives of the Mass. State.

The petition of Hugh Hill of Marblehead, Humbly Showeth that your Petitioner with a Number of his Fellow Townsmen, (Actuated and Inspired with the hope of Doing Good to the American Cause and Injuring their Enemies) did some time in the month of Oct. 1775 by force of arms attack, Subdue and Take a Small Schooner called the Industry, commanded by Francis Butler, Laden with Turtles, limes and from New Providence bound to Boston. (there being no Court of Admiralty Established) Communicated to the Committee of this town with the papers found in said vessel, Who forwarded them to the Hon. Council and in Consequence Received Directions to dispose of the cargo at Vendue and to deliver the Vessel to the order of Gen. Washington, which they complied with. As soon as the Courts of Admiralty were Opened, some of the Persons Concerned in the Capture of Said Vessel, Libelled her and Trial was then held. When the Jury for Want of Proper Evidence from some Mistaken Circumstance Cleared Vessel and Cargo and of Consequence Made Your Petitioners Liable to Costs.

Your Petitioner therefor prays Your Honors will Take into consideration and Grant him an Indemnification from such costs and from such Damages as the Owners of the Vessel may attempt or recover against him and Your Petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

HUGH HILL.[1]

A month later Colonel Moylan writes Mr. Bartlett in regard to the brigantine *Hannah*,[2] a vessel sent into Beverly by Captain Manly: "There are oranges, lemons and limes aboard which you had better sell immediately. The General will want some of these as well as the sweetmeats and pickles aboard as his lady will be here

[1] Massachusetts Archives, clxxx. 974.

[2] The following advertisement appeared in a Boston paper of May 17, 1776: "To be sold by William Bartlett, Agent for the United Provinces, at public auction, the seventh day of May to be held in Beverly and to be continued from day to day until the whole is sold, the following vessels and cargo, Ship Concord, 150 tons, Jinny, 350 tons, Polly, 80 tons, Brigantines, Nancy, 250 tons, Hannah, 250 tons; Sloops, Sally, 60 tons, Betty, 60 tons." These vessels were condemned at a court held at Ipswich by Judge Pickering March 18, 1776.

tomorrow. You will please pick up such things aboard as you think will be acceptable to her and send as soon as possible, but he wishes to pay for everything." Mr. Bartlett sent the General the fruit and other dainties he had asked for from the cargo of the *Hannah*, but they were not satisfactory, and on investigation it was found that the crew of the *Lee*, Captain Manly's schooner, had looted the best in the vessel. Colonel Moylan notified them that the value of what they had stolen would be deducted from their prize money.

Mr. Bartlett had been requested to bid in the *Hannah*, if she went low enough, and on May 27, 1776, General Artemas Ward writes to Washington: "I beg to inform you that your Agent at Beverly has purchased the brig *Hannah* at four hundred and twenty pounds. This day Capt. Bradford of Boston, having represented to me that he had an order from Robert Morris, Esq., one of the Maritime Committee, to procure a good sailing vessel for the Continental service and that the brig would answer his service. Mr. Morris writes that the brig is wanted to go on a particular service immediately." The particular service was to convey dispatches to our Commissioners in France, and the *Hannah* was taken into the Continental service, given letters of marque papers, loaded with a cargo of fish, renamed *Despatch* and placed under command of Stephen Cleveland of Salem. Captain Cleveland's instructions were to avoid all vessels at sea, make his way to Nantz or Bordeaux, sell his cargo, deliver his dispatches and bring back arms and ammunition. He was also to arm his vessel abroad and fit her for a privateer. Captain Cleveland, with William Herrick of Beverly as lieutenant or mate, sailed soon after. The sale of the *Hannah* was one of the last official acts of Mr. Bartlett, and on June 14, 1776, he was succeeded by Captain Bradford as Agent for the United Provinces.

Besides the so-called privateers already mentioned the State of Massachusetts was building an armed fleet of its own and three of these vessels, the *Tyrannicide* building at Salisbury, and the *Freedom* and the *Republic* at Swansea, were constructed under the supervision of a committee consisting of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., of Beverly and Richard Derby of Salem. Captain Batchelder from his practical knowledge of navigation was a very influential member of the

Massachusetts Legislature and much of the direction of naval affairs was put in his hands. Through his influence, on May 7, 1776, two 18-pound cannon, left by the British when they evacuated Boston, were turned over to the town of Beverly to mount on their defences, and a month later, sixty 18- and twenty 9-pound cannon balls were sent them.

The defences of Beverly harbor in 1776, besides the fort at Salem, consisted of a sand bag battery armed with two field pieces and other works on which were mounted two 18- and two 12-pound cannon. A committee of the General Court sent to view the sea-coast with reference to defensive works, recommended a seven gun battery at Thorndick's Point, a five gun battery at Barret's Point, and a three gun battery at West Beach. This elaborate system of fortification was too costly to be carried out, but batteries were erected at several of the places.

These works were manned at first by a local coast guard and later by Continental and State troops. On June 28, 1776, a resolve was reported in the Provincial Congress to provide forces for the defence of the sea coast, each company to consist of 50 men under direction of the Committee of Correspondence of the town in which they were stationed.[1] One company was stationed in Beverly. Besides the coast guard, Colonel Glover's regiment was ordered to Beverly and remained there until July 22, 1776. When the news reached Beverly that the regiment was ordered to New York, the selectmen petitioned:

To the Hon. Council of the Colony of Mass. Bay in New England.

Your petitioners have six miles of sea-coast offering good landing places and fair road-stead for vessels to lie, and on the most advantageous places have thrown up and erected breastworks and procured a number of cannon, and have had by benevolence of his Excellency, Gen. Washington the 14th regiment stationed in this town for some months, who have received orders to march soon, that is to say tomorrow. We petition therefore for 100 men to guard the seacoast.

In response to this petition, Colonel Henry Herrick[2] and his regiment were ordered to man the lines at Beverly. Why it should have been thought necessary to keep so many troops at the small town

[1] Journals of the Provincial Congress (1838), pp. 412–413.

[2] Henry Herrick, son of Henry and Joanna (Woodberry) Herrick, was born October 25, 1716, and died December 16, 1780.

of Beverly does not appear, and the Council evidently thought it uncalled for and on October 25, 1776, ordered Colonel Herrick to discharge officers and private soldiers of his regiment that by order of July 20th had been ordered into the lines at Beverly and discharged the selectmen of the town from furnishing them provisions. The town remained unguarded until November 14th, when the Council ordered that a company of 25 men, including one lieutenant, two sergeants and two corporals, be raised and stationed in the town until further notice. On November 21, 1776, the House requested the Council to give orders to Lieutenant Joseph Wood to take command of 25 men and ordered the selectmen to provide rations as had been done for officers and men stationed there before, not exceeding five shillings a man per week. November 27th the Council ordered Lieutenant Joseph Wood[1] to enlist 25 men, sergeants to receive forty-four, corporals forty, and privates thirty-six shillings a month. Lieutenant Wood was to receive three pounds twelve shillings a month. On December 12, 1777, the Council voted that hereafter at Beverly be stationed one lieutenant, one sergeant, one gunner, and eleven matrosses, the lieutenant to receive five pounds, the sergeant and gunner two pounds and the privates one pound and ten shillings, monthly.

In the autumn of 1779 the Council commandeered one of the 18-pound guns in the batteries at Beverly, and in February, 1780, took two of the 9 pounders for their new State vessel, the *Protector*. On October 4, 1780, the coast guard at Beverly was reduced to one corporal and three matrosses, and this force was continued until the close of the war.

So far as the writer can ascertain, there were but four cases in the Revolutionary War where British armed vessels came within range of the sea-port towns included in the Bay from Marblehead to Cape Ann. The first, August 9, 1775, when the boats of the *Falcon* were so roughly handled at Gloucester; the second, August 29th of the same year, when the prize ship *Isaac* was chased into Marblehead harbor and the fort opened fire on her pursuer, the *Milford* frigate;

[1] Joseph Wood, son of Joseph and Ruth (Haskell) Wood, was town clerk of Beverly for thirty-seven years, selectman, assessor, representative, and member of the Committee of Public Safety and Correspondence. He died January 21, 1808.

the third, the affair of the *Nautilus* in Beverly harbor; and the fourth, when the privateer *Starks* was chased into Salem harbor by two frigates.

II

As early as November 1, 1775, an act was passed by the Massachusetts Legislature empowering the Council to commission with letters of marque and reprisal any person or persons within the colony, to fit out and equip at their own expense, for the defence of America, any vessel, and general authority to take all vessels of the enemy. The master of the private armed vessel was required to give bonds as principal with two good names as securities in order to satisfy any claim that might be made for illegal capture. The bond was $5,000 for vessels under 100 tons and $10,000 for vessels of 100 tons and over. Later it was found that deserters from the Continental army often enlisted on private armed vessels, and such vessels were put under bond not to take on board any soldier from the Continental army or any man not a citizen of Massachusetts. Bonds were also required that the crews of any vessel captured should be brought as prisoners into the State and not, as was often done, set free on some worthless prize to avoid expense. This was really in the interest of the privateersmen themselves and if faithfully carried out would have saved many of them long confinement in English prisons, but prisoners were a dangerous freight to carry and the bond was often evaded, although English prisoners were needed in Massachusetts as material for exchange. It is from these bonds, necessarily signed by some of the owners, that much of our information about the vessels is obtained.

The first private armed vessels commissioned under the authority of the State were privateers as distinguished from letters of marque. That is, they were empowered and used to cruize against the enemies of America, and not merely merchant vessels armed to resist aggression and authorized to take prizes. A privateer was in most respects, except ownership, a close imitation of our state and national vessels, and its officers received the same titles as in the regular service. A letter of marque was a merchant vessel cleared for some port with a cargo, though she might sail in ballast, but armed to resist aggression and authorized to take any of the enemy's vessels that came in

her way. The officers received the same titles as were used in the merchant service. With the letter of marque the capture of prizes was incidental, with the privateer it was the business of the cruize. The letter of marque was usually lighter armed and carried a much smaller crew than a privateer of the same tonnage.

The first private armed vessels sailing from Massachusetts in 1776 were small craft taken from the merchant service and not especially adapted to the work in which they were engaged. Many were sloops, some were schooners, but the favorite rig was the brigantine. These carried a large spanker with a square, instead of a gaff, topsail on the main mast. They were armed with light cannon, old fashioned swivel guns, blunderbusses, and a few muskets and pikes. The cannon used were long guns, as distinguished from carronades, and so far as the writer can ascertain, with one exception, no carronades[1] were used on American private armed vessels during the war. The uniform of the officers and men on Massachusetts privateers was white and green, and the flag first carried was a green pine on a white ground.

The rations allowed a privateer's crew were what the owner pleased, but as private armed vessels were obliged to compete for seamen with the State vessels, it is probable that the fare on the two did not materially differ. The allowance of provisions for each officer and mariner as prescribed by the State October 12, 1776, was as follows: one pound of bread, one pound of beef or pork, one gill of rice and one gill of rum daily. Peas or beans to the amount of half a pint or a pound of potatoes or turnips might be substituted for the rice. Three-quarters of a pound of butter and one-half a pint of vinegar was allowed weekly. Division of prize money was usually made in the proportion of two parts to the owners and one to the officers and crew of the vessel, but there was no arbitrary rule. It is a disputed question whether the officers and crew of a privateer received wages in addition to their share of the prize money; they undoubtedly did receive wages on a letter of marque.

[1] In the New York Gazette of April 22, 1780, is an advertisement offering 12 and 13 pound carronades, imported direct from the Carron foundry, for use in privateers. "They can be discharged," says the advertisement, "every three minutes, which doubles the strength against an enemy of equal force. The carronade weighs one third as much as a long gun of the same calibre and the powder charge is only one twelfth the weight of the ball." The long gun could be discharged once in six minutes.

No privateer sailing from Beverly received a commission from the Massachusetts Council prior to September 4, 1776, but several were so commissioned in which Beverly capital was interested. The earliest of these was the *Revenge*, owned by Joseph Lee of Beverly and Miles Greenwood of Salem and commissioned May 14, 1776.

The *Revenge* was a sloop of 90 tons burden, armed with twelve four- and six-pounders, and carrying a crew of 60 men. She was commanded in rapid succession by Joseph White, Benjamin Warren, Edward Gibaut, and Benjamin Dean, all of Salem. Her first two prizes, the ships *Anna Maria* and *Polly*, were among the first cases tried in our prize courts. On April 29, 1776, at the same term of court, Bartholemew Putnam and Andrew Cabot libelled the ship *Lord Dartmore* of 300 tons, seized and taken in Danvers between high and low water mark. A little later, August 9th, John Gardiner of Salem commissioned two schooners, the *Gen. Gates* and the *Harlequin* in which Andrew Cabot of Beverly was interested. One of them, the *Harlequin*, under the name *Sally*, had been employed by Mr. Cabot in the Spanish trade.

The first privateer owned in and sailing from Beverly was the brigantine *Retaliation* owned by Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and others of Beverly. She was of 70 tons burden, carried ten two- and four-pound guns, nine swivels, and 70 men. Her commander, Eleazer Giles of Beverly,[1] was commissioned September 4, 1776. The petition for the commission, dated September 2, 1776, states that the *Retaliation* has on board 50 barrels of beef and pork, 4000 pounds of bread, 500 pounds of powder, 25 muskets, 30 cutlasses, and 10 lances. While the *Retaliation* was fitting out in Beverly, Josiah Batchelder, Jr., had petitioned the General Court for an order on Samuel Phillips at his mill in Andover for 500 pounds of powder at five shillings a pound. A lack of powder was one of the perplexities of the new Republic and on January 6, 1776, the Massachusetts Council, in order to encourage its manufacture in the Colony, agreed to furnish Samuel Phillips at his mill in Andover sulphur and salt-

[1] Eleazar Giles was born in Danvers, but removed to Beverly; commanded several privateers during the war and lost his leg in action on board the *Saratoga*; died in Liverpool, England.

As a rule the names of only the commanders or captains of vessels are mentioned in the text. For the names of other officers, see section viii, pp. 405–424, below.

petre at cost and give him a bonus of eight pence a pound on all powder manufactured. In order to obtain powder it was necessary to petition the General Court, which fixed the price and did not always allow the quantity asked for.

Captain Giles on his first cruize headed for the West Indies and was lucky enough to fall in with the Jamaica fleet and take four rich prizes, the brigantine *Hiram* and the ships *Success, St. Lucie,* and *Alfred.*[1] The largest ship, the *St. Lucie* of 350 tons, carried 500 hogsheads of sugar and 20 puncheons of rum, and the wharves of the Beverly merchants once more presented a busy spectacle.

Other privateers were equally successful, and so much sugar was brought into the State that on January 3, 1777, the General Court granted permission for vessels to export sugar to the amount of twelve hogsheads for every 100 tons the vessel registered. The people began to feel need of food rather than sugar and rum.

The *Retaliation,* as a letter of marque, sailed for Charleston with a full cargo of sugar, bringing back rice and naval stores. Some time in the autumn of 1777 the *Retaliation* was taken by an English vessel and carried into Halifax. Eleazer Giles was the first Beverly captain taken prisoner, but he did not remain long in confinement, and in April or May of the following year returned to Beverly in the cartel *Industry.* We shall hear of him again in connection with other vessels.

In the history of Beverly privateers no name occurs so frequently as that of Andrew Cabot, but in 1776 he seemed to confine his investments to vessels sailing from other ports. Besides those already mentioned he was part owner in the *Sturdy Beggar, Rover* and *Reprisal.*

The *Sturdy Beggar* was a schooner of 90 tons, carrying 6 guns and 20 men, owned by Mr. Cabot's friend, Elias H. Derby of Salem. Her first captain was Peter Landen of Salem, followed in a few weeks by the celebrated Allen Hallet, later by Edward Rowland. On February 24, 1777, the *Sturdy Beggar,* Captain Rowland, is reported taken by an English vessel, and in June the crew were committed to Mill Prison. A few years later another *Sturdy Beggar,* this time a brigantine, under Philip Lefavour of Marblehead, was sailing from Salem in which there is reason to suppose Mr. Cabot

[1] George Child, an Englishman, on the *St. Lucie,* from Jamaica for Bristol, had a private adventure on board which Capt. Giles generously restored to him.

was also interested. The second *Sturdy Beggar* was reported wrecked on the coast of France.

The *Rover*, owned by John Derby, Andrew Cabot and others, was a sloop of 60 tons, armed with eight carriage and ten swivel guns and two cohorns. Her first captain was Simon Forrester, also a part owner, and her early cruizes were very successful. The New York Mercury of October 22, 1776, reports that the sloop *Rover*, Captain Forrester, during a calm, by the aid of sweeps overtook and captured the English ship *Mary and James* from Falmouth, England. She was a rich prize and her captain on his arrival at New York complained bitterly of the treatment he had received on board the *Rover*. "Worse than pirates" he calls his captors. The *Mary and James*, 129 tons, the brigantine *Good Intent*, 100 tons, and the *Sarah Ann*, 100 tons, prizes to the *Rover*, were all libelled October 24, 1776.[1]

On September 20, 1776, Job Prince and Samuel White of Boston, agents for themselves and Jacob Fowler, Andrew Cabot, John Coffin Jones and Benjamin Hichbourne, owners of the brigantine *Reprisal* of 70 tons and 8 guns, petition that John Wheelwright be appointed commander of said vessel. How large an interest Mr. Cabot had in the *Reprisal* is not stated.

The second privateer owned in and sailing from Beverly was the brigantine *Washington* of 90 tons, carrying 12 six and four-pound cannon and a crew of 80 men.[2] She was owned by John Dyson,[3] Thomas Davis and others of Beverly, and commanded by Elias Smith. Elias Smith, though a resident of Beverly, was a native of Virginia, possessing all that courtesy of manner, carelessness of dress and fiery pugnacity which characterized the men of the Old Dominion. "Are you the Captain of this vessel?" was the rather contemptuous inquiry of the commander of a conquered ship, come aboard to surrender his sword. "In default of a better," replied Captain Smith, drawing himself up to his full height — he was only five feet tall —

[1] The *Rover*, Capt. Adam Wellman of Beverly, was captured in 1780.

[2] The Beverly Historical Society owns a printed handbill reading: "Now fitting for a Privateer, In the harbor of Beverly, the Brigantine Washington. A strong, good vessel for that purpose and a prime sailer. Any Seaman or Landsman that has an inclination to make their Fortunes in a few months may have an opportunity by applying to John Dyson. Beverly, Sept. 7, 1776."

[3] John Dyson (1742–1828) was born in England.

and bowing low. The story is told that after the war a relation of his who felt himself insulted asked his advice as to fighting a duel. "Fight him!" said the old veteran, "Fight him! Fight him!"

Captain Smith sailed from Beverly soon after he was commissioned, to join the fleet under Captain Manly. These cruizes with Captain Manly were quite a feature during the first two years of the war, and were not very popular with the owners and officers of private armed vessels. The idea was that five or six vessels could cover a large extent of water and still be within supporting distance of each other and take more prizes proportionally than when cruizing singly. Under the articles of agreement, however, the privateer became a sort of contract vessel and for a specified time passed out of the control of her owner. The officers, too, of these privateers by no means relished being under the orders of a man whom they refused to consider as their superior, and much complaint and bickering ensued. The articles of agreement between the State and the owners of the *Washington* are a type of all these contracts:

Articles of Agreement between the Council of the Great and General Court and Thomas Davis and John Dyson of Beverly, Merchants, owners of the *Washington* brigantine, a privateer vessel of war bound for cruise of 25 days in company with a fleet of Continental vessels and other ships under Capt. Manly's command. That in case of accident the State agrees to insure the vessel to the full amount of her cost against all dangers of sea and English ships while under Capt. Manly's command. All ammunition expended to be made good by the State. Any prize taken by the fleet to be divided equally among the whole fleet even if one by accident be absent. Owners of the *Washington* to give bonds to the amount of 6000 pounds that they will keep this agreement and obey Capt. Manly's orders.[1]

After his cruize with Captain Manly, Captain Smith returned to Beverly and then cruized on his own account, sending in eight prizes. The *Washington* was reported taken by the *Levant* in 1777.

The only other privateer sailing from Beverly in 1776 was the schooner *Warren*. She was owned by Josiah Batchelder, Eleazer Giles and others of Beverly and commanded by Israel Thorndike, who remained in command until the next spring, when he was

[1] Massachusetts Archives, ccxv. 442.

succeeded by Nicholas Ogleeby. Captain Ogleeby made two cruizes in the *Warren*, and was succeeded by John Ravell of Salem.

Soon after sailing, December 27, 1777, Captain Ravell fell in with the English letter of marque *Tom*, Captain John Lee, mounting 26 six-pounders, and after a spirited defence of three hours was obliged to surrender. As the *Warren* carried only five guns and ten swivels she was, of course, no match for her powerful adversary. The *Tom* received little damage, but the *Warren* had lost her mainmast and was so much cut up that Captain Lee did not consider her worth taking in but threw her guns and ammunition overboard and left her to her own crew. The *Warren* lost one man killed and two wounded. For nine days Captain Ravell and his men worked hard to repair damages and had made some progress, but on February 6th were again captured by the English ship *Fanny*, from New York for Liverpool, and were carried to that city and confined in Mill Prison.

Some time in the spring of 1776 Robert Haskell[1] of Beverly obtained permission from the Council to sail for Nova Scotia in his fishing schooner, the *Dove*, with a crew of four men, taking with him as cargo one barrel of pork, 200 pounds of bread, sixteen gallons of molasses, two bushels of salt, and a half bushel of beans. The trade with Nova Scotia which went on throughout the war will be considered at length in another section, but this permission, like others, was really a blind to cover a secret expedition in search of information. Haskell had removed with his family to Nova Scotia in 1762, but returned to Beverly in 1774 to resume his fishing business. He easily obtained information without exciting suspicion and returned home having fully accomplished his purpose.

On July 2, 1776 the Council requested Josiah Batchelder, Jr., of Beverly to obtain for them a small vessel to be used as a spy vessel and a suitable man to command it. Captain Batchelder once more sought out Robert Haskell, and on July 13th sent him with the following letter to the Council:

To the Hon. Council of the Colony of Mass. Bay.

These to acquaint you that I have hired and fitted out a small vessel for the purpose of obtaining information of the motions of the fleet and armies of our enemies.

[1] Robert Haskell, son of William and Mary (Lovett) Haskell, was born April 2, 1736, and died June 17, 1789.

Capt. Haskell who will remit you this letter is to be intrusted with the business. It is needless to recommend him as he has made one voyage already in your employ and he now awaits your orders.

N.B. I have found it very difficult to find a suitable vessel.

Captain Batchelder finally found two vessels in Beverly, one of them the *Dove*, which answered his purpose, and for some months Captain Haskell remained in the secret service of the State.

On October 15, 1776, the General Court resolved that a Naval Officer be appointed for each port, to take manifests under oath of all cargoes imported and exported, give bills of health, and sign permissions to go to sea. On November 21, 1776, Warwick Palfrey of Salem was appointed Naval Officer of the port of Salem, which of course included Beverly.

III

The year 1777 opened gloomily for the young Republic. "Food is getting scarce and money scarcer," writes George Williams to Colonel Pickering. The fishing industry, the basis of all exports from New England, was ruined and the sole hope of the seaport towns lay in privateering. The first vessel, owned in Beverly, commissioned in 1777, was the *True American* of 90 tons, carrying 10 four-pound guns and a crew of 70 men. She was owned by Andrew Cabot and on April 29, 1777, John Buffinton of Salem was commissioned commander. It may seem strange that a Beverly merchant should go outside his own town to officer his vessel, but Captain Buffinton and Andrew Cabot had long been associated in the Spanish trade and the captain of a privateer was usually allowed to pick his own officers. Moreover this was not the *True American's* first cruize. She had sailed from Salem the previous year under Captain Daniel Hathorne, later under Captain William Carleton, on petition of Benjamin Goodhue and others, though it is probable that Andrew Cabot held an interest in her from the first. On her first cruize under Captain Hathorne, the *True American* sent in two prizes, the brigantine *Anny* and the *Unity*, but in an attack on an English packet was roughly handled and beaten off with the loss of three men killed and ten wounded. Captain Hathorne was wounded and gave up the vessel to Captain Carleton.

Under Captain Buffinton, the *True American* made her first cruize with Captain Manly, and on her return, with a crew of 25 men sailed as a letter of marque for Bilbao. This port was the Mecca at which, sooner or later, all American privateers cruizing in European waters finally arrived. Captain Lee of the *Hawk*, on his arrival at Salem in the autumn of 1776, reported 18 American privateers in that port when he left. Business relations between the merchants of Massachusetts and Bilbao had been close before the war, and now it was the most convenient port in which to sell their prizes and refit. It was also a place where most owners had an agent from whom money could be obtained on account, and a visit to Bilbao meant a chance for a spree.

The Spaniards did not look with approval on the wild privateersmen as they marched singing through the narrow streets or caroused in the wine shops, but if they did not love the Americans, they liked their money and contented themselves with silent cursing.

The *True American* was consigned to Joseph Gardoqui & Sons, Bilbao, and Captain Buffinton was directed to cruize awhile in the Bay of Biscay and take a prize or two if possible. While in Bilbao the rig of the *True American* was changed from that of a schooner to a brig. The next year the *True American*, still under Captain Buffinton, made another voyage to Bilbao, and on her return passed into other hands.

On April 26, 1777, some of the merchants of Boston, knowing the condition of the State treasury, started a fund to be lent to the State to build and fit out two cruizers to protect the coast, and to this fund Andrew Cabot of Beverly subscribed £1000.

One of the most successful privateers sailing from Beverly during the war was the *Oliver Cromwell*. As first commissioned, she was a brigantine of 162 tons, carrying 16 guns and 120 men. Her owners were George, John and Andrew Cabot, Joseph Lee and others. On her first cruize she was commanded by Captain William Cole and was very successful, sending in eleven prizes. The following extracts from her log show how some of them were taken:

July 30th 1777, Fair, raw, cold, wind rough and sea. Sent our boat aboard the prize. Took out Mr. Dyer and one of the band and sent Mr. French to take command and carry her into Bilbao

A WEST VIEW of the

1. Parrog.ª de Santiago
2. de S.ª Ant.º Abad
3. de S.ª Juan
4. de S.ª Nicolas
5. N S.ª de Begoña
6. S.ª Francisco
7. S.ª Agustin
8. La Comp.ª de Jesus
9. La Encarnacion
10. La Cruz
11. S.ª Mónica
12. La Esperanza

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BILBAO *in* VIZCAYA.

a Merced ..... 17 *La Plaza Mayor* ..... 21. *Bilbao la Vieja* .....

Concepcion ..... 18 *Casa Consistorial* ..... 22. *Paso R^l del Fierro* .....

Vi^en de Abando ..... 19 *Portal de Zamudio*

Hospital ..... 20 *El Prado del Arenal*..

ian at ye Golden Spectacles fronting the Royal Exchange London 1766

ciety of Massachusetts
Thorndike Howe M.D.

July 31st Fair, pleasant weather. At ½ past 3, A.M. saw the sail again and gave chase. At 4 gave her a gun and brought her to. She was a small sloop called the Three Sisters, about 60 tons loaded with butter and sheep guts. Sent her into Bilboa.

Aug. 2nd, Fair, light breeze and smooth sea. Early A.M. saw a sail and judged her to be Capt. Lee of Marblehead, privateer brig,[1] fired two guns to leeward in token of friendship. At 10 sent a small boat on board to bring him on board to dinner. He came on board us accordingly and informs us he has taken nine prizes, some of which were retaken, and some in ballast which he gave up to his prisoners and four he had sent home, laden with bale goods and provisions. Agreed to keep us company and cruise in concert several days.

Aug. 6th at 3 P.M. saw two brigs. Everything being prepared for battle we advanced. One of them began to fire but we took no notice until near when we gave her two broadsides. Finally she struck. We then bore up for the other brig and kept up an incessant fire for three glasses. She returned our fire for some time and then wore off. The other during engagement kept up a fire on us with her bow chasers. Now we began to think of the man of war which had been in chase of us all day, then we judged it best to give up the assault for the night. The engagement lasted three glasses in which Capt. Cole and all the officers behaved with great courage. The first Lieutenant was wounded in both thighs, one or two other men slightly wounded, none killed. Our brig received several shots in the hull and rigging.

The next year, 1778, Thomas Simmons of Salem was commissioned commander and she continued to send in prizes. While under Captain Simmons her rig was changed to that of a ship. On August 11, 1779, James Barr was commissioned commander and still she was successful. On her return to Salem September 30, 1780, however, she came in minus her main and mizzen mast which she had lost in a severe hurricane, and on January 15, 1781, her agent, Edward Allen, advertises the *Oliver Cromwell* for sale, "Stores, guns and provisions." She was purchased by J. & A. Cabot, William Bartlett, Nathan Leach and others of Beverly, refitted and placed

[1] The privateer schooner *Hawk* of Marblehead. On her arrival at Bilbao she was complained of as an illegal privateer. The prime minister of Spain, the Marquis of Grimaldi, decided that the *Hawk* was within her rights and ordered that American vessels, privateer or merchant, should be treated like any neutrals.

under the command of John Bray of Marblehead. On the back of the petition for Captain Bray's commission at the State Archives is written: "John Bray, Commander of the within named ship is 41 years of age, 5 feet, 8 inches in stature, and dark complexioned. Thomas Brown, 1st Lieutenant, 34 years of age, 5 feet, 2 inches in stature and dark complexioned." Under Captain Bray the wonderful luck of the *Oliver Cromwell* no longer continued, and in August, 1781, while "dogging" the Quebec fleet she was taken by an English frigate and carried into Newfoundland.

On petition of George Cabot and others, July 5, 1777, Benjamin Warren was commissioned commander of the brigantine *Hampden* of 120 tons, 14 four-pound guns and 120 men. She was largely owned in Salem and was fairly successful.

The last privateer commissioned from Beverly in 1777 was the schooner *Scorpion* of 50 tons, carrying 14 swivel and 2 carriage guns and a crew of 40 men. On petition of Joseph White and Miles Greenwood, Israel Thorndike was commissioned commander. The *Scorpion* was owned by Josiah Batchelder, Jr., Israel Thorndike and others, and was later commanded by Benjamin Niles, Perry Howland, and Benjamin Ives.

The year 1777 had been a fairly good one for the owners of Beverly privateers and those having money were prepared to make further ventures. The private armed vessels in 1776–1777 were necessarily merchant craft, by no means fitted for the business in which they were engaged, but as these were either taken or discarded, a larger and faster type took their place. The first Beverly privateer commissioned in 1778 was the *Terrible Creature*, owned by George and Andrew Cabot and others. She was a heavily armed vessel of unknown tonnage, carrying 16 six-pounders and a crew of 100 men. She was not a new vessel and had probably sailed under another name. Some say she was the *Oliver Cromwell* rechristened, but this does not seem possible. Her first commission does not appear in the State Archives, but we know from other sources that she made at least one voyage to Bilbao before March 9, 1778, the date of her commission at the State House. Nathaniel West of Salem was at Bilbao when the *Terrible Creature* touched there and returned on her as a passenger to Salem. On April 4, 1778, forty-two of the officers and crew signed the following order: "The undersigned,

going on a cruize against the enemies of their State in the privateer *Terrible Creature*, Robert Richardson, Commander, do hereby appoint Simon Forrester and Isaac White jointly and severally our Agents." The names of the 43 are given, and the only ones indicating a Beverly origin are John Picket, Charles Corning, Isaac Trask and William Homans. As the crew numbered 100 men, however, it is probable that those from Beverly preferred an agent in their own town. On her second cruize, March 9, 1778, the commander of the *Terrible Creature* was Robert Richardson of Beverly. On her third cruize under Captain West she was fortunate enough to strike a fleet of English merchant vessels soon after leaving Salem and took so many that she was obliged to return immediately to Salem to ship new men.

On April 20th of the same year a still more formidable vessel, but with a more pacific name, was put in commission by Beverly owners. This was the brigantine *Franklin* of 200 tons, carrying 18 six-pounders, and a crew of 100 men. She was owned by J. & A. Cabot of Beverly and Bartholomew Putnam of Salem. Her first captain was Thomas Connolly, followed the same autumn by John Leach, with Jacob Oliver, a Beverly man, as lieutenant. Captain Leach sailed from Salem November 4th and on the 17th took a snow with 300 quintals of fish. Four days later he engaged a brig mounting 16 guns, from England for Antigua, laden with dry goods, and captured her after a few broadsides. On the 25th he took another brig, and during the cruize sent in several other prizes.

In 1779 the *Franklin* was commanded by the famous Joseph Robinson of Salem, and while under his command her rig was changed from that of a brigantine to a ship. Under Captain Robinson, the *Franklin* cruized with varying success in the West Indies, and when, on March 24, 1780, he was promoted to the *Pilgrim*, John Turner of Marblehead took his place. The next year Allen Hallet of Boston, a man who held more public and private naval positions during the war than any other mariner in Massachusetts, was commissioned commander. On the back of Allen Hallet's petition is indorsed, "John Allen Hallet, master of the within ship, is 37 years of age, 6 feet, 6 inches tall and of dark complexion. Silas Devol, 1st Lieutenant, is 6 feet tall, 40 years of age and dark." On December 24, 1781, Captain Hallet for some reason left the *Franklin*, and Silas

Devol took his place. In 1782, the *Franklin,* Captain Devol, cruizing in the West Indies, joined with several Beverly and Salem vessels in an expedition against Tortola. The vessels associated with the *Franklin* were the *Porus,* Captain Carnes; the *Junius Brutus,* Captain Brooks; the *Pilgrim,* Captain Robinson; the *Mohock,* Captain Smith; and the *Fair American.* It was intended to surprise Tortola, but the inhabitants were forewarned and the expedition was a failure. The only prize was the former Salem privateer, *Maccaroni,* which had recently been captured by an English vessel. A little later the *Franklin* was taken by the English frigates, *Amphitrite* and *Assurance.*

Although large and heavily armed vessels were necessary to encounter and capture the equally heavily armed English letter of marque ships, there was also a profitable field for vessels of small tonnage and light armament. Probably more than half the prizes taken by our American privateers were recaptured by the English, a small prize crew put aboard and the vessel ordered to some English port. These vessels and the lighter armed British merchant vessels could be taken by a privateer of very slight force. Such a privateer was the little sloop *Fly,* owned by Benjamin Lovett[1] and Andrew Cabot of Beverly. She was only 50 tons burthen, armed with 4 carriage and 8 swivel guns, and carrying a crew of 40 men. August 29th, 1778, John Marsh was commissioned commander with Ezra Ober as 1st lieutenant, both Beverly men.

Another vessel of this class at one time owned in Beverly, though no record of it appears in the State Archives, was the schooner *Centipede.* For three years at least, perhaps longer, she sent in prize after prize and, run as she was at small expense, must have been immensely profitable to her owners. She was 45 tons burthen, carrying 16 swivel guns and 35 men. Her first commission was issued December 23, 1777, when on petition of Elias H. Derby, Joseph White and Miles Greenwood, William Langdon of Salem was commissioned as captain and the vessel called *Cent. Peid.* In her bond, however, given some days before, she is called *Santape.* On May 14, 1778, she libelled the prize schooner Betty under the name of *Centi Pea.* She was commissioned again in 1778 and this

[1] Benjamin Lovett (1756–1804), son of Benjamin and Hannah (Kilham) Lovett.

time she was called *Cent. Pede,* changed on her bond to *Cent Pea,* and on her libel against the schooner *Bickford* to *Saint te Pee.* August 12, 1779, Joseph Pratt was commissioned commander of the armed cruizer *Centipie* and August 12, 1779, Gideon Henfield libels several prizes sent in by schooner *Centipede.*[1] In 1778 this vessel of many names was owned by Josiah Batchelder of Beverly, Livermore Whittredge being agent.

Some time in the autumn of 1777 a number of Beverly and Salem gentlemen gave an order to William Swett of Salisbury to build them a ship intended to be the largest, fastest, and most heavily armed privateer ever launched from our Massachusetts ship yards. The name given her was the *Black Prince,* a rather unusual choice at a time when most American privateers were named after famous republicans, local or Roman, and one that rabid patriots must have cavilled at. She was ship rigged, measured 220 tons, carried 18 guns and a crew of 130 men and was commissioned June 17, 1778, with Elias Smith of Beverly as commander. No other privateer sailed from Salem during the war in which so many Beverly men were interested. George Cabot, J. & A. Cabot, Moses Brown, Israel Thorndike, Larkin Thorndike,[2] John Lovett, Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and Benjamin Lovett all held shares. Under Captain Smith she was fairly successful, sending in a number of prizes, but on October 19, 1778, Captain Smith was succeeded by Nathaniel West of Salem, and from that time, though not through any fault of her captain, her luck changed.

On June 30, 1779, the *Black Prince,* Captain West, had just returned from a long and unsuccessful voyage and was preparing in Salem harbor for a raid on the Quebec fleet, due the following month. The State, about to engage in the Penobscot expedition, sent George Williams and Jonathan Peele to Salem with a request, almost a command, that the *Black Prince* join the fleet they were forming. The owners, against their better judgment, yielded and June 19, 1778, the *Black Prince,* Captain West, joined the fleet at Boothbay

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[1] From December 25, 1777, to April 29, 1780, she bore the following names: *Cent Pied, Santape, Cent. Pede, Cent. Pea, Cent. a Pede, Santipe, Sentipe, Cent. Peid, Centipede, Centi Pea, Saint te Pie, Centipie.*

[2] Larkin Thorndike (1730–1786) was captain of the minute-men who marched to Concord in 1775.

and took part in the unfortunate expedition. The *Black Prince* shared the fate of the other American privateers, but her crew escaped to shore. The *Black Prince* was insured by the State to the amount of £100,000 and after some years' delay her owners were paid, principal and interest. John Lovett received £272, George Cabot £224, Benjamin Lovett £464, the other Beverly owners received compensation in another way.

Two privateers in which Beverly gentlemen were largely interested, the *Black Prince* and the *Defence*, were in the unfortunate Penobscot expedition. The latter, a brig of 170 tons, armed with 16 six-pounders and carrying a crew of 100 men, was owned by Andrew Cabot and Moses Brown and commanded by Captain John Edmonds of Beverly. Both were run on shore and destroyed when the British fleet entered Penobscot harbor. Some of the Beverly merchants obtained or tried to obtain advances from the State prior to the general settlement, and on September 22, 1782, Larkin Thorndike of Beverly, "Part owner of the *Black Prince* and *Defence*, having met with misfortunes at sea which has reduced him of almost his whole trading stock exclusive of what he has loaned to the Government, having bought the forfeited estate of John Landell Borland, Esq. begs that you will loan him part of the money due from the State, which is 600 pounds, lawful money." The estate bought by Larkin Thorndike was a tract of land situated in Danvers, Topsfield and Middleton, and the State allowed him £400. Andrew Cabot tried much the same plan. The State owed for the *Defence* £105,000. Mr. Cabot bought from the State the forfeited real estate of Lieutenant-Governor Oliver at Lechmere's Point, Cambridge, and gave his note for the same. When the note came due he offered to give the State credit for the £94,000 he had paid for the property on the sum due him for the *Defence*, but the State refused. He finally received £4245 for his half of the *Defence*. September 20, 1779, Brown and Thorndike petitioned the Council:

To the Honorable, the Council of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

Whereas your petitioners, part owners of the armed ship *Black Prince* and armed brigantine *Defence*, did agree to fit out said ship and brigantine for the expedition against Penobscot and had the misfortune to have them destroyed while in the service of the State, which misfortune has deprived them of by far the greatest part of their interest and

renders them unable to carry on their business in navigation unless their contract with the Board of War be carried out. Therefore, your petitioners pray that they be furnished with 32 six pound cannon belonging to the State to enable them to cruise against the enemies of the United States.

Of all the privateers sailing from Beverly during the war, the *Pilgrim* was the most famous and probably the most successful. She was very fortunate in her commanders and is said to have been built for her owner, Mr. Cabot,[1] at Newburyport under supervision of her first captain, Hugh Hill. She was ship rigged, measured 200 tons and carried 16 nine-pounders and a crew of 140 men. On September 12, 1778, Hugh Hill of Beverly was commissioned commander. Hugh Hill, the man chosen to command the finest privateer sailing from Beverly, was the beau ideal of a privateer captain.[2] Born at Carrickfergus, Ireland, in 1741 he had come to this country when a young man, settling in Marblehead. He was of good family, a cousin of Andrew Jackson, the future president of the United States, and an enthusiast in the cause of American liberty. Of immense size, muscular beyond the common, courageous almost to rashness, courteous to the fair sex and not burdened with scruples, he had all the characteristics which might have made him a famous captain in the days of Drake. The story is told of him that on one occasion while at L'Orient, France, a French gentleman in a cabaret felt himself insulted by some word or action of the reckless privateersman. "I will send my seconds to you in the morning," said the Frenchman. "What is the matter with here and now?" said Hugh Hill, drawing two pistols from his belt and offering one to the Frenchman. There was no duel.

Hugh Hill remained in command of the *Pilgrim* until March 24, 1780, and during that time sent into Beverly as prizes the ships *Francesco di Paula* of 250 tons, the *Anna and Eliza* of 120 tons, the bark *Success* of 120 tons, the brigantine *Neustra Senora de Merced,* of 120 tons, the *Hopewell* of 115 tons, the *Three Brothers* of 130 tons, the *Pallas* of 100 tons, the *Gold Wire* of 130 tons, the snow *Diana*

[1] The *Pilgrim* was owned by John and Andrew Cabot, Joseph Lee, George Cabot, Moses Brown, Samuel Cabot, Francis Cabot, Jonathan Jackson, Joshua Wood, and Stephen Cleveland. Andrew Cabot owned a little less than one-half in 1780. Salem gentlemen owned 16/96ths. (Nathan Dane Papers.)

[2] A portrait of Hugh Hill faces p. 320, above.

of 160 tons, the *Brandywine* and *Lord Sandwich*. These were vessels which reached Beverly; more than double the number were sent into foreign ports, or retaken. One of these prizes, the *Francesco di Paula*, was the cause of long litigation and came near causing international complications with Spain. The case was one, common in war time, of an English-owned ship named *Valenciano*, rechristened *Francesco di Paula* and put under Spanish colors. Joachi di Luca was her nominal and Peter White her real captain. The *Francesco* was condemned in our State courts but the case was appealed to Congress, where the fear of offending Spain kept the case undecided for a long time. Finally the ship was condemned and the cargo returned to its owners.

While in command of the *Pilgrim*, Captain Hill had several sharp encounters with English vessels. March 14, 1779, the *Pilgrim* engaged the letter of marque brig *Success*, Captain Nixon, of 12 guns and 30 men. The *Success* was, of course, no match for the *Pilgrim*, but she put up a stiff fight and did not surrender until most of her officers were killed or wounded. After the battle, Captain Hill cruized on the Irish coast, taking several prizes, and then ran into Sligo Bay and set free all his prisoners. He had taken eight prizes in six weeks.

On March 24, 1780, Captain Hill resigned command of the *Pilgrim* and was succeeded by Joseph Robinson of Salem. Captain Robinson, like Hugh Hill, was a man of imposing presence, a good sailor and a good fighter. Under him the *Pilgrim* was as successful as under her first commander, and up to October 12, 1782, had sent into Beverly twelve prizes besides numerous others sent into France, Spain, and Martinique. One of the prizes sent in in 1782 was the frigate built, copper bottomed ship *Mars* carrying 8 eighteen and 16 nine-pound guns and a crew of 84 men. The *Mars* was taken after a sharp battle lasting three hours in which the English vessel lost her captain and seven others killed and eighteen wounded.

One of the best contested privateer engagements of the war was the encounter between the *Pilgrim* and the English ship *Mary*. On January 5, 1781, when cruizing in the West Indies, Captain Robinson sighted a large ship and gave chase. The *Pilgrim* gained on the stranger, which made no effort either to seek or avoid an encounter. Captain Robinson, uncertain as to her real force, set English colors

and by half-past four was within hailing distance of her starboard quarter. The usual questions were asked and answered, the strange vessel reporting herself as the letter of marque ship *Mary*, Captain Stoward, while the *Pilgrim* gave her name as the *Success*, Captain Robinson, from Barbados. Captain Robinson then set American colors and fired the first broadside. This was immediately answered by the *Mary*, and the two ships lay yard arm to yard arm, exchanging broadsides and plying each other with musketry. Unfortunately for the *Mary*, her captain early in the action received a musket ball in the shoulder; but still keeping his feet he encouraged his crew to renewed exertions, until, struck by a piece of langrage in the head, he fell to the deck mortally wounded. Captain Stoward lived but a few moments, and his last words to the mate bade him keep up the fight. This the mate did until midnight, but while the broadsides of the two vessels were almost equally effective, the musketry fire from the *Pilgrim* was the more accurate and deadly. Finally the *Mary*, with several of her guns dismounted, three feet of water in her hold, five men killed and seventeen wounded, was obliged to surrender. The *Pilgrim* had her spars and rigging much cut up, several shots between wind and water, and could be kept afloat only by constant pumping.

The English account of the engagement, published in Rivington's Royal Gazette, states that the ship *Mary*, Captain Moses Stoward, sailed from Cork November 20 as a letter of marque. She was a vessel of 400 tons, armed with 22 guns and carried a crew of 82 men. December 28 she fell in with a Spanish frigate of 28 guns, and after an engagement of three hours the Spanish vessel sheered off. The *Mary* lost her fore and main topmasts in the action and had not completed repairs when she met the *Pilgrim*. According to the Gazette, Captain Robinson treated his prisoners with great kindness and courtesy, but the English officers and men left aboard the captured vessel were robbed of their watches, money and other personal effects. On their way to port the English prisoners plotted to retake the *Mary* and would have been successful, says the writer, had not the second mate decided to enlist in the American service, and betrayed the plan. As the prisoners on the *Mary* exceeded the prize crew in numbers, the Americans no longer felt safe with the Englishmen aboard, so the prisoners, officers and men, were bundled

into the long boat and set adrift 100 leagues to the westward of Barbados. The boat was provided with mast, spars, sails, compass and provisions and the prisoners reached land in safety. In this encounter the *Pilgrim* had the advantage of the larger crew, though weight of metal and size of ship were against her. The English claimed that the crew of the *Pilgrim* were mostly Scotch and Irish, a statement exaggerated no doubt but with a considerable basis of truth, for the crews of American privateers from 1780 to the end of the war were largely recruited from English deserters and prisoners. The day before the battle the *Pilgrim* took a brig and two days after the ship *Lord Howe*.

On May 30, 1782, this advertisement appeared in a Boston paper: "A part of those fortunate and fast sailing ships, the *Pilgrim* and *Mohock* for sale. Inquire of the printer." It would be interesting to know whether any sale was made, as within three months one was wrecked and the other captured by an English vessel.[1] American papers of October 12, 1782, report that the privateer *Pilgrim*, Captain Robinson, was chased ashore on Cape Cod by the English frigate *Chatham*, "Men, guns and stores saved, but vessel in a dangerous position." On October 23rd, "At Distil House Wharf, Beverly, all the stores lately belonging to that well found ship, the *Pilgrim*, including ten pairs of nine-pound cannon, will be sold at auction." On December 4, 1783, Boston papers advertise: "Ship *Pilgrim*, from Beverly for Ireland, Capt. Hugh Hill. Apply for freight to A. & J. Cabot." It is probable that this was not the original *Pilgrim*, but whether she left her bones in the sand of Cape Cod or was saved for further service she had made a record for Revolutionary privateers and captured some fifty prizes.

IV

The year 1779 was a disastrous one for the merchants of Massachusetts. During that part of the year when privateering was naturally most lucrative their armed vessels were employed by the State in an expedition[2] which afforded neither honor nor profit, and

[1] The Boston Gazette of June 24, 1782, stated that the previous Monday, the prize brig *Neptune* had been taken by "the Privateer Ship *Pilgrim*, Capt. Robinson, of Beverly" (Publications of this Society, xvii. 365 note).

[2] The Penobscot expedition.

its disastrous conclusion left them with little heart for new ventures or means to make them had they wished to. The story of the *Black Prince* and the *Defence*, the only two vessels of the expedition in which Beverly capital was invested, was alluded to in the last section. But two other new commissions were issued to Beverly privateers during the whole year, and these for vessels of trifling force.

On September 1, 1779, on petition of John Dyson in behalf of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and others of Beverly, William Groves was commissioned commander of the sloop *Fish Hawk* of 50 tons carrying 8 guns and 50 men. The *Fish Hawk* made one cruize as a privateer and then under command of Samuel Foster, later of Israel Ober, both of Beverly, sailed as a letter of marque. In the list of officers and crew of the *Fish Hawk* who signed as from Beverly on June 6, 1780, the share of prize money each was entitled to receive was 5 shares for the commander, 2½ shares for the 1st lieutenant, 1 share each to the mariners, and ½ a share to the cabin boy.

How large a proportion of the prize money earned on the voyage of a letter of marque or cruize of a privateer went to each officer and mariner on the vessel, depended on what share went to the owners, and this was by no means uniform. The owners of the privateer *Revenge* took one-quarter of the prize money, the owners of the *Rambler* two-thirds, and there were cases where the division was two-fifths to the owners and three-fifths to the crew. There must, however, have been real equality of division and the apparent difference made up by other factors. The difference could only be adjusted by the payment of higher wages or giving a larger share of prize money to the men of the letter of marque. As a matter of fact, the share of prize money was usually less on a letter of marque than a privateer, and this must have been made up by high wages.[1]

There is considerable doubt whether any wages were paid the crew of a privateer, and whether the cruize was not a coöperative one. At any rate, whatever the proportion taken by the owners the balance was divided, one share to each mariner; 1½ to 2 shares to each petty officer, boatswain, gunner, carpenter, cooper; 2½ to 3 shares to the commander and 2nd and 3rd lieutenant of a privateer or mates of a letter of marque, and the share paid the first mate

[1] Wages on vessels in 1779 are quoted at £ 15 to £ 20 per month for ordinary seamen. While not so stated, this probably means letter of marque vessels.

was usually one-half that paid the captain or commander, which might be 5 as in case of the *Fish Hawk* or 8 as in case of the *Resource*, or any number agreed on before sailing.

These shares were negotiable like certificates of stock and commanded a high or low price according to the reputation of the vessel, the skill of the captain, the season of the year, or the necessities of the seller. The spirit of gambling, always rife in times of war or inflated currency, made them an attractive speculation and they were divided like lottery tickets, as indeed they were, into halves, quarters and eighths and floated on the market. It was necessary for a married or improvident mariner, signing for a cruize on a privateer, to make some provision for his family or creditors, and as this could not be done on advance on his wages he was obliged to sell the whole or a part of his shares. The following is a type of a bill of sale very common in the war: "Beverly 1776, Hiram Brockhorn in consideration of 16 dollars paid in hand and a further consideration of 24 dollars at end of cruize of sloop *Revenge*, Captain Benj. Dean, sells John Waters one-half of his share of prize money and gives order on the Agent." Mr. Waters seems to have dealt quite extensively in this kind of speculation and sometimes paid as high as one hundred dollars for one-quarter of a share. The last cruize of the *Fish Hawk* was made as a privateer under Captain Foster and she was taken while following the Quebec fleet in the summer of 1781.

The only other privateer commissioned from Beverly in 1779 was the little schooner *Adventure* belonging to Larkin Thorndike and Sewell Tuck. She was 45 tons burden, armed with 6 carriage and 8 swivel guns, carried a crew of 35 men and was commanded by Robert Newman. A few months later William James of Beverly was commissioned commander, and she made some fairly successful cruizes. While under command of Captain James, the *Adventure* is accused of having stolen from Mr. Trask of Cape Persue, Nova Scotia, 64 hogsheads of salt and a boat, and complaint to that effect was made to the Massachusetts Council. In his petition, Mr. Trask allows that the salt has been returned but wishes to recover the boat also.

The year 1780 opened under the most depressing conditions. "Our present state with respect to provision," writes Washington,

January 8th, "is the most distressing of any we have experienced since the beginning of the war. For a fortnight past the troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing for want. They have been alternately without bread or meat the whole time, and frequently destitute of both." The inhabitants of the seaport towns of Massachusetts were not so badly off as Washington's starving troops, but from the early months of 1779 until the coming of the French in 1780 the growing scarcity of food excited the liveliest apprehension. On February 29, 1779, George Williams writes to Colonel Pickering:

> In this State on the sea coast the inhabitants will soon have nothing to eat. A biscuit is worth six shillings. No flour to be had. Many merchants have closed. One more such month will destroy all faith in our money. Rum 72 to 96 shillings a gallon. Ordinary broadcloth eleven pounds a yard. Tea 72 shillings a pound. Sugar 40 to 70 pounds a hundred weight. Silk stockings seven pounds. One pocket handkerchief 40 shillings. For a vomit or a purge, one pound. I remember the saying of your good father, "No faith in paper money."

Again on April 6, 1779, he writes: "We are in great distress for want of food. Flour 40 to 50 pounds a hundredweight and none to be had."

George Williams was something of a pessimist, and it is not probable that the people of the seacoast towns suffered so much from hunger as they were inconvenienced by loss of their usual food. Although merchantable cod were hard to obtain, the ocean at their feet still offered inexhaustible supplies of small fish; lobsters and clams could be had for the gathering, and few families were so poor as not to have their own kitchen garden. By 1780 the cost of fitting out a privateer was so great, the chance of getting a prize into port so small, that most merchants preferred to send out their vessels as letters of marque. The firm of J. & A. Cabot, however, made one more venture and fitted out a new privateer, the *Essex*. The *Essex* was a ship of 200 tons, carrying 20 six-pound guns and a crew of 140 men. On May 6, 1780, John Cathcart of Salem was commissioned commander. The *Essex* sent a number of prizes into Beverly, but was taken by the English frigate *Queen Charlotte* June 10, 1781. A letter written by an officer of the *Essex* gives an account of the

remarkable meeting on the high seas of several of Mr. Cabot's vessels and the loss of the *Essex*:

Sailed from Beverly May 22nd 1781. June 6th made out a sail, gave signal and the vessel came alongside. It was the *Pilgrim*, Captain Robinson, and he had taken five prizes from the Jamaica fleet. Capt. Robinson, being the senior, ordered our Captain to cruize with him on the Irish coast. Next day saw a sail and gave chase. Came up with her and it was the *Defence* of Beverly.[1] She kept company with us. Next day chased a brig which we found to be from Barbadoes for Cork, prize to the *Rambler* of Beverly. Next day a sail was discovered and the *Pilgrim* gave chase, we following, and the *Defence* following us. About nine A.M. saw another sail and gave chase and found her too heavy for us. Proved to be the *Queen Charlotte* of 32 guns, and we had to surrender. The *Pilgrim* came up with her chase and found her to be the *Rambler*.

All these vessels were at one time either owned or controlled by Mr. Cabot.

Another vessel in which Mr. Cabot was interested this year was the *Junius Brutus* of Salem. This was a ship of 200 tons, carrying 20 guns and 120 men. On May 23, 1780, on petition of Joshua Ward and Henry Rust, John Leach was commissioned commander. She was afterwards commanded by John Brooks and later by Nathaniel Brookhouse, both of Salem, and while under command of the former had a well contested engagement with the English ship *Experiment*, lasting three glasses. The *Experiment* mounted 18 long sixes and carried the then very valuable cargo of 1500 barrels of flour. The *Experiment* finally surrendered with a loss of two killed and two wounded. The *Junius Brutus* during her privateer life sent 890 tons of prizes into Salem and was captured in the autumn of 1782 and sent in to Newfoundland.

Another privateer said to have been owned in Beverly but whose commission does not appear in the State Archives, was the brig *Eagle* of unknown tonnage and armament. According to her return of officers and crew June 17, 1780, William Groves of Beverly was commander. The *Eagle* was taken by an English vessel July 21,

[1] The *Defence* was a vessel built by Mr. Cabot to take the place of the brigantine *Defence* lost in the Penobscot expedition.

1780. She is said to have been owned by James Lovett and Moses Brown of Beverly.

The brigantine *Active*, 150 tons, 12 guns and 60 men, Nathaniel Swasey commander, owned by Andrew Cabot and others of Beverly, a former letter of marque, sailed this year as a privateer. In 1781 she was commanded by Captain John Patten of Beverly and was captured by an English vessel and carried into Halifax.

The year 1781 opened under brighter auspices. The arrival of the French fleet and army and the influx of gold consequent, served to steady our currency and improve trade. Privateering, however, was becoming every day more hazardous. The English merchant vessels either sailed as heavily armed letters of marque or under convoy of ships of war. The English fleet controlled our coast and made the departure and entrance of our vessels this time of greatest danger. Only five privateers, other than those already mentioned, sailed from Beverly during the year 1781 — the *Scourge, Dolphin, Buccanier, Diana,* and *Mohawk.*

The *Scourge* was a fine new ship of 240 tons, carrying 20 guns and 117 men, owned by Brown and Thorndike of Beverly. On May 24, 1781, Timothy Parker of Norwich, Connecticut, was commissioned commander. She sailed on her first cruize from Portsmouth, where she was probably built, June 14, 1781, her signal being ensign at main top gallant masthead, pennant at mizzen head.[1] Most of her cruizing was done in the West Indies and she sent several prizes into Martinique, and the brig *Neptune* and sloop *Crawford* into Beverly. The *Scourge* was taken by an English vessel April 22, 1782, and sent into Barbados.

The *Dolphin* was a little schooner of 40 tons, 6 guns and 35 men, owned by William Homans and others of Beverly and commanded by Joseph Knowlton.

The schooner *Diana,* commissioned August 20, 1781, was one of the lightest armed privateers that sailed from Beverly during the war. She carried 4 guns and 20 men, was commanded by Richard Lakeman of Ipswich and owned by Joseph Swasey of Salem and several Beverly merchants.

One of the largest, finest and most fortunate privateers sailing from Beverly during the war was J. & A. Cabot's ship *Buccanier* of

[1] Diary of Moses Brown.

350 tons, carrying 18 nine-pounders and a crew of 150 men. The *Buccanier* was a new and fast ship built especially for privateering, and on August 3, 1781, Hoystead Hacker of Providence, Rhode Island, once commander of the Continental sloop *Providence*, was commissioned commander. She made one cruize in the English Channel under Captain Hacker, was coppered at L'Orient and then returned to Beverly. On March 22, 1782, Jesse Fearson of Salem succeeded Captain Hacker, and the *Buccanier* returned to her old cruizing ground where, in company with the *Cicero* and *Revolution*, she remained until the end of the war. The *Buccanier* sent many prizes into France and a few to the home ports, and arrived back in Beverly in the month of June, 1783.

November 8, 1781, on petition of William Leach, William Bartlett and others of Beverly, Elias Smith was commissioned commander of the ship *Mohawk*. This was a new vessel built especially for cruizing and carried 20 six-pounders, and a crew of 130 men. On her first cruize she sent three prizes into Martinique and one, the ship *Daniel*, formerly the *Salem Packet*, into Beverly. John Carnes of Beverly succeeded Captain Smith September 6, 1782, and when fourteen days out was taken by the English ship *Enterprise* and sent into New York.

The year 1782, though offering bright prospects for American patriots, brought little comfort to the owners of American privateers. The surrender of Cornwallis meant ultimate triumph, but general bankruptcy seemed still more imminent. Privateering had turned out badly and many merchants had had the same experience as George Williams, who writes to Colonel Pickering: "I have lost two ships and a brig at St. Eustasia by that old Rodney and now I am reduced to a brig."[1] Beverly had fared better than some of the seaport towns, and in the month of October, 1781, had owned the following vessels, as given in the Nathan Dane Papers:

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[1] The Island of St. Eustatius was the great neutral port of the West Indies. When taken by Lord Rodney it was crowded with French, English, and American vessels and the booty was immense. It was captured before the governor had received news of war between England and Holland and he made no resistance, though 600 American seamen, crews of privateers and letters of marque in port, offered their services in defence of the city.

Pilgrim	140 tons
Buccanier	180 tons
Mohawk	170 tons
Revolution	270 tons
Cicero	250 tons
Rambler	165 tons
Scourge	120 tons
Swift	40 tons
Lyon	300 tons
Chance	85 tons
Two Friends	85 tons
Two sloops	30 tons
Hulks	620 tons
	2455 tons

The tonnage of the vessels in this list is much underestimated and was probably meant for the assessors.

It is probable that the *Revolution* was commissioned in 1781, but the first record of her commission in the State Archives is on March 6, 1782, when, on petition of John and Andrew Cabot, Stephen Webb was commissioned commander. The *Revolution* carried the heaviest armament of any privateer sailing from Beverly during the war. She was a ship of 330 tons armed with 20 nine-pound guns and carried a crew of 130 men. Immediately after his appointment Captain Webb sailed for France, had his vessel coppered at L'Orient and cruized in the English Channel until the close of the war. The *Revolution* sent many prizes into France and returned to Beverly after peace was declared. At a later period she was the cause of the severance of the friendly relations between the house of Cabot and the firm of Joseph Gardoqui & Sons of Bilbao, Spain. In 1785 some member of the firm of J. & A. Cabot writes to Joseph Gardoqui:

> Our house have now lying at Boston a ship of the most exquisite workmanship, beautiful beyond description, substantial, strong and free from defects. She is about 400 tons and cost upwards of 6000 guineas. She was built in 1782, and is well calculated for a packet or the West India trade. We are anxious to sell the vessel or put her into some channel where she, with her cargo, might be commissioned to our friends in Europe.

After much correspondence Gardoqui bought half of the *Revolution* for 1100 guineas on the understanding that she should be loaded on their joint account and sent to Europe. The *Revolution*, however,

while fitted for a privateer, carried too little cargo to be profitable as a merchant vessel, and Gardoqui & Sons insisted that they had been imposed upon and resented it.

The *Shaker* has the distinction of being the only galley sailing from Beverly during the war, and one of the very few owned in the State. Like the galleys of the Mediterranean, these vessels spread a large amount of canvas and only used their sweeps in a calm or when going to windward. The *Shaker* measured 50 tons, and carried 6 four-pounders and a crew of 40 men. May 8, 1782, on petition of J. & A. Cabot, Samuel Stacy of Newburyport was commissioned commander. The next year Brown and Thorndike owned the *Shaker* and James Lovett[1] of Beverly commanded her. The *Shaker* sent several prizes into Beverly and was sold at auction after the war.

During the war cases of the recapture of the prize vessel by her imprisoned crew were quite common, but for a captured crew to retake their own vessel and seize that of their captors is almost unique. Such, however, was the good fortune of the little brigantine *Hope*, owned and commanded by Herbert Woodberry of Beverly.[2] Although brigantine rigged, the *Hope* was only 60 tons burthen, carrying 6 guns and 35 men. September 25, 1782, while cruizing on the coast of Newfoundland, the *Hope*, Captain Woodberry, was taken by the *Prince Edward*, a large Nova Scotia privateer, a prize crew put aboard the *Hope*, and Captain Woodberry and his crew confined on the *Prince Edward*. After the action the two vessels ran into a small harbor in Labrador, called Chateau, to refit, and while lying there Captain Woodberry and his men arranged a plan to rise on their captors, some sixty in number, and seize the vessel. All their plans were completed and the watchword "Liberty" given out, but the morning of the day chosen Captain Simmond of the *Prince Edward* decided to go on shore fishing and nothing would do but that Captain Woodberry must accompany him. After some excuses, afraid of exciting suspicion, Captain Woodberry consented and the two captains were rowed ashore. The plan still held, however, and during their absence the crew of the *Hope* suddenly rushed on the unsuspecting Englishmen, disarmed them, seized the *Prince Edward* and retook

[1] James Lovett (1749–1789), son of Benjamin and Eleonora (Cleaves) Lovett.

[2] Herbert Woodberry (1745–1809), son of Jacob and Abigail (Thorndike) Woodberry.

the *Hope*. When Captain Simmonds returned from his fishing trip he found himself on a hostile vessel and was obliged to surrender to his late prisoner. There were too many prisoners to risk taking them on the two vessels, so they were all set at liberty. The prize brig *Prince Edward* of 160 tons, armed with 16 four-pounders, and the little *Hope* reached Beverly in safety and the former was sold at auction. She proved to be the privateer *Wilkes*, late of Gloucester, which had been taken by the English and renamed *Prince Edward*.

That same summer the *Hope* was party to a less creditable action, the attack on the town of Lunenburg. There had been a number of cases where our privateers had plundered the defenceless people of Nova Scotia, but in almost every case brought to their attention the General Court had given redress.[1] The attack on Lunenburg occurred, however, at a time when public opinion was running high against the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, some of whom were claimed to have acted as spies while trading with Massachusetts. Lunenburg was a small town in Nova Scotia containing four or five hundred inhabitants, defended by two blockhouses garrisoned by a few regular troops. Five small privateers, the brigantine *Hope*, Captain Woodberry, the schooner *Dolphin*, Captain Knowlton, both of Beverly, the schooner *Scammell*, Captain Stoddard, the schooner *Hero*, Captain Babcock, and the *Swallow*, Captain Tibbets, joined forces and raided the town. Ninety-two men from the privateers, under Lieutenant Bateman, landed at four in the morning about three miles from the town and marched undiscovered until they came to the first blockhouse which was garrisoned by a few soldiers and armed with an 18 pound cannon. The Americans had brought no artillery with

[1] Complaints against John Leach, commander of the schooner *Dolphin*, that he took 30 pounds of rice and 45 quarts of brandy from some Nova Scotians. (Massachusetts Archives, ccxxvii. 210.) On January 20, 1780, the General Court passed this resolve:

"Whereas it appears to the court that several small privateers have committed many robberies above high water mark on the inhabitants of Nova Scotia. Therefore resolved that this court do highly disapprove the conduct of any persons belonging to and commissioned from the State in the business of privateering and also resolved that when any commission shall be given out in future to small armed vessels they give good and sufficient bonds for the purpose of preventing such evils again taking place."

It is perhaps not strange that ignorant men did not appreciate the difference between robberies above and below high water mark.

them, but they succeeded in setting the blockhouse on fire and the garrison surrendered. One blockhouse still remained, but by this time the *Hero* had run into the harbor and a few well directed shots from her 4-pound guns ended all resistance.[1] "The Americans now," says an English account of the affair, "fell to plundering with a pleasing and natural vivacity." The grocery stores were emptied of their contents and barrels of beef and pork, sugar and rum rolled down to the wharves. The shelves of the clothing stores were thoroughly rifled and when everything of value had been looted and the house of the commander burned, the town was ransomed for one thousand pounds. Goods to the amount of 8,000 pounds were brought away and libelled in the prize court at Boston. "On the side of the brave sons of liberty," says a Boston paper, "three men were wounded, on the side of the abettors of despotism and oppression, one man was killed." In retaliation for this attack the *Chatham* and two other English men of war were ordered to cruize on the bank and burn every American vessel taken, fishing vessels included, though these had previously been unmolested.

The last and also the smallest privateer commissioned from Beverly during the war was the schooner *Hopewell*, of 25 tons, carrying 10 swivels and 40 men. She was owned by William Homans of Beverly and commanded July 26, 1782, by Cornelius Dunham, later by Martin Brewster. On March 26, 1783, the official recall of privateers was made by the State of Massachusetts.

V

During the Revolutionary War commerce between the United States and neutral nations and their colonies, though carried on under great difficulties, by no means ceased. Practically there was a perpetual embargo on all vessels in American ports, except those engaged in fishing, but permission to sail with specified articles of export was usually granted in Massachusetts on petition to the Council. The exports from Massachusetts during the war were limited to lumber in its various forms, dry and pickled fish, and small amounts of New England rum. Provisions of all kinds were

[1] Schooner *Hero*, 26 tons, 9 guns (short guns) and 20 men. May 27, 1782, George W. Babcock, commander. This is the only case noted by me where short guns (carronades) were used on a privateer.

too much needed for home consumption to be used for export and even dried fish was often scarce. The Council therefore vacillated between the fear of high prices and destitution at home, and the necessity of allowing some articles of export in order to obtain supplies of another character. Under these conditions commerce was carried on by a system of frauds, to be explained later, which however was understood and winked at by the government.

Prior to the time when France became an ally of the United States numerous vessels laden with war materials and supplies reached this country from that nation, but this was political rather than mercantile trade, and was accomplished by means of fraudulent papers.[1] French vessels cleared for the West Indies, and when near the American coast ran into some convenient port and discharged cargo. Commerce by Massachusetts vessels was carried on in three ways: first, by unarmed merchant vessels, mostly coasting voyages; second, by the State in State vessels, or ships chartered for that purpose; third, by means of armed vessels provided with letters of marque. The first method was carried on by small sloops and schooners and included a curious trade with Nova Scotia. The second was not an economic success, but enabled the State to obtain articles of which it had great need. The third, that by letters of marque, did the bulk of the commerce.

Trade by unarmed vessels consisted of coasting voyages to South Carolina for rice, or Maryland for flour, and was, of course, carried on in American vessels. The trade with Nova Scotia, on the other hand, was carried on by small craft belonging to that province. The towns of Barrington and Yarmouth were largely settled by people from Essex and Barnstable counties, in Massachusetts, and their trade and interest were chiefly with the Bay State.[2] When war came they were shut off from trade with Halifax by the American privateers, and, neglected by the English, had no market for their

[1] "A number of Frenchmen at Nantes have united to build six brigantines carrying from ten to eighteen guns, three of which are ready for sailing, the best calculated vessels for the American purpose I ever saw. I am confident they will sail fast and they are as sharp as a wedge. They will clear for the French West Indies." (Auckland Manuscripts.)

[2] E. D. Poole's Annals of Yarmouth and Barrington (Nova Scotia) in the Revolutionary War (1899) contains a very interesting account of these Nova Scotians during the war.

fish and potatoes except New England. They made some attempts to be declared neutral, but these failed and they remained throughout the war ignored by the English and suspected by the Americans.

Out of these peculiar conditions arose a limited trade, illegitimate in its nature but winked at by the government of Massachusetts so long as it suited their purpose. This trade was carried on under two pretexts, the first, based on the fact that so many inhabitants of Yarmouth and Barrington came from Massachusetts and had relations in the States, and the second, on the relief and transportation of escaped and parolled prisoners. For example, May 14, 1777, Daniel Corning petitions the General Court that he may be permitted to remove his family from Yarmouth to Beverly, and also sell 200 quintals of fish which he had brought with him. This petition was accompanied by a letter from Josiah Batchelder, Jr., of Beverly, stating that Corning was a former resident of that town, who had emigrated to Nova Scotia before the war, and was a worthy person. Mr. Corning made a number of these voyages and as late as August 30, 1780, petitions for leave to sell 150 quintals of fish and carry back to Nova Scotia a certain amount of flour, rum and sugar. Incidentally, he states that he has not yet found time to transport his family. This petition is the type of many others, all based on the fiction that the petitioner wishes to remove his family from one country to another.

Another frequent visitor to Beverly was Thomas Flint of Yarmouth, who varies the formula somewhat. He writes the Council that he has arrived at Beverly in his schooner *Hannah*, bringing a number of escaped prisoners, ten hogsheads of salt and a quantity of dried fish, and asks permission to sell his cargo and invest the proceeds in supplies that he may be able to continue the good work and later bring his family to Beverly. The real object of these petitions, of course, was the trade and no removal of families took place, but Massachusetts merchants needed dried fish and salt and were glad to sell the sugar from their prizes and the fiery rum from their distilleries, and so the trade went on.

The State trade had one advantage, that against it no embargo held. If sulphur or saltpetre was needed for powder, blankets for the troops or rice and flour for rations, it had only to dispatch one of its own vessels and, barring the accidents of war and sea, the

material was secured. The voyage of the sloop *Republic*, one of the State vessels, is chronicled in the State Archives. The *Republic*, under charge of Allen Hallet, afterwards commander of the privateer *Franklin*, sailed from Boston for Port Royal in the autumn of 1777, with a cargo consisting of 35 hogsheads of fish, 25 tierces of salmon, ten barrels of pork, an unstated amount of pickled mackerel, 56,000 shingles and 500 hoops, all consigned to Allen Hallet for sale. The *Republic* reached Port Royal in safety although pursued by an English cruizer, and on November 25, 1777, Allen Hallet writes to the Naval Board: "The fish being old and not well packed turned out so bad that I had to make an allowance of four livres. The salmon was exceedingly good, but are extremely unsalable here. The mackerel were spoiled and I was glad to get them out of the ship. Many of the boards were thrown overboard when we were chased on the voyage. The ox bows and yokes are little used by the French. After ballasting the vessel with rum and molasses I have employed the rest of the money in coffee." The *Republic* reached Boston on her return voyage with a cargo consisting of 88 hogsheads and two tierces of molasses, 114 puncheons of rum, 38 barrels of coffee and three pieces of sheeting. This voyage shows quite clearly the lack of efficiency in public as compared with private ventures.

On March 22, 1778, George Williams writes to Colonel Pickering: "State expects a brig from France with clothing, another brig in about two weeks, also two large ships bringing salt and blankets. One brig gone to Bilbao for salt and cordage and a brig and a ship to Carolina and France." Besides the State vessels many ships were chartered or bought from private owners, one at least from Beverly. On February 21st Nathan Leach of Beverly sells his ship *Content*, Captain William Langdell, to Captain Williams for the State service, to be delivered at Falmouth, and on March 18th receives this acknowledgement: "Received of Capt. William Langdell the ship *Content* which I am to load with masts by order of the Board of War. Signed, Wm. Frost."

Sometimes when pressed for money the State entered into a limited partnership with rich merchants and divided the profits with them. February 25, 1779, the Board of War at Boston writes to Captain Batchelder at Beverly: "The Board being engaged to

import rice and flour for the use of the State, would request you to use your influence among the monied men in Beverly and secure any sum of money they can advance to assist the public." The letter then goes on to say that it will be necessary to find several sloops of 50 to 70 tons to go to Maryland for flour and to Carolina for rice, and the Board will allow one-half of the rice and one-third of the flour brought back in payment. Owners to pay insurance and all other charges.

Commerce, however, carried on by the State and unarmed vessels was inconsiderable, and it was by letter of marque vessels that most of the trading was done. A letter of marque had the advantage over the privateer in that she cleared for some port with a cargo on which, if safely delivered, there was a good profit, and she was also by her letters empowered to take any vessel of the enemy that came in her way. In the early days of the war most of the letter of marque vessels were lightly armed and manned, but after 1780 some heavily armed letter of marque vessels made the voyage an incident and cruizing the real object.

The commercial as well as the privateering history of Beverly is closely connected with the house of Cabot. Prior to the outbreak of the War of the Revolution the firm of John & Andrew Cabot carried on a large trade with Bilbao, Spain, their correspondents, as already stated, being the firm of Gardoqui & Sons. From 1770 to 1775 they employed the sloops *Tryall* and *Sally*, the brigantine *Union* and the ship *Rambler*. The captains in their employ were George Cabot, Benjamin Lovett, Stephen Cleveland, Zachariah Burchmore, and Thomas Simmons. On April 20, 1776, George Cabot writes to Gardoqui & Sons: "The bearer of this, my brother, Mr. Francis Cabot, is upon a plan of spending some four months abroad, and is desirous of being aboard the *Rambler*, Capt. George Cabot, where he may have the pleasure of his brother's society. Please forward him letters of introduction and credit. I shall in a few days set out for Philadelphia where I have resided since these unhappy times commenced." For some reasons, probably of a business and political nature, John and George Cabot both sailed for Europe that same spring. September 7, 1776, the three Cabot brothers were at Bilbao, prepared to return home. It did not seem prudent to risk so many members of the firm in one vessel, so

George Cabot sailed for Newburyport on a vessel commanded by Captain St. Barbe, Francis on the privateer *Hawk*, Captain Lee, and John on his own ship the *Union*, Captain Burchmore. The Cabot boys all arrived safe and on March 27, 1777, Andrew Cabot writes the Council: "The *Hector* has recently arrived from Spain with a cargo of brandy. Your petitioners have furnished said vessel abroad with eight carriage guns and a due proportion of swivels and small arms. She carried these guns on her return trip and might have taken several prizes but for want of proper warrant. Your petitioners therefor request such warrant and a commission for Zachariah Burchmore."

The *Union*, now bearing the more warlike name of *Hector*, of 150 tons, 8 guns and 17 men, was the first letter of marque to sail from Beverly. She was owned by the Cabots and William Bartlett of Beverly.

Another vessel owned by the Cabots at this time was the ship *Rambler*. Although no record of her commission as a letter of marque appears in the State Archives until 1779, there is a petition signed by Andrew Cabot of Beverly and George Dodge of Salem, dated February 18, 1777, asking that the ship *Rambler* be permitted to sail in ballast for Carolina, there take on a cargo of rice and sail for some neutral port in Europe, giving bonds that she will bring back salt, woolens and naval stores and give the State the first chance to purchase. This petition was granted July 18, 1777, and on October 18th Andrew Cabot writes Gardoqui & Sons:

> The *Rambler*, Capt. Simmons, which is owned by George Dodge and myself, and the ship *Sally*, Capt. Buffinton, in which I am also interested and Elias H. Derby's ship, *Three Friends*, are expected to arrive at Bilbao about the same time. The *Three Friends* carries 300 casks of rice for the *Rambler* and the *Rambler* 300 casks for the *Sally*. Capt. Simmons cargo is worth 16 to 18 thousand dollars, Buffinton's 13 thousand dollars. In the former I own one-third, in the latter three-sixteenths.

Insurance at this time was very high and some merchants preferred to spread their risks and insure themselves. At a later date Benjamin Lovett insured the *Rambler* for $15,000 at the low rate of 35 per cent. It is probable that the ship *Rambler* here referred to was the same vessel afterwards commanded by Captain Lovett, but nothing more

is heard of her until September 16, 1779, when on petition of Andrew Cabot and others of Beverly, Benjamin Lovett was commissioned master of the ship *Rambler* of 200 tons, carrying 14 six-pound guns and 50 men.[1] From the date of her commission to the end of the war, Captain Lovett commanded the *Rambler*, and during that time she sailed between Beverly and Bilbao, Spain, with almost the regularity of a packet.

In 1781, the *Defence*, Captain John Edmonds, and the *Rambler*, Captain Lovett, sailed from Beverly for Bilbao. They reached that port, taking several prizes on the way, and after discharging cargo went on a cruize in company and among other prizes sent in to Bilbao two English privateers, the *Snapper*[2] and the *Snake*. About this time Andrew Cabot wrote Gardoqui that he wished him to pick out one or two suitable vessels among the prizes to be used as privateers. Had his letter reached Bilbao in time it is probable that one or both of these vessels would have sailed from Beverly as privateers, but as it was, Gardoqui wrote to Mr. Cabot: "We are exceedingly sorry that the kind order for the purchase of one or two armed vessels had not reached us sooner, as we then would have had the opportunity of appropriating for your use the *Snapper* and the *Snake*, which we imagine would have been the only ones which might have suited your purpose. At present there is only the *Mercury*, and Capt. Lovett does not seem to encourage our taking her on your account." In the same letter Gardoqui states that Captain Lovett talks of going on a cruize in the *Rambler* with Captain Robinson in the *Pilgrim*, and Captain Hill in the *Cicero*. It is probable that he did not carry out his intention, as the *Rambler* arrived at Beverly November 9, 1781. Besides the prizes sent into Bilbao by the *Rambler*, the prize brigantines *Mary* and *Charming Polly* were sent into the home port.

The *Rambler* sailed again from Beverly, March 6, 1782, and Andrew Cabot was evidently in doubt where to send her or what to do with her. In his letter of instruction for the voyage, dated February 12, 1782, Mr. Cabot directs Captain Lovett to proceed

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[1] There was also a brig *Rambler* captured by the English frigate *Harriet Selwyl* in 1779.

[2] The *Snapper*, Capt. Taylor, was a famous letter of marque from Liverpool, and had taken many American vessels.

first to the Havana and leaves his subsequent course to his own discretion. He can go to Cadiz or any European port but he is on no account to return to the United States for one year. If he thinks best he can sell the *Rambler* abroad for $40,000 and invest the money at interest. When he returns home he is to head for Martha's Vineyard and wait there until he can get information of any English cruizers in the bay. Two-thirds of the prizes are to be the property of the *Rambler's* owners. The signal for the *Rambler* and her prizes is to be ensign and pennant at main top gallantmast head, ensign above pennant. What happened to the *Rambler* during the ensuing year does not appear, but on February 13, 1783, she was reported at Virginia with a cargo of sugar from Cuba, and on March 18, 1783, she was advertised to sail for Ireland, Hugh Hill, master. If the *Rambler* commissioned in 1779 was identical with the *Rambler* owned by the Cabots in 1775, then she has the distinction of being one of the very few vessels in active service during the whole war. But at any rate, the *Rambler*, next to the *Cicero*, was the most fortunate and successful of all the letter of marque vessels sailing from Beverly.

There were a number of small vessels owned in Beverly, not all letters of marque, whose names are only learned accidentally and which do not seem to have been included in the list in the Dane Papers. Such a vessel was the *Sally*,[1] a sloop of 48 tons, owned three-quarters by Andrew Cabot and one-quarter by Thomas Bridges. The *Sally* ran regular trips between Beverly and Boston during all the war. From 1779 to 1784 she was commanded by Captain Arnold Martin, a native of Marblehead, and his wages for the five years amounted to £602.

Another vessel sailing from Beverly, of which there is no record in the State Archives, was the schooner *Friendship*, owned by Ebenezer Ellingwood, grandson of Ralph Ellingwood, one of the original settlers of Beverly. The *Friendship* was commanded in 1774 by Eleazer Giles, Mr. Ellingwood's son-in-law, and there is in the Dane Papers the original insurance policy taken on the *Friendship* for a trip to the West Indies in 1774.

It should be said in explanation that considerable insurance was

[1] Mr. Cabot had at one time a ship, a schooner, and a sloop all named *Sally*.

done by private individuals, usually for small sum. Joseph Lee and Henry Thorndike of Beverly and many of the Salem merchants did a little of this business, which was no doubt profitable and certainly exciting. The policy ran as follows:

Know all men that Ebenezer Ellingwood of Beverly, Merchant, as well in his own Name and Names of all and every other person or persons, to whom the Town doth, may or Shall apportion a Part or in all, doth make, Assure and Causeth himself and them and any of them to be insured, lost or not lost, the sum of Two hundred pounds from Beverly to Any and All the ports in the West Indies, and from them to Beverly again, upon the Schooner *Friendship* and Cargo, Stoves, Boats and Appurtances, whereof is Master, Under God, Eleazer Giles. To continue and endure the Voyage Aforesaid and until Said Vessel shall be assured and Moored at Anchor 24 hours in safety in the harbor of Beverly. Insurance at the rate of eight pounds per cent.

SALEM, June 24, 1774.

N. B. It is agreed between the Insured and the Insurer that in case Said Vessel leaves the West Indies on or before Aug. 10 and arrives at Beverly safe then two of the Above 8 per cent is to be Returned. The 10 of Aug. being Inserted before Signing. 100 pounds. Benjamin Pickman for 100 pounds.

Nothing more is heard of the schooner *Friendship* until February 2, 1778, when the New York Gazette and Mercury reports: "Ship *Tom*, Capt. Lee, fell in with the schooner *Friendship*, Capt. Ellingwood, from Salem for Surinam, loaded with fish and lumber. Took her and sent her into Liverpool. The day after, the *Tom* took the privateer schooner *Warren* of Beverly." The ship *Tom* was a Liverpool letter of marque, carrying 22 six-pound guns, commanded by Captain John Lee, and four years later by a kind of retributive justice while on a voyage from St. Lucie, laden with sugar, the *Tom*, still under Captain Lee, was taken by the *Porus*, Captain John Carnes of Beverly. Ebenezer Ellingwood also owned in 1777 one-quarter of the sloop *Beverly*, the other three-quarters being owned by Eleazer Giles, John Hale, and Benjamin Waters.

The only other letter of marque sailing from Beverly in 1777 was the brigantine *Starks*, owned by John and Andrew Cabot. She was a vessel of 120 tons carrying 8 four-pound guns and a crew of 20

men. On December 8, 1777, Richard Quatermass was commissioned captain, who was succeeded on October 16, 1779, by Ezra Ober.

It was during this year, 1777, that the women of Beverly made their famous raid on the storehouses of the Beverly merchants and compelled them, for the time at least, to sell at the prices fixed by the State. The rise of prices which began in 1776 was due not only to depreciation of the currency but also to actual scarcity. There was plenty of rice in Carolina and flour in Maryland, but its distribution was a matter of difficulty. Codfishing, the staple industry of Massachusetts, was confined to the seacoast, or if carried on at the banks was attended with great danger of capture. Coffee, sugar, cocoa and molasses could only be obtained by hazardous voyages to the West Indies or by capture of the enemy's vessels. Under these conditions prices were naturally high and ever rising. January 25, 1777, in accordance with previous conferences and agreements with other New England States, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an act to prevent monopoly and oppression.[1] Farm labor was not to exceed 30 shillings per week in summer; wheat 7 shillings 6 pence a bushel; flour four and a half pence a pound; salt pork in proportion to the amount of salt used in curing; salt 10 shillings, or if made in the State 12 shillings.[2] West India rum, 6 shillings 8 pence a gallon; New England rum 3 shillings 10 pence a gallon; sugar 3 pounds a hundred weight; butter 2 pence a pound; milk 2½ pence a quart; potatoes 1 shilling 4 pence a bushel. Beverly at this time rivalled Salem in the number of its stores and quality of goods displayed, and it was to Beverly that George Williams came September 23, 1777, to purchase shoes, blankets, stockings and yarn for the State, but would not buy on account of high prices. "Went to Beverly again Nov. 3rd," he writes, "and found shoes 24 shillings a pair, blankets 9 pounds and stockings 20 shillings, would not buy." The women of Beverly, however, were not like George Williams content with the refusal to buy but determined to make the merchants of Beverly sell at the fixed prices and, "One cold November morning," says Mr. Stone, "a company of about sixty . . . marched

[1] Cf. Publications of this Society, x. 116–134, xx. 163–190.

[2] The first salt works were established at Dennis, Cape Cod, in 1776. Afterwards several towns went into the business, Gloucester having three. Cf. 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xv. 224.

in regular order down Main and Bartlett streets to the wharves, attended by two ox-carts."[1] With the assistance of some men who followed the procession, the doors of one of the sugar-houses were forced and two hogsheads of sugar rolled out and placed in the cart. At this juncture the Beverly merchants effected a compromise by which a certain amount of sugar should be sold at the fixed price and the incident was closed.

VI

The number of letter of marque vessels sailing from Beverly in 1778 was small, though doubtless there were more than are recorded in the State Archives. The first vessel commissioned was the brigantine *Saratoga*, of 120 tons, 8 guns and 30 men, owned by Andrew Cabot, Joseph Lee and others of Beverly. Her first captain was John Tittle[2] of Beverly, best known for his successful defence against great odds while in command of a Marblehead vessel. In 1782 the ship *Cato*, Captain John Tittle, of 14 guns and 57 men, sailed as a letter of marque from Marblehead for Virginia. On the voyage she was attacked by three privateers, the *Fair American*, *Digby*, and *Prince Edward*, mounting 16, 14 and 8 guns respectively. For two hours the *Cato* fought the three vessels, nearly treble her strength, sometimes at long gunshot, often yard arm to yard arm, while Captain Tittle, now heading a rush to repulse boarders, now threatening to run any man through who flinched from the guns, manœuvered his vessel so skilfully that when night came he eluded his antagonists and escaped in the darkness. "The brave officer who defended the *Cato*," says the Salem Gazette, "has the thanks of her owners and the applause of the public." The *Saratoga* was afterwards commanded by Stephen Webb, Eleazer Giles, and Andrew Thorndike. While under command of Captain Giles the *Saratoga* had an encounter with an English vessel during which the captain lost his leg, the amputation being done by the ship's surgeon, Dr. Elisha Whitney.[3] On November 21, 1781 the brigantine *Saratoga* was reported condemned and sold at Beverly.

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[1] E. M. Stone, History of Beverly (1843), p. 83.

[2] John Tittle (1735–1800).

[3] Elisha Whitney was born at Watertown March 11, 1747; moved to Beverly in 1792; died February 22, 1807.

The first letter of marque commissioned from Beverly in 1779 was the brigantine *Union*, of 120 tons, 6 guns and 20 men. It is possible that this was the letter of marque *Hector* formerly the *Union*, under her old name. William Langdell was commissioned captain January 4, 1779. The petition of Moses Brown, January 23, 1779, reads:

To the Hon. the Council of the State Capital of Mass. Bay.

May it please Your Honors. Your petitioner with others has a letter of marque brigantine, called the *Union*, Capt. William Langdell, owned in Beverly, loaded with lumber and 34 hogshead of fish, chiefly scale fish and the remnant very small burnt cod, by no means fit for the consumption of this country as you will note by a certificate from the packers and vouched for by the Committee of Correspondence of Beverly. Your petitioner therefore prays that Your Honors will grant a permit to have the above mentioned brigantine and cargo cleared for some port in the Western Islands not at war with the United States. Petition granted.

Of the many captains who sailed for the firm of Andrew and John Cabot, Benjamin Lovett of Beverly stood first in length of service and continuity of employment. In 1779 he commanded the *Sebastian*, a name indicative of her ownership and was employed in the Spanish trade. In the autumn of the same year he took command of the *Rambler* and Benjamin Ellingwood, late captain of the schooner *Friendship*, just returned from an English prison, took his place. In 1780 Captain Ellingwood took command of the brigantine *Active*, and Ichabod Groves[1] of Beverly was commissioned master of the *Sebastian*. The *Sebastian* is reported in the papers as lost or taken in 1780. If so, Mr. Cabot must have bought or built another *Sebastian*, as in 1784 the *Sebastian*, Captain Cleveland, returned to Beverly from a voyage to St. Petersburg.

On petition of George Cabot, Joseph Lee and others, John Porter was commissioned master of the brigantine *Experiment*, of 130 tons, 6 guns and 25 men, March 30, 1779. The *Experiment* was bound to the West Indies with a cargo of fish, and Ebenezer Ellingwood and Benjamin Waters make the following arrangement to spread their risks:

[1] Ichabod Groves, born in 1744, was a son of John and Catherine (Leach) Groves.

This indenture witnesses that the Undersigned have exchanged each a quarter of a share of such prizes and effects as shall be taken by certain privateers and private vessels making their present voyages. Viz, the said brigantine *Experiment*, John Porter, Commander, for a quarter of such vessels as shall be taken by the ship *Rambler*, Benj. Lovett, Master, and that he covenants with the said Ebenezer Ellingwood to make all further assurance for such exchange, and the said Ebenezer covenants to do agreeably thereto.

Witness our hand and seals this 10th day of Oct. 1779.

EBENEZER ELLINGWOOD
BENJ. WATERS.

The brigantine *Fortune*, owned by Miles Greenwood of Salem and John Dyson of Beverly, sailed alternately as a letter of marque and privateer, and in both characters she was a fortunate vessel. On her first voyage she was commanded by Francis Bowman of Salem, later by Jesse Fearson of Salem and Benjamin Ives of Beverly. On November 7, 1781, Richard Ober of Beverly was commissioned commander. On the voyage under Captain Ober the *Fortune*, a 100 ton vessel, armed with 7 guns, carried a crew of only 15 men. This seems a very small number, but there was at this time a strong feeling that men shipped on private armed vessels to avoid serving in the Continental army and that letter of marque vessels should restrict themselves to commerce. So strong was the feeling that the attention of the General Court was called to it and a committee appointed which reported as follows:

The Committee of both Houses to whom was referred the Information of the Committee of Correspondence of the town of Salem, that numbers of persons in the County of Essex are fitting out vessels under Pretence of their going on Merchant voyages but really with Intent to make captures on the High Sea, for which purpose they are manning vessels with Many More Men than are necessary to navigate the Same, if bound on a merchant Voyage, by which the good design of the Legislature in laying the present Embargo is subverted.

The committee then went on to report a resolve which allowed crews to letter of marque vessels only in proportion to the tonnage of the vessel, eight men for every 100 tons, including master and mate, and the same proportion for larger vessels. Of course this was out of reason, for why arm a vessel if she could not carry men

enough to man the guns? At a later period the distinction between privateer and letter of marque became one of name merely.

In the summer of 1779, there was a brigantine, of unknown tonnage and armament lying in Beverly harbor, commanded by a well known Beverly captain, Joshua Ellingwood. She was loaded with the usual cargo of fish and lumber and had been held up by the embargo on account of the Penobscot expedition as well as the standing one on provisions. Mark Lafitte of Salem, owner of the cargo, petitioned the Council that the *Mars* be allowed to sail and to the petition was appended this certificate:

BEVERLY, Aug. 9, 1779.

We certify to whom it may concern that the brigantine, *Mars*, Commanded by Capt. Joshua Ellingwood, now Lying in the Harbor of Beverly, is loaded with Alewives, Menhaden, and lumber and that there is no Cod or other dried fish aboard said brigantine, nor other provision more than is necessary for her voyage.

JOSIAH BATCHELDER, Jr.
NATHAN LEACH.

This certificate illustrates a branch of trade that went on all through the war. There was a perpetual embargo on provisions, especially dried cod. But cod was the one export from Massachusetts which always commanded a ready sale. Consequently vessels loaded with dried cod, pickled mackerel, herring and menhaden, and then obtained certificates from the packers, selectmen of the town or committee of correspondence, that there was no cod in the cargo or that the cod were burnt or otherwise unfit for food. It was a fraud, understood by both parties, and to such an extent was it carried on that at one meeting of the Council four petitions from the merchants of the town of Newburyport to export spoiled cod were favorably acted on.

The other letter of marque vessels sailing from Beverly in 1779 were the sloop *Driver*, the snow *Cato* and the schooner *Hawk*, all vessels of which little is known. The *Driver* was commanded by Daniel Adams, later by Robert Haskell, the *Cato* by Eleazer Giles, and the *Hawk* by William Holland.

On October 6, 1779, occurred the adjourned meeting of the Concord Convention, held to take into consideration the prices of merchandize and country produce and make such regulations and restrictions as

the public good might require. There were present from Beverly George Cabot, William Bartlett, Joseph Wood, and Moses Brown. The Convention resolved:

That after the 13th day of October the following articles of merchandise and country produce shall not be sold at a higher price than is hereto fixed to the same.

	Prices on the sea coast	
Indian corn	two pounds, four shillings	per bushel
Wheat	nine pounds	" "
Wheat flour	thirty pounds	" 100 weight
Beef	five shillings	" pound
Geese, fowls	six	" "
Salt pork	sixty pounds	" barrel
New milk	two shillings	" quart
Salt	nine pounds	" bushel
Mackerel	thirty pounds	" barrel
Herring	twenty five pounds	" "

Then followed a long list of articles of less importance to which a maximum was fixed and the Convention further resolved:

Whereas the goods and wares imported from Europe are so various in their kinds as to render it quite impracticable to affix the price by retail, therefor, the average price by retail of all kinds of European wares shall not exceed forty times what they were in 1773. Any person who shall directly or indirectly recall or evade this resolve shall be held an enemy to his country and treated as such, and his name shall be published in one or more of the public newspapers printed in this State. That the buying and selling of gold or requiring it for goods furnished has been one great cause of our present evils.

The Convention also advised each town to appoint a special committee "To carry these resolutions into effect and denounce all those who refuse to sell at the prices fixed and should any do so the Committee are authorized to seize such person's goods, sell them and return to the owner the fixed price." It is hardly to be supposed that such men as represented Beverly in the Convention really believed that any such plan was practicable; they probably agreed with George Williams that the rise in prices was due to the "Dam paper money," but public opinion on the subject was high and something had to be done to satisfy the people. The Resolutions

of the Convention had no legal force and efforts to enforce them were soon abandoned.

The first letter of marque commissioned in 1780 was Andrew Cabot's new brigantine the *Defence*, named after his vessel lost in the Penobscot expedition. She measured 150 tons and carried 16 four-pound guns and a crew of 50 men. March 22, 1780, John Edmonds of Beverly was commissioned captain. Like the *Rambler*, Andrew Cabot employed her in the Spanish trade. She sent a number of prizes into Spain and Beverly, but October 2, 1781, on a voyage from Bilbao for Beverly, she was captured in Boston bay by the English ship *Chatham*.

In the Massachusetts Archives is a list of the officers and crew of the brigantine *Active* on her voyage for Gottenburg. Mr. Cabot, her owner, had for some time looked forward to the Baltic trade which he afterwards engaged in and it would be interesting to know what success the vessel had, for no particulars of the voyage seem to have been preserved. If she reached Gottenburg she was one of the first American vessels to carry our flag into the Baltic.[1] The *Active* afterwards sailed as a privateer, at first under Captain Swasey, later under Captain Patten and while under the latter was taken by an English vessel and carried into Newfoundland.

The ship *Resource* of 175 tons, 16 guns and 30 men, was owned by Thomas Woodberry, Ebenezer Parsons, and Brown & Thorndike. Her first captain, Israel Thorndike, was commissioned June 12, 1780. Captain Thorndike made one voyage in the *Resource* and then turned her over to his mate, Richard Ober.[2] Captain Ober sailed for the West Indies and on the voyage was taken by an English sloop of war and carried into Jamaica.

The brigantine *Fanny*, owned by Livermore Whittredge, William Bartlett and others of Beverly, was probably the last vessel sailing from Beverly during the war which carried a distinctively Beverly crew. The *Fanny*, on a voyage from Beverly for Hispaniola with a cargo of fish, was taken May 28, 1781, by the English brig *Providence* and carried into New York.

There is in the Nathan Dane Papers a rough draught of a protest

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[1] See p. 423 note 1, below.

[2] Richard Ober (1745–1821), son of Richard and Lydia (Chapman) Ober.

against the taxes assessed on the town of Beverly for the year 1780. The paper recites:

> Before the war the trade of Beverly was ⅗ as large as 1780. Before the war there were owned in Beverly 35 schooners and other vessels employed in fishing, manned by 300 men whose earnings were spent in town and carried considerable part of our taxes. In 1780 it paid only ¼ part of our taxes. Citizens of Beverly had taken away from the town money by purchasing estates about Boston. Shipping amounts to 2844 tons manned 7/10 by men from other towns. In 1772 Beverly had 550 polls, in 1780 only 479. There are 190 widows in town, of whom 142 pay no taxes.

Beverly, like the other seaport towns, had been drained of her young men, some by death, more by the prison ships of New York and the jails of Halifax and England. Salem was no better off. September 30, 1780, the ship *Viper* sailed from Salem with a crew consisting of two merchants, 4 ship wrights, 1 joiner, 1 farmer, 1 cooper and 18 foreigners. The crew numbered 36, so that only 9 were mariners and half were foreigners. The ship *D'Estaing* of 150 tons, 10 guns and 25 men, owned by John Dyson and others of Beverly, commanded by Elias Smith,[1] sailed a little later with a crew made up of foreigners.

The brigantine *Freedom* of 90 tons, 7 guns and 15 men, commanded by Benjamin Ober[2] of Beverly, had a crew drawn from Beverly, Georgetown and Eastham with a sprinkling of foreigners.

The last letter of marque commissioned from Beverly in 1780 was the snow *Diana*, of 140 tons, 8 guns and 25 men. She was owned by Larkin Thorndike and others of Beverly, and September 19, 1780, William Herrick of Beverly was commissioned master. In the early part of the year the privateer *Pilgrim* had sent into Beverly the prize snow *Diana*, said to have been used as a gentleman's yacht and very fast, and it is probable that she was bought and fitted out as a letter of marque. Captain Herrick was killed in action off Bermuda in 1780, and the *Diana* was taken by an English vessel in 1781.

The first letter of marque commissioned in 1781 was the brigantine *Swift* of 100 tons, 8 guns and 20 men, owned by William

[1] Elias Smith (1744–1817).

[2] Benjamin Ober (1751–1780) died abroad.

Homans and others of Beverly. January 3, 1781, Asa Woodberry[1] was commissioned master. On June 5, 1781, John Tittle of Beverly was commissioned commander and she sailed as a privateer. On October 20th of the same year Captain Tittle was succeeded by Israel Johnson, and while under his command the *Swift* was captured by the English.

The year 1780 had been a hard one for the merchants of New England, privateering had been unprofitable, food and fuel scarce, and the cost of fitting out vessels almost prohibitive. Few men had the courage or means to risk new ventures in 1781, but the house of Cabot was an exception and they began the year by commissioning two new vessels on the same day, the *Commerce* and the *Cicero*. The story of the *Commerce* was a short one, for she proved as unfortunate as the *Cicero* was fortunate. She was a ship of 200 tons, carrying 6 nine- and 8 four-pound guns, and a crew of 50 men. On January 16, 1781, Stephen Webb of Beverly was commissioned master and on her first voyage, a few days out, she was taken by an English cruiser.

The *Cicero* was a new ship of 200 tons, armed with 10 nine- and 6 four-pound guns and carried a crew of 100 men. Her heavy armament, large crew and the captain chosen to command her, Hugh Hill, showed that despite her letter of marque commission, she was really a disguised privateer. She was commissioned January 16, 1781, and her first voyage was to the West Indies, where she took on a cargo of sugar and cocoa, and sailed for Cadiz, arriving there April 17, 1781. On the voyage she took several prizes and while waiting for her return cargo went on a cruize and was again very successful. One of her prizes, taken June 23rd, was the ship *Mercury*, Captain Dillon, of 16 guns, running as a packet to Cadiz. The *Mercury*, besides a valuable cargo including £15,000 in gold, carried a considerable passenger list, and on their arrival at Cadiz the passengers published a letter speaking in the highest terms of Captain Hill and the treatment they received on board the *Cicero*.

This cruize of the *Cicero* is referred to in John Trumbull's account of his travels in Europe. Mr. Trumbull embarked from Amsterdam for America in the U. S. frigate *Carolina*, Commodore Gillon, and soon after sailing they ran into a violent gale. "Happily for us,"

[1] Asa Woodberry (1749–1830), son of Thomas and Lucy (Herrick) Woodberry.

writes Mr. Trumbull, "Commodore Barney was among us, (he had just escaped from Mill prison in England,)" and he practically took command of the ship.[1] After the gale was over the vessel was found to be short of provisions and headed for Corunna. Here they found the *Cicero* of 20 guns belonging to Mr. Cabot. As the *Cicero* was about to sail for Bilbao several of the passengers on the *Carolina* obtained permission from Captain Hill to make the voyage with him and transferred their luggage to the *Cicero*. Besides John Trumbull, son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, Captain Hill's passengers included Charles Adams, son of John Adams of Massachusetts, Major Jackson, and the celebrated Joshua Barney. The last had been taken from a prison ship in New York harbor and carried with 78 other American officers to England and there confined in Mill Prison. He had escaped from Mill Prison and made his way to Amsterdam, where he took passage on the *Carolina* for America.

On the voyage to Bilbao the *Cicero*, accompanied by the prize *Mercury*, had an unfortunate encounter with a Spanish vessel which she mistook for English in the darkness, and soon after her arrival at Bilbao she was libelled by the owners of the Spanish ship and deprived of rudder and sails. Damages were placed at $7000 and it was only after Gardoqui & Sons, Mr. Cabot's agents, had given bonds to that amount that the *Cicero* was allowed to sail. Captain Hill and his passengers left Bilbao December 10, 1781, and after an uneventful passage of six weeks sighted the Blue Hills of Milton. That night, writes Trumbull, "we found we were close upon the rocks of Cape Ann," and the next morning "we were safe in the port of Beverly, where we found eleven other ships, all larger and finer vessels than the *Cicero* — all belonging to the same owners, the brothers Cabot — laid up for the winter. Yet such are the vicissitudes of war and the elements, that before the close of the year they were all lost by capture or wreck, and the house of Cabot had not a single ship afloat upon the ocean."[2] This statement of Mr. Trumbull demands considerable credulity, for it is extremely doubtful whether eleven vessels larger than the *Cicero* entered Beverly harbor during the war, and while Mr. Cabot in common

[1] Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters (1841), p. 82.
[2] Id. p. 87.

with all owners of armed vessels suffered severe losses in 1782, yet the *Cicero, Revolution,* and *Buccanier* were all profitably cruizing at the end of the year. Mr. Cabot is said to have offered Joshua Barney the command of one of his privateers but he declined.

About this time the hitherto friendly relations between the house of Gardoqui and the house of Cabot became strained, "We have never had to do with such a set of unruly officers as Capt. Hill has aboard," writes Joseph Gardoqui November 29, 1781, "all our reasoning has no effect, they insist on having all their prize money or Leave the Ship." February 3, 1782, Andrew Cabot writes to Gardoqui & Sons that he has reason to be dissatisfied with them and shall send the *Cicero* and *Rambler* to Cadiz and his other privateers to France. The quarrel must have been made up, however, as on September 28, 1782, Gardoqui writes Andrew Cabot: "Give us leave to congratulate you most affectionately on the safe arrival of your ships *Cicero, Buccanier* and *Revolution* at L'Orient. News communicated by Capt. Hill, forwarding us at the same time two bills on Paris for 30,000 and 6,720 livres, endorsed by Capt. Zachariah Gage on account of a vessel he sold at Cape François." The vessel sold was the brig *Chance* and nothing seems to be known about the voyage.

To Agent or Agents. For value received please to pay to Mrs. Esther Langdell the amount of one quarter part of a Single share of all the Prize Money or Goods that my Son, Andrew Gage may be entitled to for Services Against the Enemies of the United States of America on board the Armed ship *Sisaroe,* Capt. Hugh Hill, Commander.

N.B. by said cruise is Meant from the time Said Ship Sailed from the port of Beverly until Said Ship returned.

her
ELIZABETH * GAGE
mark.

Witnesses,
John Harris
Samuel Bowden

This order on the agent of the *Cicero* is a sequel to a sad story indicated in several places in the State Archives. In 1775 Andrew Gage, husband of the writer of the order, was taken prisoner on a Beverly vessel and up to June 22, 1778, was either doing compulsory

service on some British armed vessel or was confined in an English prison. On the date mentioned Mrs. Gage petitioned the Council for permission to sell a piece of land belonging to her husband in order to obtain means to live. When, if ever, Andrew Gage returned to his family we find no record. The Andrew Gage mentioned in the order was her son.

The *Cicero* returned to France and then cruized in the English Channel until the end of the war, arriving back at Beverly May 22, 1783, under Captain Ezra Ober,[1] Captain Hill having stopped in London.

The first letter of marque sailing from Beverly in 1782 was the ship *Spanish Packet* of 200 tons, 10 guns and 20 men. She was owned by James Jeffrey, Francis Cabot and others, and commanded by Thomas Dalling. Very little is known of her.

The ship *Lyon* was the largest letter of marque vessel sailing from Beverly during the war. She was a former English ship, the *George*, prize to the *Ranger*, bought by Mr. Cabot and built over for a mast ship. In 1781 Andrew Cabot wrote to Gardoqui & Sons at Bilbao and Butler & Mathews at Cadiz asking the price at which masts and spars could be sold in Spain and the chance of a market. April 30, 1781, Butler & Mathews advise him that there has been no cargo of masts brought to Spain since the war. A mast 85 feet long and 30 inches in diameter is worth 650 Mexican dollars, while oak brings half a Mexican dollar per cubic foot. It is evident from these letters that Mr. Cabot had for some time had in mind shipping a cargo of masts and spars to Spain, and on March 6, 1782, William Tuck[2] of Beverly was commissioned master of the ship *Lyon* of 400 tons, 26 guns and 80 men. The *Lyon* with her cargo of masts sailed from Beverly May 6, 1782, and was captured the same day by the *Blonde* frigate and her crew transferred to that vessel. The *Blonde* was on her way to Halifax and May 10th was wrecked on Seal Island. Captain Tuck and his men for services rendered on that occasion were set free and Captain Thornbrough of the *Blonde* on his arrival at Halifax published this card in Nova Scotia Gazette:

My warmest thanks are due to Capt. Tuck of the *Blonde* prize, *Lyon*, letter of marque from Beverly, and to all her officers and crew for their

[1] Ezra Ober (1747–1794), son of Richard and Lydia (Chapman) Ober.

[2] William Tuck (1740–1784), son of William and Eliza (Sewall) Tuck.

generous and indefatigable endeavors to keep the ship from sinking. Night and day at the pumps until we got all but one man out of her.

EDWARD THORNBROUGH,
Commander of his Majesty's late ship *Blonde*.

The capture of the *Lyon* by the *Blonde* and the subsequent wreck of the latter had a possible indirect effect on a naval action which occurred shortly after between the privateer *Jack*, Captain Ropes, and the English brig *Observer*, Lieutenant Crymes. In 1781, M. de Barras, the French Admiral, detached two frigates, the *Astrée*, commanded by M. de la Pérouse, and the *Hermione*, commanded by M. le Comte de la Touche, to cruize along the coast of America from New York to Halifax. On July 21st, writes Captain Pérouse to his Admiral:

We saw a fleet 5 leagues to windward. I made signal to *Hermione* to chase and crowded sail. It was seven o'clock before the first gun was fired. I ordered M. de la Touche to follow at half musket shot distance and we advanced along the line of the enemy to leeward in order to cut them off. As we advanced the small squadron of the enemy fell into disorder. The *Vulture* crowded sail to get off, after a combat of ten minutes. Soon after the *Jack* struck her colors. At 8:15 the *Charlestown* having lost her main top mast followed the example of the *Jack*. The other vessels very roughly handled followed her example. The night came on and had every appearance of being very dark. I set my boat aboard the *Jack* and hailed Capt. de Touche to keep the *Charlestown* in sight.

Captain Pérouse then goes on to state that the *Charlestown* escaped in the darkness and the other English vessels were too near shore to be secured.

The English account of the engagement is somewhat different. When sighted by the two French frigates, Captain Henry F. Evans, in command of a small squadron consisting of the *Charlestown*, *Vulture*, *Allegiance*, *Vernon*, *Jack*, and *Thompson*, was convoying a fleet of transports to Great Britain. Although his heaviest armed vessel, the *Charlestown*, mounted only 28 guns, in order to protect his convoy he drew up in line of battle and awaited the attack of the two heavy French frigates. The battle that ensued was soon ended by the darkness and the French vessels were glad to retire,

their only prize being the *Jack*. Which account is correct is of no importance, as both agree that the *Jack* surrendered.

Captain Pérouse returned to Boston with his prize and August 9, 1781, the following advertisement appeared in a Boston paper:

> Will be sold by public vendue at the American Coffee House, the 17th of August the fast sailing ship *Jack* built on the new construction plan, mounting 16 six- and nine-pounders. Everything ready for an immediate cruise. She was captured by H. M. C. M. ships *Astrea* and *Hermione* after being four or five days out and will be sold as she arrived from sea.

In the same paper is an item stating that the *Jack* was formerly owned in Salem and was captured almost a year before while cruizing with the *Charlestown*, formerly the *Boston*, frigate. Another paper, the Boston Gazette of August 6, 1781, calls the *Astrée's* prize, the *Saucy Jack*, formerly owned in Salem. Whether the prize *Jack*, was the late Salem privateer *Jack* of 130 tons, 14 guns and 75 men, commanded by Captain Nathan Brown, on petition of Jonathan Norris, or whether she was some other Salem privateer called the *Saucy Jack*, she was bought by Salem merchants at the auction and once more commissioned as the privateer *Jack*, Captain David Ropes. The *Jack* was commissioned September 6, 1781, and in the month of May of the following year was cruizing near Halifax.

The ship *Blonde*, as has been stated, was wrecked on Seal Island, but Captain Thornbrough and his men, as well as Captain Tuck and his crew, escaped to the shore. The *Blonde* was wrecked May 10, 1782, and on May 12th Captain Daniel Adams of Beverly, while cruizing off Cape Sable in the privateer *Lively*, discovered the party on the Island. Captain Adams immediately sent a boat ashore to see what was required and followed it with this note: "It being ever my disposition to relieve the distressed more particularly those in your situation, I have sent my boat to your assistance and at the same time place my vessel at your service to carry you to the mainland, where you may provide yourself with a vessel to take your ship's company off the Island. Should be glad if you would come aboard and see me." The next day the *Scammell*, Captain Stoddard, joined the *Lively* and the two American captains made an arrangement with Thornbrough by which all those wrecked on the Island

COMBAT

Livré le 21. Juillet 1781. par

Dedié

Ce Combat fut livré à la hauteur de Louisbourg, par deux frégates du Roi, la Astrée de 26 Canons, Commandée par
contre deux Batiments de Guerre Anglois, dont un fut pris. Le Commandant Anglois, après avoir le Bras et
Cuisse droite emporté le Talon droit de 3 pieds de long, sur 3 de hauteur, appartenant au Roi, et faisant partie de la Collection de ce Combat.

Engraved f
from a print

Colonial Society of Massachusetts
Octavius Thorndike Howe M.D.

should be transported to Yarmouth, Cape Pursue, on the *Scammell* and the *Lively*, that Captain Tuck and his men should be free to go to Beverly and Captain Thornbrough and his crew to Halifax, and that each party should supply the other with a safe conduct against cruizers and privateers of their own nation. On his arrival at Yarmouth Captain Thornbrough hired a shallop and sailed for Halifax. News of his disaster had already reached that city and Lieutenant Crymes, Commander of the brig *Observer*, formerly the American privateer *Amsterdam*, Captain James Magee, now in the royal navy, was ordered to cruize towards Cape Sable, and if possible pick up Captain Thornbrough and his men. This the *Observer* did on the 28th of May and while returning to Halifax was sighted by the privateer *Jack*.

It was six o'clock in the afternoon when the *Jack* sighted the *Observer* standing into the land and by nine o'clock the two vessels were along side. Under ordinary conditions the two vessels were very closely matched, the *Observer* carrying 16 six-pound guns and a crew of 73 men and the *Jack* 6 nine- and 9 six-pound guns and a crew of 63 men. The quality of the two crews, however, was very different. The *Jack*, like all our privateers in 1782, was largely manned by foreigners, men apt to be insubordinate and without the spur of patriotism, while the *Observer* had a crew trained in gunnery and schooled in the rigid discipline of a man of war. The original 60 men, which constituted the crew of the *Observer* when she left Halifax, had just been reinforced by a portion of the crew of the *Blonde*, and the sight of Captain Thornbrough, stripped to his shirt, serving as a volunteer at one of the guns added to their enthusiasm. At the first broadside Captain Ropes fell, mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Grey, who assumed command, was slightly wounded in the hand and head.

A close and severe action ensued and for two hours the *Jack* and *Observer* exchanged broadsides and plied each other with musketry until Lieutenant Grey, having lost heavily in killed and wounded and seeing his men flinch from the guns, attempted to make sail on the *Jack* and escape. "Our rigging was so destroyed," says Lieutenant Grey in his account of the action, "that not having command of our yards the *Jack* fell off with her larboard bow foul of the brig's starboard quarter. We were engaged thus a quarter of an hour in

which time I received a wound by a bayonet fixed in a musket, and which was hurled with such force as entering the fore part of my thigh and passing close to the bone entered the carriage of a bow gun and it was out of my power to remove it." The two vessels lay side by side for some fifteen minutes, so close that boarding pikes were freely used, and then the *Jack* getting free from her opponent once more tried to escape. After a short running fight, the *Observer* got along side and at half-past one in the morning the *Jack* surrendered.

The loss of the *Jack* in killed and wounded is reported by Lieutenant Crymes as 25 or nearly half the crew. Lieutenant Grey reports 7 killed and 12 wounded. Among the killed were two Beverly men, Nathaniel Trask and Thomas Davis. Captain Ropes died as the two vessels entered the harbor. The loss of the *Observer* by the English account was 3 killed and 5 wounded, by the American account 10 killed and many wounded.

The immediate cause of the loss of the *Jack* may be ascribed to the foreign element in the crew abandoning their guns and going below. "I had but ten men on deck and two of them wounded when I surrendered," writes Lieutenant Grey. The indirect cause was the reinforcement of the *Observer's* crew by Captain Thornbrough and his men, made possible by the unfortunate kindness and chivalry of the captains of the *Lively* and *Scammell*. July 18, 1782, Captain William Grey and five of the crew of the *Jack* arrived at Salem in a cartel, having been treated with great kindness while at Halifax. The *Jack* was tried and condemned in the prize court at Halifax and identified as the vessel taken the previous year by the *Astrée* and *Hermione*.[1] There is still a sequel to the story. A few months

[1] "Lucas Johnson, midshipman on board His Majesty's Ship *Charlestown*, being sworne declares that in the latter end of July last on their passages from Halifax to Spanish River in company with the *Allegiance*, *Vulture* and *Jack* and some transports under their convoy, being off of Spanish River, Seeing two French frigates, *L'Astrea & Hermionné* to Leward, Captain Evans . . . order'd the Deponent on board the *Jack* with orders to Capt. Tonge, . . . that the *Jack* was obliged to strike to the French frigates, and Deponent and the whole crew belonging to the *Jack*, were made prisoners and carried into Boston, that the *Jack* at that time carried ten nine pounders and four sixes, and was manned with sixty seven men, Richard Peter Tonge Commander, that the Deponent had seen the ship called the *Jack* (taken by Captain Crymes) . . . & knows her to be the same ship taken by *L'Astrea & Hermionné*" (Essex Institute Historical Collections, xlv. 182–183).

later, the *Lively*, Captain Adams, was taken by the English frigate *Pandora* and carried into New York. In recognition of his services to Captain Thornbrough, Captain Adams was treated with great kindness by Captain Ingalls of the *Pandora* and sent back to Boston.

The last letter of marque commissioned in 1782 was the ship *Fox* of 100 tons, 8 guns and 20 men, owned by Benjamin Lovett and commanded by Israel Johnson. July 14, 1780, a brigantine *Fox* of 8 guns and 15 men, owned by Benjamin Lovett and commanded by Israel Johnson, is also reported. Whether the brigantine was re-rigged as a ship or whether there were two vessels named *Fox* belonging to the same owner, it is hard to tell.

VII

The treatment of American prisoners by the English during the War of the Revolution has been stigmatized by most American historians as cruel and contrary to the law of nations, but a close examination of the facts shows that the treatment was cruel or lenient according to the personal character of those in charge of the prisons and the peculiar conditions of the prisons themselves. The first disposition of the English was to treat the Americans as rebels and regard prisoners as subject to all the penalties of treason, but the magnitude of the revolt and still more the possession by the Americans of many English prisoners materially changed their views. After the retreat from Concord General Gage consented to an exchange of prisoners and General Carleton generously parolled those taken in the Quebec campaign. On August 13, 1775, General Gage, however, having heard from England on the subject, wrote to Washington refusing to allow to Americans the rights of prisoners of war. On December 18th Washington wrote to General Howe on the subject of exchange and treatment of American prisoners, particularly in regard to the case of Ethan Allen who had been sent in irons to England. The case was referred by General Howe to the home authorities and on February 1, 1776, Lord George Germaine wrote to Howe that, while not advising a regular cartel, he hoped some plan would be devised for an exchange of prisoners including those taken in privateers. On July 22, 1776, Congress voted to allow Washington to exchange soldier for soldier, sailor for sailor, and officer for officer of equal rank, and on August 1st General Howe in a letter to Washing-

ton agrees to this offer of exchange. From this time exchanges, despite an occasional friction, were conducted as in any foreign war.

The great bulk of American prisoners were confined at Halifax (Nova Scotia), New York, and Mill Prison (Plymouth, England). At Halifax the prisoners seemed to have been fairly treated and loosely guarded. Mill Prison was a military prison under stern discipline, with all the discomforts and petty tyrannies which are apt to accompany the herding together of large numbers of prisoners of war, but in the prison ships of New York the treatment of American prisoners was at times brutal and attended with a disgraceful and unnecessary mortality.

Several books have been published giving personal experiences on the prison ships at New York. One of the most interesting is Captain Thomas Dring's Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship.[1] The *Jersey* was originally a British ship of the line, but had been dismantled in 1780 and converted into a prison hulk. She was at first anchored in the East River, but later was taken to Long Island and moored in Wallabout Bay. Captain Dring apparently gives a very fair account of life aboard the *Jersey*. At the time of his capture he was master's mate aboard the privateer *Chance*, Captain Daniel Freeborn of Providence, Rhode Island, which was taken by the English ship *Belisarius* in 1782. On his arrival at New York he was sent aboard the *Jersey*. There was no distinction made on account of rank, officers and men occupied the same quarters and received the same food. Each prisoner received two-thirds of the regular allowance given the English sailors in the navy, one pound of beef or pork, one pound of bread and half a pint of peas, with butter, oatmeal, and suet occasionally. The rations were sufficient in quantity but apt to be of poor quality. The prisoners were allowed to drink all the water they wished at the casks on deck but were allowed to take only one pint below, and their meat was boiled in sea water. Their sufferings were aggravated by the cruelty of Jacob Strout,

[1] Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship; Taken and prepared for publication from the original manuscript of the late Captain Thomas Dring, of Providence, R. I., one of the prisoners. By Albert G. Greene, 1829. This was reprinted by Sidney S. Rider & Bro. in 1865. It was also reprinted, with notes by Henry B. Dawson, in 1865.

the Commissary of Prisoners, who was universally detested. Smallpox and Jersey fever were raging most of the time, as was natural where a thousand men dirty and low spirited were cooped up in a dark and ill ventilated hold. According to Captain Dring 10,000 prisoners died on the *Jersey* and the hospital ships *Scorpion, Strombol,* and *Hunter,* during the war.

Another account of life on the *Jersey* can be found in a book called Martyrs to the Revolution in the British Prison-Ships in the Wallabout Bay. The stories told in this book, written in 1855 by George Taylor, are evidently greatly exaggerated. One statement is that when the American prisoners gathered at the open hatchway of the *Jersey* to get fresh air, the sentries would bayonet them from pure malice and often as many as twenty-five prisoners would be killed in one night.

An interesting account of Mill Prison is given in Charles Herbert's Relic of the Revolution.[1] Herbert was nineteen years of age when he sailed on the *Dolton,* November 15, 1776. The *Dolton* soon after leaving port was taken by the English ship *Reasonable* and her crew transferred to the English vessel. While a prisoner aboard the *Reasonable* Herbert drew the rations of a British sailor, one pound of salt beef, one pound of bread, one pound of potatoes, and three pints of beer. On his arrival at Plymouth he was sent to Mill Prison where he received as rations one pound of bread, one-quarter pound of beef, one pound of greens, one quart of beer, and the water the beef was boiled in. According to Herbert the quantity was sufficient, though at times the beef was bad. The treatment given the prisoners was fair except in case of attempt to escape or other breach of discipline. While in prison he was visited September 25, 1778, by Captain Benjamin Ellingwood of Beverly, who had been taken prisoner the previous year on the schooner *Friendship* but who had been exchanged

[1] A Relic of the Revolution, . . . By Charles Herbert, of Newburyport, Mass. Who was taken prisoner in the Brigantine Dolton, Dec., 1776, and served in the U. S. Frigate Alliance, 1779–80. 1847. This was compiled by R. Livesey, though his name is not on the title-page. In a later impression, dated 1854, the title was changed to "The Prisoners of 1776; A Relic of the Revolution. Compiled by the Rev. Richard Livesey from the Journal of Charles Herbert, of Newburyport, Mass., who was taken prisoner in the brigantine Dolton, Dec. 1776, and confined in Old Mill Prison, Plymouth, England." The text of the two impressions appears to be identical, though the pagination is different.

and was now on his way home. He gives a list of those confined in Mill Prison in 1778 and only one Beverly man is mentioned, Benjamin Chipman. On his escape or release, Herbert made his way to France and shipped on board the *Alliance*, making two cruizes in the squadron commanded by John Paul Jones. His commander on the *Alliance* was Captain Peter Landais, whose dubious conduct in the battle between the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard* is a matter of history.[1]

Another interesting account of prison life is given in John Blatchford's Narrative.[2] Blatchford, then fifteen years of age, was cabin boy on the Continental frigate *Hancock*, Captain Manly, which was taken by the English frigate *Rainbow* in 1777 and carried into Halifax. On his arrival at Halifax Blatchford was sent to the prison, formerly a sugar house, where he found the building crowded and the food insufficient and of poor quality. Soon after his arrival he planned with others to escape, but was betrayed by one of the prisoners and put in irons. Some weeks later he was allowed to walk around with his wrists manacled, and meeting the informer he withdrew one hand from the irons and struck the man to the ground. For this breach of discipline he was impressed on board the frigate *Greyhound* and a few months later, in company with other Americans, attempted to desert. They were discovered and a struggle ensued in which an English sentry was killed. On the *Greyhound's* return to port, Blatchford was tried for murder and acquitted, but it was

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[1] The following extract from the Nathan Dane Papers, dated Beverly, December 2, 1781, shows that one man at least from Beverly served on the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Alliance*:

I, John Carrisco of Beverly, in the County of Essex, State of Mass., Mariner, constitute and appoint Nathan Dane my Attorney and hereby empower him to receive my wages and prize money due to me as a mariner on board the Good Man Richard, J. J. Jones, Commander, and also on board the Alliance, Peter Landais, Esq., Commander."

his
JOHN CARISCO
mark

Larkin Thorndike
John Thorndike } Witnesses

[2] Narrative of Remarkable Occurrences, In the Life of John Blatchford, Of Cape-Ann, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, . . . Taken from his own mouth. M, DCC, LXXX, VIII. In 1865 Charles I. Bushnell published an edition, with notes, entitled "The Narrative of John Blatchford, retailing His sufferings in the Revolutionary War, while a Prisoner with the British. As related by himself."

thought best to get rid of him and he was shipped on board the East Indiaman *Princess Royal*, where he found thirty-two Americans all bound to the East Indies as a punishment for rebellion.[1] On their arrival at Sumatra he and the other Americans disembarked and found themselves forced to serve in the British army. Again he attempted with others to escape and again a sentry was killed and he and his friends retaken. For this he was sentenced to receive eight hundred lashes on his bare back, "but," he writes, "the whip was made of cotton with the knots cut off, so it was no worse than being whipped with cotton yarn." After numerous other adventures he escaped to France and made his way to L'Orient where he found three privateers from Beverly in port, the *Cicero*, *Buccanier*, and *Revolution*. "I entered," he continues, "on board the *Buccanier*, Capt. Phearson, and sailed on a cruize. We were out 18 days and returned with six prizes. Three days after we received news of peace, the privateer was dismantled and Capt. Phearson sailed on a merchant voyage to Norway. I then entered on a brig bound to Lisbon, Capt. Ellingwood of Beverly, and arrived in eight days. We took on a cargo of salt and arrived back at Beverly, May 9th 1783."

Another book, too vituperative to be of much authority, is entitled "The Destructive Operation of Foul Air, Tainted Provisions, Bad Water and Personal Filthiness upon the human Constitutions; exemplified in the unparalleled Cruelty of the British to the American Captives at New York during the Revolutionary War, on board their Prison and Hospital Ships in a communication to Dr. Mitchill, dated September 4, 1807."[2] The tenor of Captain Alexander Coffin's book may be inferred from one sentence: "If you were to rake the infernal regions I doubt whether you will find another set of demons such as the officers and men who had charge of the Jersey prison ship in the Summer of 1782."[3]

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[1] On April 2, 1777, Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane wrote to the English ambassador at Paris calling attention to the fact that American prisoners were being employed in English ships to fight against their own people and also sent to distant ports where they stood little chance of being exchanged.

[2] Edited by Charles I. Bushnell in 1865.

[3] Some other accounts may be mentioned.

An Account of the Interment of the Remains of 11,500 American Seamen, Soldiers and Citizens, who fell victims to the cruelties of the British, on board their prison ships at the Wallabout, During the American Revolution. 1808.

The above extracts show more or less truthfully what our American prisoners had to suffer in the jails and prison ships of the enemy, and some evidence will now be given which partly exonerates the English from these serious charges. Both Captain Coffin and Captain Dring were confined on the *Jersey* in the year 1782. June 3rd of the same year a number of American captains, many of them well known in Beverly and Salem, before leaving New York on parole, issued this statement:

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, masters of American vessels which have been captured by English cruisers and brought into this port, having obtained the enlargement of parole from his Excellency Rear Admiral Digby to return to our respective homes, being anxious before our departure to know the real state of the prisoners confined on

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This was reprinted with notes by Dr. Henry R. Stiles in 1865 in The Wallabout Prison Ship Series, No. 2.

Memoirs of Andrew Sherburne (2d ed., 1831), pp. 81–98, 109–119.

The Old Jersey Captive: or a Narrative of the Captivity of Thomas Andros (now pastor of the church in Berkley,) on board the Old Jersey Prison Ship at New York, 1781. 1833.

Review. The Tomb of the Martyrs, who died in dungeons and pestilential prison-ships, in and about the City of New-York, during the seven years of our Revolutionary War. By Benjamin Romaine, . . . 4th July, 1839.

The Adventures of Christopher Hawkins, . . . With an Introduction and Notes by Charles I. Bushnell. 1864. (Written in 1834.)

Letters from the Prisons and Prison-Ships of the Revolution. With Notes by Henry R. Stiles, M. D. (The Wallabout Prison-Ship Series, No. 1.)

A Memoir of Eli Bickford, a Patriot of the Revolution. 1865. (Contains "The Prison-Ship Jersey. By Charles I. Bushnell," pp. 13–15.)

1888. A Christmas Reminder. Being the names of above eight thousand persons, a small portion of the number confined on board the British prison ships during the War of the Revolution. With the Compliments of the Society of Old Brooklynites. 1888.

Horrors of the Prison Ships. Dr. [Charles E.] West's Description of the Wallabout Floating Dungeons. How Captive Patriots Fared. 1895.

1776 Prison Ship Martyr Captain Jabez Fitch His Diary in Facsimile (1897 or 1903?)

Historical Society, Eliot, Maine, January, 1900. Old Mill Prison. Henry W. Fernald, Boston, Mass.

American Prisoners of the Revolution. By Danske Dandridge, . . . Charlottesville, Va., 1911. This is a book of ix, 504, pages, a bibliography being printed on pp. 503–504.

See also the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xix. 74–75, 136–141, 209–213 (List of Americans committed to Old Mill Prison during the War), xxxii. 42–44, 184–188, 305–308, 395–398 (Journal of Samuel Cutler).

board the prison ships and hospitals, appointed six of our number to go on board the prison ships for that purpose, and said Committee have gone on board five of them and do report, that they have found them as comfortable as is possible at this season of the year and much more so than they had any idea of.

That they inspected the beef, pork, flour, bread, vegetables and liquors which is found aboard his Majesty's vessels and found them good of their kind, and the prisoners acknowledge that they had no complaint to make but the want of clothes and a speedy exchange.

Robert Harris	Charles Collins
Philemon Haskell	Jonathan Carnes
Christopher Smith	John Chase
Daniel Aborn	Richard Mugford
Robert Clifton	John M'Ewer
Dr. Joseph Bowen	

The signers further state that the American prisoners in the hospital ships have good beds and not cots, with clean sheets of Russia linen and plenty of fresh provisions and wine.

While this is the evidence of men who had inspected and not lived on the *Jersey*, still the signers were men of too much intelligence and character to be entirely deceived or wilfully mistaken. Two of their number, Daniel Aborn and Dr. Joseph Bowen, at Admiral Digby's request took a letter from Commissary General Strout to Washington explaining that owing to the heat and overcrowding of the prison ships, due to a large influx of prisoners, all his efforts to keep the prisoners healthy were baffled, though five more ships had been taken for the purpose, and many set free on parole. On this account he asked an immediate and general exchange. At this time the Americans owed the English 1300 naval prisoners, whom they had set free on parole and the English owed the Americans 450 soldiers. Admiral Digby suggested an exchange of sailors for soldiers, but Washington refused on the ground that he was empowered only to exchange soldier for soldier and directed David Skinner, Commissary General on the American side, to write Admiral Digby to that effect. Thus on a technicality a number of American naval prisoners remained shut up in New York prison ships though the British were anxious to exchange.

It is probable that the balance of naval prisoners was against the

Americans during the whole war. An American privateer was under bonds to bring back its prisoners to this country,[1] but the danger of capture was always greatest on the coast line, the chance of being detained in the home port by embargo was great, and it was much safer and more economical to put the prisoners on some worthless prize and let them go free than to bring them back to America. Many prisoners were taken into France by American privateers cruizing on the Irish coast or in the English channel, but these prisoners were then counted to the French. Most of the prizes taken by the English, on the other hand, were by frigates or other large vessels of war where the question of economy or safety did not enter and their prisoners were carried into port. November 15, 1777, Congress had ordered a bounty of $20 to be paid to officers and men for every cannon captured on any vessel and $8 for every prisoner. Had the bounty offered by the government to privateers and letter of marque vessels for prisoners delivered in America been sufficient to make this an object, many of our sailors suffering in English prisons might have been released. There seems no reason to accuse the English of unwillingness to exchange prisoners after August, 1776. Occasionally there were disputes and accusations of ill treatment or bad faith on either side, but as a rule relations were pleasant.

As to the treatment of American prisoners by the English there is no doubt that there were cases of cruelty and overcrowding, and the conditions on the New York prison ships were at times disgraceful, but any one who has had charge of hospitals or other large institutions knows how readily false stories are started and petty wrongs magnified. Prisoners certainly cannot be blamed for trying to escape, nor can jailors be blamed for punishing such attempts, and most of the stories of cruelty followed some breach of discipline.

As to the food furnished it seems to have been of about the same quality, though less in quantity, as that furnished to English sailors on English ships, where weevily biscuit and tainted meat were a matter of frequent occurrence. The impressment of American

[1] It is doubtful whether these bonds were often enforced, and, even if collected, they were too small for the purpose. The bond of the schooner *Hammond*, for example, was for £ 300 signed by Jacob Oliver as principal and Robert Shillaber as surety, that all prisoners taken at sea would be brought back into port for exchange. (Revolutionary Rolls, viii. 4.)

seamen on English men of war was a just cause of complaint and many Americans were undoubtedly compelled to fight against their own country and her allies, but for every American thus impressed probably ten English sailors were persuaded to serve on American privateers. True, impressment and voluntary service are different, but there was no way by which an English officer could tell what means were used to enlist English men on American vessels. Not only were our privateers largely manned by prisoners and deserters, but our Continental and State vessels sought recruits from the same source. In 1778 the Navy Board of Massachusetts in a letter to the Council wrote: "Beg leave to represent that seamen are much needed for manning the Continental vessels. We are informed there are among the prisoners now here, a number of Swedes, Dutch and some English prisoners who would readily enter the service. That we conceive it would help the public service to permit all the foreigners and a few of the English to enter on board the Continental ships." It must be remembered too that many American prisoners, weary of prison life, voluntarily enlisted on British ships and their home explanation of their service on a hostile vessel would naturally be impressment.

The treatment of English prisoners by the Americans was better than that of American prisoners by the English because with us there was no such necessity as existed in New York for the concentration of large numbers of prisoners in one prison or ship. Many of the English officers were parolled or allowed to go to New York to arrange their own exchanges. Some were boarded out in country villages and allowed the freedom of the town. Occasionally, on complaints of sufferers in English prisons, retaliation was practised and officers and men were ironed and treated with considerable severity. On January 2, 1781, the Massachusetts Council passed the following order:

Whereas there are a number of American prisoners in the Prison Ships at New York treated with more than Savage Barbarity and that in consequence of Such Treatment Numbers of said Prisoners have died and are Dying. . . . Therefore, ordered that the Hon. Navy Board be and hereby are requested immediately to order the Commissary of Prisoners to remove the prisoners from Noodle's Island on board the prison ship in the harbour of Boston, and all marine prisoners that are

at large in the town of Boston, and confine them in the hold of Said Ship and treat them in a similar manner as the American prisoners are treated in the Prison Ships of N. York until a different conduct is observed by the Enemy.[1]

Many of the English prisoners were bound out for service. This was particularly so in the case of the Hessians captured at Bennington, some being employed in the salt works at Sandwich and others bound out to private parties as servants, blacksmiths, cordwainers, and farm hands. Complaints of cruelty and ill usage were common. The New York Mercury of May 22, 1782, has this item: "A number of prisoners, mostly seamen, arrived from Philadelphia yesterday. All complain loudly of their treatment in captivity. A great part of the time they were fed on dried clams. Fifteen clams and ten ounces of bread being a day's allowance."

Cartels were continually passing between English and American ports and as these vessels were necessarily unarmed and weakly manned, occasionally the prisoners on board would make the voyage an unpleasant one for their nominal jailors. Under date of January 23, 1782, several Beverly gentlemen make the following deposition:

We, Edward Allen, Isaac Haskell, Benj. Woodberry and Thomas Ginn, all of lawful age, testify that we were officers on board the sloop, *Tryall*, a flag of truce lately arrived St. Lucie, said Allen being Commander. We sailed from Boston October 21, with 31 English prisoners aboard. About the third day they became very insolent and took all our small stores out of the cabin and were very abusive. When a barrel of beef was opened they would take the best part of it and they wasted the bread and threw part of it into the sea.

The trade carried on between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts under the pretext of the removal of families has already been referred to, but the return of escaped and parolled prisoners, greatly facilitated by this trade, was a matter of more importance. American prisoners at Halifax were loosely guarded and often escaped or were parolled. In either case they often made their way to Yarmouth or Barrington and were there treated with kindness and furnished transportation to their homes. A small vessel conveyed them to some Massachusetts port and the cargo of dried fish or salt, which

[1] Massachusetts Archives, clxxvii. 301.

always accompanied these expeditions, was sold after petition to the Council. These petitions were always accompanied by letters of recommendation from escaped prisoners they had aided. One of the letters used by Benjamin Brown of Yarmouth, a frequent visitor to Beverly, was as follows:

That about the fifth of November last I had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the enemy and having my liberty to walk about at Halifax, Mr. Benj. Brown carried me with Mr. Dugan and Ephriam Lacky to Yarmouth and there entertained us at his own expense about one week and then procurred us a passage to the States. I have been credibly informed that said Brown has treated all the prisoners he could find in the same hospitable way. I saw a certificate of this kind in said Brown's possession, signed by Capt. Stevens, his officers and men. I am confident Brown is a friend to the liberties of America and entitled to any favor the Hon. Court sees fit to bestow on him.

Signed at Beverly, JOHN ASHTON, late Commander of schooner Hampden.

Another certificate, signed by well known Beverly men, was used by Thomas Flint, also a frequent visitor to Beverly:

Capersaw, Oct. 24th 1778, the Subscribers have been taken prisoners and carried to Halifax and was Issisted away to this place by Thomas Flint and Supported while in this place and we Suscribers would be glad if the Gentlemen of the Court take the Same in Consideration and Grant same Thomas Flint Such Favor as will help him.

JOSEPH STEWERT,	ELEAZER GILES,
JOHN HERRICK,	BENJ. VERY,
JAMES HERRICK,	NATHANIEL BATCHELDER.

The year 1781 had been very disastrous to the owners of private armed vessels and in the latter part of the year George Williams of Salem and sixty-one other merchants petitioned the General Court, stating that it was the opinion of the seaport towns of Massachusetts that the trading Nova Scotians coming to this country caused information of the force, number and destination of their armed vessels and proposed voyages of merchant vessels to be conveyed to the enemy and through such information they have lost the greater part of their most valuable privateers. "Your petitioners therefor ask, if you think it expedient, to put a stop to all such per-

missions and direct the Naval Officer and Selectmen to make search in each town of the State and apprehend as prisoners of war all Nova Scotians that may be among us, that they may be exchanged for our townsmen and others suffering on board of Brittish Guard Ships." The General Court assented and for a time and to some extent carried out the spirit of the petition.

There is no doubt that the Nova Scotians did carry information to the enemy, nor can we blame them. They also gave information to the Americans and helped their seamen to escape, and in the unfortunate position in which they were placed they were obliged to help both parties. That the profit was greater than the injury was the opinion of many, and a petition headed by William Tuck of Beverly, late commander of Mr. Cabot's ship *Lyon*, and signed by Francis Cabot, and 161 others, asking that trade with Yarmouth and Barrington be renewed, was sent to the General Court. This petition of William Tuck —

Humbly Showeth that the ship *Lyon* lately fell into the hands of the enemy. The *Blonde* frigate which captured her was wrecked upon the Seal Islands from which Company, Consisting of about Sixty Men in all, made their escape to Yarmouth, Cape Forsen, in Nova Scotia, where the Inhabitants Received and entertained us very kindly for four days during Which they fitted out three Small Vessels with provisions necessary for the purpose and Brout Said Tuck & Co. and a number of other prisoners, to the Amount of about 100 in all, Safe to this Commonwealth. This friendly act was a Great favor to us and particularly so when we consider the Extreme Sufferings of a Great Number of our Brothers on Board the English Prison Ships.

The petition then goes on to state the condition of the people of Yarmouth, unable to sell their fish in the States or obtain things necessary for their comfort, and calls attention to the fact that they will be unable in the future to help American prisoners unless they can dispose of their fish in Massachusetts.

This petition was accompanied by one from Thomas Flint, Benjamin Brown, and James Kelly who —

Humbly show that in the beginning of May last, the British frigate *Blonde* was wrecked on Seal Island. At which time Said Ship had a large number of American prisoners on board who Got permission to return home but destitute of every kind of support. Your petitioners,

Inhabitants of Cape persue, being Owners of three Small Shallops, fitted them out and brought Said Americans to the States to the number of 65 and supported them all for twelve days at their Own expense. And as Your Petitioners have not been able to obtain even a Replacement of the provisions expended in the service of returning 65 seamen to this State, they Humbly pray the Hon. Court to take Premises into their wise Consideration and direct that such Allowances be made as to Right and Justice shall appertain.

The Council granted them twelve days ration for 65 men and permission to return to Nova Scotia. It is to be hoped that the merchants of Beverly made them some acknowledgement for their services as the allowance by the State seems rather small. From this time trade was resumed, but not with the good will of former years, and in 1782 David Corning, so often mentioned, while bringing fourteen American prisoners to the States was taken by the privateer *Fly* of Salem and sent in as a prize. The General Court, however, ordered her release and gave Corning permission to return to Nova Scotia.

The number of Beverly seamen made prisoners during the war must have been large, but the record is very deficient. A few incomplete reports of English prisons, local tradition, and scattered mentions in the newspapers of the day and the Massachusetts Archives, are all we have to rely on. The following incomplete and unsatisfactory list includes only marine prisoners claiming residence in Beverly. Probably the first Beverly man made prisoner in the war was Andrew Gage. He was taken on some unknown Beverly vessel in 1775 and confined in or impressed on some unknown English ship. On June 22, 1778, the Selectmen of Beverly and Elizabeth Gage petitioned for permission to sell land belonging to Andrew Gage as he was still detained.

In the Nathan Dane Papers is a deposition so curious that we transcribe it, although the deponent was not a marine prisoner though a mariner.

I, James Gray of Beverly in the County of Essex, in the State of Mass. Do Say and Declare that I Inlisted in the Continental Service in 1775, a Years Service under Capt. Nathan Brown of this County, Israel Hutchinson Esq. Colonel — Jepson Clough, Ensign. I was marched from Winter Hill to New London and thence to Fort Washington wheir

we was made Captives and Carried to N.York and there Suffered Severity more than flesh could Bare. 1st Day after we was marched to N.York, I, amongst a Great Number, was taken Sick and a Very Mortifying sickness it Proved to many. I was carried to the Quaker Meeting house, the Improvised Hospittle, where the most died that was taken with that Distemper. I was unable to be exchanged on account of my Being in two Shocking Condition. But I am left to remember the Seen Underwent as well as my Brother Soldiers. I was four years in a Pitteyfull Condition. At last I got away and Feb. 7, 1780 aRived at Salem. From Whence, The 16th day of the month following, I went to Uncle William Gray, who I was his apprentice. The Appearance of me, to him and they and the town was as One Rose from the Dead. Tarred with him about a fortnite, then went to see with Capt. Samuel Foster, Returned in three months and Set up my trade in Beverly as painter and glazer.

One of the first privateers commissioned by the State was the *Yankee Hero*, Captain Tracy, of Newburyport. She was taken by an English frigate May 30, 1776, and one at least of her crew, James Mecomb, was from Beverly. The crew of the *Yankee Hero* returned on a cartel November 8, 1776.[1]

In 1776 the ship *Thomas*, belonging to Thomas Stephens of Beverly, on a voyage from Beverly for Baltimore, laden with a cargo of rum and sugar, was taken by a British cruizer and her captain, Robert Standly, made prisoner.[2]

The same year, 1776, precise date unknown, Osmond Thorndike was taken on the *Peggy* by the letter of marque ship *Dunmore*. He was exchanged in December, 1776.[3]

Captain Benjamin Leach of Manchester, at one time a resident of Beverly, was taken on a prize of the privateer *Hawk* in 1777 and soon after exchanged.[4]

Richard Dyson and Jonathan Parsons, mariners on some privateer, were sent home from New York on the cartel brig *Rising Empire* in 1777, no exact date given.[5]

Daniels Adams, 1st lieutenant on the brigantine *Freedom*, Captain

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[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 226.
[2] Force, 5 American Archives, iii. 602.
[3] Revolutionary Rolls, ix. 74.
[4] Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Families of Boston.
[5] Revolutionary Rolls, ix. 68.

Clouston, was taken by the frigate *Apollo* and confined on the prison ship *Good Content* in New York harbor in 1777. He remained there one year before he was exchanged. In 1782 when in command of the schooner *Lively* he was taken by the frigate *Pandora*, Captain Ingles, and sent into New York. He was detained only a short time.[1]

Benjamin Ellingwood, captain of the schooner *Friendship*, was taken by the letter of marque *Tom*, December 26, 1777, and carried into England, but was released on exchange the next year.[2]

John Ashton was prize master on the privateer brigantine *Washington* and while in command of one of her prizes, the snow *Friendship*, was taken by a British cruizer and carried into Halifax. He was exchanged June 28, 1777. In 1778 while in command of the schooner *Hampden* of Salem he was again taken prisoner and taken into Halifax, parolled, and returned to Beverly by the kind offices of Benjamin Brown of Yarmouth. He is reported as taken again while in command of the brigantine *Neptune* in 1779.[3]

The privateer *Retaliation* of Beverly was taken in the autumn of 1777 and on April 16, 1778, the cartel *Industry* was directed to bring back from Halifax Captain Eleazer Giles, Lieutenant Benjamin Joy, Dr. Elisha Whitney, Thomas Darly, and William Moses. Elisha Whitney was surgeon on the *Retaliation*, and though at this time was not a resident of Beverly became so later.[4]

September 30, 1778, a cartel from Halifax brought Andrew Peabody, Joseph Foster, Thomas Giles, Elisha Ellinwood, and Andrew Peabody. The last name appears twice. An Andrew Peabody of Beverly was taken on the ship *Essex* in 1781, presumably one of the two mentioned.[5]

A testimonial dated October 24, 1778, signed by Joseph Stewert, John Herrick, James Herrick, Nathaniel Batchelder, Eleazer Giles, and Benjamin Very, shows that they were prisoners in Halifax in the early autumn of 1778. They were all probably part of the crew of the *Retaliation*.[6]

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[1] Massachusetts Archives, cliii. 67.
[2] New York Gazette and Mercury, February 2, 1778.
[3] Massachusetts Archives, cxxv. 149.
[4] Revolutionary Rolls, ix. 49.
[5] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xix. 74.
[6] Massachusetts Archives, clxxxiv. 34.

One of the testimonials used by Mr. Brown of Yarmouth was signed by Benjamin Ives, Thomas Stephens, and William Groves all Beverly men, prisoners in Halifax in 1777–1778. Thomas Stephens was 1st lieutenant of the privateer *Retaliation* and later commander of the schooner *Hammond.* Benjamin Ives was captain of the privateer schooner *Scorpion* and the letter of marque brigantine *Fortune.* William Groves was probably taken prisoner while in command of the privateer schooner *Blackbird.* Later he commanded the brigantine *Success,* the sloop *Fish Hawk,* and the brig *Eagle.*[1]

The privateer *Warren* of Beverly was taken by the English ship *Fanny,* January 6, 1778, and Benjamin Chipman, the only Beverly man recorded among the prisoners, was committed to Mill Prison June 4, 1778. He afterwards escaped.

The brigantine *Rambler* was captured by the English frigate *Sibyl,* October 21, 1779, and one of her crew, Michael Downs, a Beverly man, was committed to Mill Prison, February 16, 1780.

The brig *Eagle* was taken June 21, 1780, and William Haskell, Alexander Carrico, and George Groce, of the crew, were committed to Mill Prison. William Haskell was committed July 5, 1781, Alexander Carrico and George Groce February 6, 1782. The commander of the *Eagle,* William Groves, with Curtis Woodberry, William Morgan, Henry Tuck, Joseph Woodberry and probably other Beverly men, must also have been taken on the same vessel.

From the ship *Essex,* taken June 10, 1781, Joseph Perkins, Levi Woodberry, Robert Raymond, Matthew Chambers, and Andrew Peabody were all committed to Mill Prison July 21, 1781. James Lovett and Benjamin Sprague of the same vessel, August 5, 1781.

John Tuck, Thomas Hadden, Josiah Foster, Hezkiah Thissel, Nathaniel Woodberry, and Zebulon Ober, of the snow *Diana* taken June 15, 1781, were committed to Mill Prison January 23, 1782.

William Haskell of Beverly is reported as having been taken on the brig *English* and carried to Quebec. He was committed to Mill Prison July 23, 1781.

The ship *Resource,* Captain Richard Ober, was taken by a British cruizer in the autumn of 1780. There is a list of the officers and crew dated September 11, 1780, and it is probable that all those

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxxv. 419.

mentioned were on the vessel at the time of her capture and made prisoners: Richard Ober captain, Andrew Thorndike 1st mate, Samuel Cressy[1] 2nd mate, John Waters, Andrew Ober, John Woodby, Jacob Woodby, Andrew Woodby, Thomas Woodby, Ebenezer Woodby, John Lovett, Nathan Thorn, Jacob Thompson, John Savage, Thomas Harris, Thomas Ober, David Allen, Richard Ober, Richard Thorn, Nicholas Thorndike, John Rea, Joseph Ray, and Andrew Woodman, all of Beverly. The *Resource* was bound for the West Indies and her crew was carried into Jamaica.

Ebenezer Ray was impressed on board the frigate *Pelican*, commanded by Captain Collingwood, afterwards second in command at the battle of Trafalgar. In August, 1781, the *Pelican* was wrecked and her crew escaped to a small uninhabited island where they remained ten days until rescued by the *Diamond* frigate and carried back to Jamaica. Ray was confined on another man-of-war from which he managed to escape and for twenty-five days wandered, half starved, about the island. Finally he got aboard a Spanish cartel about to sail for Havana, and on her arrival at that port took passage on a brig to Boston. On the voyage the vessel was taken by an English cruizer and Ray was carried into New York and confined on the *New Jersey*. In May, 1782, he was exchanged and returned to Beverly.

Stephen Roundy was taken on the ship *Hawk*, Captain Smith, in 1780. He was taken to New York and impressed on board the *Conqueror*, where he continued to serve until peace was declared. The story is told of him that after some battle in which the Americans were worsted, a British officer sneeringly asked him, "What do you think of King Washington now?" "I think *he* is a gentleman" was the answer.

The brig *Black Princess* was a Dunkirk privateer, commissioned by Franklin and the other commissioners of Paris. Some papers in the Essex Institute indicate that she was originally a Salem vessel, but in 1781 she sailed from Dunkirk with a crew consisting largely of English deserters. She was very successful and before her capture, October 11, 1781, had taken 36 prizes. There were several Salem and Marblehead men aboard, and one man, John Baker, from Beverly, who on October 20, 1781, was committed to Mill Prison.

[1] Samuel Cressy (1751–1782), son of Benjamin and Mehitable (Brown) Cressy.

The brigantine *Gen. Wayne*, Captain John Leach of Beverly, on a voyage to the West Indies, was taken by a British cruizer in 1780 and carried to Bermuda. Captain Leach either escaped or was parolled, as he arrived back at Boston September 5, 1780.[1]

The *Gen. Gates* was taken by the British cruizer *Hope*, no date given. Benjamin Bickford and Nathaniel Wallace are reported captured. John Bickford, steward of the *Gen. Gates*, was also taken. The latter was returned to Marblehead on the cartel *Pacific*.

Jonathan Larcom is said to have been captured on the brigantine *Neptune*, Captain John Ashton, in 1779.

The brigantine *Defence* of Beverly was taken October 2, 1781, by the English ship *Chatham*, and the following Beverly men were taken prisoners: John Edmands captain, Captain Jonathan Carwick 1st mate, John Pickett carpenter, John Wilkins gunner, Stephen Costello, John Bray, James Babson, John Gage, Daniel Batchellor, William Allen.

There were a number of vessels commanded by Beverly captains taken by British cruizers during the war, where no particulars were given as to officers and crew, though doubtless manned to some extent by Beverly men. The list is as follows:

Brig	*Spit Fire*	Capt. John Patten	Taken in 1780
Brigantine	*Active*	" " "	" " 1781
Brigantine	*Fanny*	Capt. Herbert Woodberry	" " 1781
Ship	*Commerce*	Capt. Stephen Webb	" " 1781
Sloop	*Fish Hawk*	Capt. Samuel Foster	" " 1781
Ship	*Sebastian*	Capt. Ichabod Groves	" " 1780
Ship	*Mohock*	Capt. John Carnes	" " 1782
Ship	*Lyon*	Capt. William Tuck	" " 1782
Brigantine	*Swift*	Capt. Israel Johnson	" " 1782
Unknown brig		Capt. Andrew Thorndike	" " 1782

Benjamin and Isaac Chapman, Thomas Giles, Benjamin Giles, Thomas Davis, and Nathaniel Trask were taken prisoners with Capt. Thorndike.

The number of Beverly mariners taken prisoners during the war, as chronicled above, was 108. Some of them were taken prisoner two or three times, and the number of those actually taken prisoners is no doubt much greater than the number of those known to have been taken prisoners. The writer believes from careful computa-

[1] Massachusetts Archives, clxxvii. 63.

tion that two-thirds of the male population of Beverly between the ages of eighteen and sixty were at one time or another prisoners to the English.

VIII

In the foregoing sections the private armed vessels of Beverly have been treated collectively and some passed over lightly. At the risk of repetition, they have in this section been arranged alphabetically with some particulars added not considered necessary when telling their story.

Active

Brigantine *Active*, 120 tons, 10 guns and 25 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Job Prince and others of Boston, Benjamin Ellingwood commissioned master May 5, 1780. Bond signed by Job Prince and William Creed as owners. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 148.)

Brigantine *Active*, same tonnage and force. Officers and men on board the brig *Active* as taken by the captain the day of his sailing from Beverly for Gottenburg July 10, 1780, Samuel Cabot, agent:

Benjamin Ellingwood	captain	Born in Beverly and remains there
John Hammond	1st mate	" in Marblehead and remains in Beverly
Thomas Butman	2nd mate	" in Beverly and remains in Beverly
Daniel Trask	steward	" in Beverly and remains in Beverly
William Gard	gunner	" in Liverpool and remains in Beverly
Israel Trask	cook	" in Beverly and remains in Beverly
James Murray	boatswain	" in Glasgow and remains in Beverly
Joseph Weeks		" in Beverly and remains in Beverly
John Bously		" in Bristol and remains in Salem

Others from Milton, Mistick, and Boothbay. (Revolutionary Rolls, xviii.)

Brigantine *Active*, 150 tons, 12 guns and 60 men. Privateer. On petition of Job Prince in behalf of Andrew and Samuel Cabot, Nathanial Swasey commissioned commander December 16, 1780. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 314.)

Brigantine *Active* 100 tons, 14 four-pounders and 60 men. Privateer. On petition of Andrew Cabot and others of Beverly, John Patten commissioned commander April 9, 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 364.)

Brigantine *Active* taken and carried into Halifax. September 22, 1781, Captain John Patten and crew of the *Active* arrived at Boston in a cartel. (New York Mercury, September 28, 1781.)

Adventure

Schooner *Adventure*, 48 tons, 6 carriage and 8 swivel guns and 35 men. On petition of Larkin Thorndike and others, Robert Newman commissioned commander September 8, 1777. Privateer. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 379.)

Schooner *Adventure*, same tonnage and force, on petition of John Dyson, William James of Beverly commissioned commander, May 11, 1780. John Dyson and Benjamin Goldthwaithe sureties. (Revolutionary Rolls, v. 5; Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 279.)

BLACK PRINCE

Ship *Black Prince*, 220 tons, 18 guns, 120 men. Privateer. On petition of William Pickman, William Orne, Larkin Thorndike and others of Salem and Beverly, Elias Smith commissioned commander, June 17, 1778. (Massachusetts Archives, clxviii. 351.)

Ship *Black Prince*, same tonnage, force and owners. Privateer. On petition of George Williams and others of Salem, Nathaniel West commissioned commander, Samuel Carleton 1st lieutenant, Benjamin Crowngshield 2nd Lieutenant, October 17, 1778. The *Black Prince* was burned by the crew at the time of the Penobscot expedition. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 236.)

BUCCANIER

Ship *Buccanier*, 350 tons, 18 nine-pounders, 150 men. Privateer. On petition of J. & A. Cabot, Hoystead Hacker commissioned commander, Abraham Hawkins 1st Lieutenant, August 3, 1781.

On petition of Job Prince for same owners, March 27, 1782, Jesse Fearson was commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 126.)

CATO

Snow *Cato*, 10 four-pound guns and 30 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Job Prince in behalf of A. & J. Cabot, Eleazer Giles of Beverly commissioned commander, September 18, 1779. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 403.)

CENTIPEDE[1]

Schooner *Cent. Peid*, 45 tons, 16 swivel guns, 35 men. Privateer. Petition of Elias H. Derby, Joseph White, and Miles Greenwood of Salem, William Langdon or Langdell commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxviii. 103.) On bond given December 5, 1777, with William Langdon as principal and E. H. Derby as security, she is called *Santape*. In libel against schooner *Betty*, May 14, 1778, she is called *Centi Pea*.

Schooner *Cent Pede*, 40 tons, 16 swivel guns and 40 men. Privateer. May 23, 1778, petition of E. H. Derby, Samuel Ingersoll commissioned commander. In libel of Captain Ingersoll against schooner *Bickford* she is called *Saint te Pea*. On bond by Captain Ingersoll, she is called *Cent Pea*.

Schooner *Cent a Pede*, Privateer. Petition of Miles Greenwood and others, Joseph Pratt commissioned commander, with John Gavet as 1st lieutenant and John Peters sailing master, September 29, 1778. Some time in 1778 Livermore Whittredge was agent and Josiah Batchelder, Jr., of Beverly, owner of the *Santipe*. Eben Rogers, William Wyatt, John Galls, and Willis Standly, all of Beverly, were members of the crew.

Schooner *Sentipe*, 4 carriage and 10 swivel guns, 50 men. Privateer. Petition of Nathaniel Silsbee, Gideon Henfield commissioned commander, August 3, 1779.

CHANCE

Brig *Chance*, 85 tons, Captain Zachariah Gage, belonging to A. & J. Cabot. Letter of marque. Sold at Cape François in 1782.

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[1] For the various forms of this name, see p. 347 note 1, above.

Cicero

Ship *Cicero*, 300 tons, 10 nine- and 6 four-pound guns, 60 men. Letter of marque. Petition of A. Cabot and others of Beverly, January 16, 1781, Hugh Hill commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 332.)

Commerce

Ship *Commerce*, 200 tons, 6 nine- and 8 four-pound guns, 50 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Andrew Cabot, January 16, 1781, Stephen Webb commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 332.)

Content

Ship *Content*. Owned by Nathan Leach of Beverly. February 21, 1777, Nathan Leach sells ship *Content* to the State for £1900.

Cornwall

Ship *Cornwall*, 200 tons, 10 four-pound guns, 25 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Mark Lafitte, John Edmonds commissioned master, January 15, 1778, John Bickford 1st lieutenant.

Count D'Estaing

Ship *Count D'Estaing*, 150 tons, 10 four-pounders, 25 men. Letter of marque. On petition of John Dyson and others of Beverly, Elias Smith commissioned commander, August 22, 1780, with Daniel Payne 1st mate, Theodore Williams 2nd mate, Hugh Hathorne boatswain, James Ferrinson steward, Zachariah Stone gunner. Of the crew only seven were born in New England and seventeen were foreigners. The only Beverly men in the crew were Henry Oliver, Jacob Oliver, and Thomas Smith.

Defence

Brigantine *Defence*, 170 tons, 16 six-pound cannon, 100 men. Privateer. On petition of Andrew Cabot and Moses Brown, July 6, 1779, John Edmonds commissioned commander with Nathaniel Swazey 1st lieutenant, John Boardman 2nd lieutenant. June 30, 1779, the *Defence* was at anchor in Beverly harbor. She was a new vessel just fitted out for a cruize against the Quebec fleet. She joined the Penobscot expedition and was burned to escape capture. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 209.)

Brigantine *Defence*, 150 tons, 16 four-pound guns, 50 men. Letter of marque. Petition of J. & A. Cabot, John Edmands commissioned master. March 22, 1780. List of officers and crew July 21, 1781: John Edmands captain, Jonathan Carwick 1st mate, John Dutch 2nd mate, John Picket carpenter, John Wilkins gunner, William Brown boatswain, Stephen Costello, John Bray, James Babson, John Gage, Daniel Batchelor and William Allen, all mariners from Beverly. William Lakeman, from Ipswich, was prize master and there were 14 mariners from Ipswich, balance of the crew from Gloucester. October 2, 1781, on a voyage from Bilbao to Beverly with a cargo of steel, silks, linen and blankets, she was taken in Boston Bay, by H. B. M. Ship *Chatham*. (Revolutionary Rolls, xxiv. 53.)

Diana

Schooner *Diana*, 40 tons, 4 guns, 20 men. Privateer. Petition of Joseph Swasey and others of Beverly, Richard Lakeman commander, August 20, 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 64.)

DIANA

Snow *Diana*, 140 tons, 8 guns, 25 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Larkin Thorndike September 19, 1780, William Herrick commissioned commander, with Benjamin Bickford 1st mate, William Gage 2nd mate, Robert Stone, John Eveleth, Zebulon Ober, Joseph Kittrege, John Kilam and William Roberts mariners from Beverly. Other members of the crew were Elijah Whitreg of Danvers, John Tuck of Manchester, George Hall, Moses Lufkin, John Tropater, Benjamin Swain, Nehemiah Dean, Alfred Dodge, Israel Dodge, Benjamin Lamson, John Balch, and Joseph Lufkin, all from Hamblet. The *Diana* was taken by an English cruizer June 15, 1781, and John Tuck, Thomas Hadden, Joseph Foster, Hezekiah Thissel, Nathan Woodman, and Zebulon Ober, all Beverly men, were taken prisoners on her. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 132.)

DOLPHIN

Schooner *Dolphin*, 40 tons, 6 guns, 35 men. Privateer. Petition of William Homans and others of Beverly, Joseph Knolton commissioned commander, July 14, 1781. August 12, 1782, she was reported wrecked on Cape Sable.

DOVE

Sloop *Dove*, unknown tonnage, commanded and owned by Robert Haskell of Beverly. Spy vessel employed by the State. (Massachusetts Archives, cxcv. 110.)

DRIVER

Sloop *Driver*, 70 tons, 8 guns, 20 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., Daniel Adams commissioned master, September 1, 1777. Robert Haskell of Beverly commanded the *Driver* in 1779. The *Driver* was owned by Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and Livermore Whittredge.

EAGLE

Return of officers and petty officers of privateer brig *Eagle* June 17, 1780: William Groves commander, John Fearson 1st lieutenant, John Harris 2nd lieutenant, Jacob Oliver of Beverly master, Philip Richerson of Beverly mate, Joseph Knight, Aaron Lee, Paul Foster prize masters, Thomas Pousland gunner, John Leach boatswain, and Moses Prince steward. The Beverly names in the crew, residence not given, were Joseph Ober, Thomas Stevens, Robert Leach, William Morgan, Henry Tuck, George Gross, Joseph Baker, and Curtis Woodberry. Some of these might have been equally well residents of Salem. The *Eagle*, owned by James Lovett and Moses Brown, was taken by an English cruizer July 21, 1780.

ESSEX

Ship *Essex*, 200 tons, 20 guns, 150 men. Privateer. Petition of Jonathan Jackson, Joseph Lee and J. & A. Cabot, April 14, 1781, John Cathcart commissioned commander, Job Prince agent. May 6, 1780, John Cathcart was commander, Eben T. Thayer of Boston 1st lieutenant, James Lovett of Salem 2nd lieutenant, H. Pearson of Boston master, John Taylor of Providence, R. I., captain of marines, George Odell of Boston mate. There were no names signed as from Beverly. The *Essex* was taken by H. B. M. Ship *Queen Charlotte* June 10, 1781. The following Beverly men were taken on her: Joseph Perkins, Robert Raimond, Levi Woodberry, Andrew Peabody, Matthew Chambers, James Lovett, and Benj. Sprague. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 369.)

Experiment

Brigantine *Experiment*, 130 tons, 6 six-pound guns, 2 swivels, 20 muskets, and 25 men. Letter of marque to West Indies. Petition of George Cabot, Joseph Lee and others, March 30, 1779, John Porter commissioned master. The petition asks that the *Experiment* may be commissioned "To trade with the Allies of U. S. in the W. I., and whereas in the course of the voyage there may be opportunity of annoying and capturing the vessels and property of the enemies of the U. S. Your petitioners pray Your Honors to grant said John Porter proper warrant therefore."

Fanny

Brigantine *Fanny*, 6 guns, 15 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Livermore Whittredge, William Bartlett and others, June 14, 1780, Herbert Woodberry commissioned master. Taken May 28, 1781, by H. B. M. brig *Providence*. The list of officers and crew August 23, 1780, was as follows: Herbert Woodberry captain, Samuel Stone 1st mate, Edward Foster 2nd mate, William Hally, Luke Woodberry, Nathaniel Trask, Jeremiah Thorndike, Martin Dayall, Josiah Foster, Blackenberry Prince, Josiah Ober, Jacob Woodberry, Thomas Dodge mariners. Thomas Dodge was from Wenham, all the rest from Beverly.

Fish Hawk

Sloop *Fish Hawk*, 50 tons, 8 guns, 40 men. Privateer. Petition of John Dyson in behalf of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and others, September 1, 1779, William Groves commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 378.)

Sloop *Fish Hawk*, 50 tons, 8 guns, 16 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., November 30, 1779, Samuel Foster commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 35.)

Sloop *Fish Hawk*, Letter of marque. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., Sept. 1st 1780 Israel Ober commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxvii. 45.)

Sloop *Fish Hawk*, 60 tons, 6 guns, 40 men. Privateer. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., Samuel Foster commissioned commander, May 2, 1781. The *Fish Hawk* was taken Sept. 21st 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 381.)

The list of the officers and crew who signed as Beverly men June 6, 1780, was as follows:

Samuel Foster, captain	32 years	5 ft. 5 in.	Dark
Nathaniel Ober, 1st mate	21 "	5 " 8 "	Light
Robert Stone, mariner	25 "	5 " 5 "	"
Isaiah Foster, "	21 "	5 " 4 "	Dark
Thomas Fitzgerald, "	22 "	5 " 6 "	Light
Benj. Sprague, "	20 "	5 " 4 "	Dark
Zebulon Ober, "	19 "	5 " 4 "	Light
George Groce, "	28 "	5 "	Dark
Eben Ray, "	19 "	5 " 5 "	Light
Osman Thorndike, "	19 "	5 " 5 "	Light
James Pearce, cabin boy	17 "	5 " 4 "	Light

FLY

Sloop *Fly*, 50 tons, 4 carriage and 8 swivel guns, 40 men. Privateer. On petition of Andrew Cabot and Benjamin Lovett, John Marsh commissioned commander, August 29, 1778, with Ezra Ober as 1st lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 117.)

FORTUNE

Brigantine *Fortune*, 100 tons, 8 guns and 18 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Miles Greenwood and John Dyson, June 29, 1779, Francis Bowman commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 190.)

Brigantine *Fortune*, 140 tons, 12 guns and 36 men. Privateer. Petition of Miles Greenwood, April 27, 1780, Jesse Fearson commissioned commander (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 136.)

Brigantine *Fortune*, 14 guns and 60 men. Privateer. Petition of John Dyson July 3, 1781, Benjamin Ives commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 421.)

Brigantine *Fortune*, 7 guns, 15 men. Letter of marque. Petition of John Dyson and others of Beverly, November 7, 1781, Richard Ober of Beverly commissioned commander.

FOX

Brigantine *Fox*, 150 tons, 8 guns, 15 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Stephen Higginson of Boston, Israel Johnson commissioned master, July 15, 1780. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 196.)

Ship *Fox*, 100 tons, 8 guns and 20 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Benjamin Lovett, Israel Johnson commissioned master, May 9, 1782. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 152.)

The bond of Brigantine *Fox*, July 14, 1780, signed by Benjamin Lovett, Salem, is given in Revolutionary Rolls, v. 228. Whether the brigantine was rerigged as a ship or there were two vessels seems uncertain.

FRANKLIN

Brigantine *Franklin*, 200 tons, 18 six-pounders, 100 men. Privateer. On petition of J. & A. Cabot and Bartholemew Putnam of Salem, April 20th 1778, Thomas Connoly commissioned commander, I. Leach 1st lieutenant, J. Selman 2nd lieutenant, and Jonathan Stevenson master.

Brigantine *Franklin*, 200 tons, 18 guns and 120 men. Privateer. On petition of E. H. Derby, Jacob Ashton, and Bart. Putnam, Oct. 16, 1778, John Leach commissioned commander, Jacob Oliver 1st lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 229.)

Brigantine *Franklin*, 160 tons, 18 guns, 100 men. Privateer. On petition of E. H. Derby, Joseph Robinson commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 43.)

Ship *Franklin*, 200 tons, 15 guns, 120 men. Privateer. Petition of Joseph Robinson on behalf of the owners, September 4, 1779, Joseph Robinson commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 391.)

Ship *Franklin*, 220 tons, 18 guns and 100 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Nathan Goodale, March 24, 1780, John Turner commissioned captain, John Bray 1st mate, William Bacon surgeon. Under Captain Turner there were many

Marblehead, but no Beverly, men in the crew. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 105.)

Ship *Franklin*, 200 tons, 18 guns, 100 men. Privateer. Petition of J. & A. Cabot, June 22, 1781, John Allen Hallet commissioned commander, Silas Devoll 1st lieutenant. On the back of the petition is endorsed "John Allen Hallet, Master of the within ship, is 37 years of age, 6 ft. 6 in. in stature, and of dark complexion. Silas Devoll, 1st Lieut. is 6 ft. tall, 40 years of age and dark." (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 415.)

Ship *Franklin*, 200 tons, 18 guns, 100 men. Privateer. On petition of Bart. Putnam of Salem, December 14, 1781, Silas Devoll commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 81.) The Salem Gazette of April 26, 1782, reports that privateer *Franklin*, Captain Devoll, has been taken by H. B. M. frigates *Assurance* and *Amphitrite*.

Freedom

Brigantine *Freedom*, 90 tons, 7 guns, 15 men. Letter of marque. Petition of John Lovett of Beverly, September 7, 1780, Benjamin Ober commissioned master, Jonathan Foster 1st mate, William Dike Cooper, Jonathan Clary and Cornelius Woodberry mariners, all from Beverly. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 268.)

Friendship

Schooner *Friendship*, Captain Benjamin Ellingwood, belonging to Ebenezer Ellingwood and others, on a voyage from Salem for Surinam, laden with fish and lumber was taken by the letter of marque *Tom*, December 28, 1777, and sent into Liverpool.

General Wayne

Brigantine *General Wayne*, 90 tons, 8 guns, 25 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Samuel Page of Salem, February 3, 1780, Richard Quatermass commissioned captain. (Revolutionary Rolls, xl. 87.)

Brigantine *Gen. Wayne*. John Leach of Boston commissioned master, John Bickford 1st mate, James Buckman 2nd mate, Francis Thompson boatswain, James Parker gunner, John Batchelder mariner. All, except Captain Leach, from Beverly. (Revolutionary Rolls, xl. 88.) The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury of September 9, 1780, reports brigantine *Gen. Wayne* taken by H. B. M. ship *Intrepid*.

Hampden

Brigantine *Hampden*, 120 tons, 14 four-pounders, 120 men. Privateer. On petition of George Cabot and others, July 5, 1777, Benjamin Warren commissioned commander.

Bond of Jonathan Ingersoll, commander of brigantine *Hampden*, George Cabot as surety, William Bartlett 1st lieutenant, November 1, 1777. (Revolutionary Rolls, vi. 103.)

The Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1778, xlviii. 189, reports the *Hampden* rebel privateer 12 guns, 64 men, taken by the *Seaford*, and carried into Dominica.

Hawke

Schooner *Hawke*, 50 tons, 6 guns, 15 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Thomas Davis, of Beverly, and Ephriam Spooner, November 1, 1779, William Holland commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 1.)

HECTOR

Brigantine *Hector*, 150 tons, 8 guns, 17 men. Letter of marque. Petition of George Cabot for Joseph Lee, Andrew Cabot and William Bartlett, March 17, 1777, Zachariah Burchmore commissioned master.

The *Hector* had sailed before for the Cabots under the name of the *Union*.

HOPE

Brigantine *Hope*, 60 tons, 6 guns, 35 men. Privateer. Petition of Herbert Woodberry, May 28, 1782, Herbert Woodberry commissioned commander. Captured by English privateer *Prince Edward*, September 25, 1782, but retaken by the crew. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 673.)

HOPEWELL

Schooner *Hopewell*, 25 tons, 10 swivel guns, 40 men. Privateer. Petition of William Homans and others of Beverly, July 26, 1782, Cornelius Dunham commissioned commander. March 26, 1783, same petitioners, Martin Brewster commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 209.)

JUNIUS BRUTUS

Ship *Junius Brutus*, 20 six-pounders, 120 men. Privateer. On petition of Joshua Ward and Henry Rust of Salem, John Leach commissioned commander, Benjamin Moses 1st lieutenant, William Carleton 2nd lieutenant, Daniel Adams master. Names of Beverly men in the crew, Jack Ellis, Isaac Cornish, James Black, Robert Remond, John Groce, and Absalom Goodrich. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 168.)

Ship *Junius Brutus*, 260 tons, 20 six and 9-pounders, 120 men. Privateer. On petition of Josiah Orne and others of Salem, August 23, 1780, John Brooks commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 260.)

Ship *Junius Brutus*, 200 tons, 20 guns, 120 men. Privateer. Petition of Nathan Goodale of Salem, Nathaniel Brookhouse commissioned commander, October 27, 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 44.)

Ship *Junius Brutus*, same tonnage and force. Privateer. On petition of Henry Rust and others of Salem, John Brooks commissioned commander June 19, 1782. Bond signed by Andrew Cabot and Henry Rust. The *Junius Brutus* was taken by an English cruizer in 1782 and carried into Newfoundland. October 17, 1782, a cartel arrived in Salem bringing the crew of the *Junius Brutus*. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 175.)

LYON

Ship *Lyon*, 400 tons, 26 nine-pounders, 90 men. Letter of marque. Petition of A. & J. Cabot, William Tuck commissioned master, March 6, 1782. The *Lyon* was an English built ship, prize to the *Ranger*, bought by Mr. Cabot to serve as a mast ship. She sailed May 6, 1782, and was captured the same day by the English frigate *Blonde*.

MARS

Brigantine *Mars* of unknown tonnage and armament, Captain Joshua Ellingwood. "Petition of Mark Lafitte, Native of France, at present Resident in Salem, Humbly Showeth that the said Petitioner is owner of the Brigantine *Mars*, Joshua Ellingwood, Master, laying in Beverly, which Brigantine was almost ready for the Sea when an Embargo took place." Also a petition of

Jean François Greste St. Firmin, that he had come to Salem on business two months before, was part owner of the cargo of the *Mars* and was anxious to return to his home in the Island of High Hispaniola, whither the brigantine was bound. To these petitions were affixed these certificates:

Beverly, Aug. 9, 1779,

We certify whom it may concern that the Brigantine *Mars*, commanded by Capt. Joshua Ellingwood, now Lying in the harbour of Beverly is Loaded wit Alewives, Menhaden and lumber And That There is no Cod or other Dried fish on board Said Brigantine nor other provisions more than is necessary for her present voyage.

Nathaniel Batchelder, Jr.
Nathan Leach

Council Chamber, Aug. 9, 1779, Ordered that the Naval Officer for the Port of Salem be and hereby is Directed to clear out the Brigantine *Mars*, Letter of Marque, now lying in the harbour of Beverly, bound to Hispaniola, when the Embargo on Vessels shall expire, the Embargo on provisions notwithstanding.

Mohock

Ship *Mohock*, 262 tons, 20 six-pounders, 130 men. Privateer. On petition of William Leach, William Bartlett and others of Beverly, Elias Smith commissioned commander, November 8, 1781. The *Mohock* was a new ship built especially for a privateer. On September 6, 1782, John Carnes succeeded Captain Smith and the *Mohock* was taken fourteen days out by H. B. M. ship *Enterprise* and sent into New York.

Neptune

Brigantine *Neptune*, 115 tons, 14 guns, 80 men. Privateer. This vessel was partly owned in Beverly in 1779, but who her owners were is uncertain. The petition for her commission, dated August 5, 1779, was signed by George Dodge of Salem, and as he was associated with Andrew Cabot in many enterprises it is probable that the latter was largely interested. The *Neptune* was commanded by John Ashton, with John Marsh as lieutenant, both of Beverly.

New Adventure

Brig *New Adventure*, 14 guns, 50 men. Privateer. Petition of William Orne and John Leach of Salem, John Neal, Jr., commissioned commander, Jacob Oliver 1st lieutenant, Edward Stanly 2nd lieutenant. A number of American privateers were dogging the Quebec fleet and nine of them were taken and carried into Halifax, and some to St. John's, Newfoundland. Brig *New Adventure*, Captain Neal of Beverly. (New York Mercury, September 21, 1781.) The brig *New Adventure* is usually credited to Salem, the only authority for calling it a Beverly vessel is the above statement of the New York Mercury.

Oliver Cromwell

Brigantine *Oliver Cromwell*, 162 tons, 16 guns, 130 men. Privateer. On petition of John Derby of Salem and Andrew Cabot of Beverly, William Cole commissioned commander, April 29, 1777. (Revolutionary Rolls, vii. 300.)

Brigantine *Oliver Cromwell*, 160 tons, 16 guns, 100 men. Privateer. Petition of Jonathan Ingersoll, July 10, 1778, Thomas Simmons commissioned commander, James Barr 1st lieutenant.

Ship *Oliver Cromwell*, 150 tons, 16 six-pound guns, 110 men. Privateer. On petition of Bart. Putnam and John Derby, March 29, 1779, Thomas Simmons commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 41.)

Ship *Oliver Cromwell*, 150 tons, 18 guns, 110 men. Privateer. On petition of Bart Putnam and others, August 11, 1779, James Barr commissioned commander, I. Carpenter 1st lieutenant, Samuel West 2nd lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 320.)

Ship *Oliver Cromwell*, 160 tons, 16 guns, 85 men. Privateer. On petition of Nathan Leach, William Bartlett and others of Beverly, John Bray commissioned commander, April 19, 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 371.)

The *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain Bray, while dogging the Quebec fleet was taken by a British frigate and sent into Newfoundland. On September 22, 1781, a cartel arrived at Boston from Newfoundland bringing Captain Bray and his crew.

PILGRIM

Ship *Pilgrim*, 200 tons, 16 nine-pounders, 140 men. Privateer. On petition of John and Andrew Cabot, Hugh Hill was commissioned commander, September 12, 1778, John Hooper 1st lieutenant, Benj. Moses 2nd lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 157.)

Ship *Pilgrim*, 200 tons, 18 nine-pounders, 160 men. Privateer. On petition of Andrew Cabot, Joseph Robinson commissioned commander, March 24, 1780.[1] (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 104.)

Ship *Pilgrim*, 200 tons, 18 guns, 150 men. Privateer. On petition of William Creed, in behalf of Jonathan Jackson, Joseph Lee, and J. & A. Cabot, Joseph Robinson commissioned commander, April 14, 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 369.) The New York Mercury of May 16, 1782, reports American privateer *Pilgrim* prize to H. B. M. frigate *Belisarius;*[2] American papers of October 12, 1782, report that the privateer *Pilgrim* was chased ashore on Cape Cod by the English frigate *Chatham*.

[1] The officers and petty officers of the *Pilgrim* August 14, 1780, were as follows: Joseph Robinson, Salem, commander; Jesse Allen, Manchester, 1st lieutenant; Benjamin Warren, Salem, 2nd lieutenant; Nicholas Garven, Boston, master; George Sugden, Beverly, master's mate; John Dean, Salem, 2nd mate; J. L. Hammond, Salem, 3rd mate; Samuel Blanchard, Boston, surgeon; Nathaniel Otis, Salem, chaplain; William Curtis, master of marines; Moses Vose, John Harris, Francis Horton, Joseph Hudson, John Kelly, John Marsh, and Thomas Hogkins, all prize masters; Jonathan Glidden, Beverly, carpenter; William Foot, Salem, cooper; Joseph Johnson, Salem, doctor's mate; John Turner, gunner; James Lyons, Marblehead, sailmaker; Jonathan McDowell, boatswain; Joseph Standly and William Vose, stewards. Of the crew only two, James Elliot and Richard Allen, were Beverly men. There were ten boys, one eleven, two twelve, two thirteen and five seventeen years or younger. Most of the crew were of foreign birth.

[2] This report of the capture of the *Pilgrim* was probably incorrect. At all events the vessel, if captured, was not the *Pilgrim* of Beverly.

There is in existence a log kept by Dr. Josiah Bartlett while surgeon on the *Pilgrim* of Beverly from April 19, 1781, to July 23, 1782. This log will be printed in Vol. xxv. of the Publications of this Society.

Rambler

Ship *Rambler*, on February 18, 1777, Andrew Cabot, owner of ship *Rambler*, petitions the Council for permission to clear the *Rambler* in ballast for some neutral port in Europe, to bring back salt, woolens and naval stores. The *Rambler* probably belonged to Mr. Cabot several years prior to her commission in 1777. In 1776 the *Rambler* was at Bilbao, Spain, under command of George Cabot. In 1777 Andrew Cabot in a letter to Gardoqui & Sons, Bilbao, writes: "The *Rambler*, Capt. Simmons, which is owned by George Dodge and myself." (Massachusetts Archives, clxvi. 269.)

Ship *Rambler*, 200 tons, 14 six-pounders, 50 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot and others of Beverly, Benjamin Lovett commissioned master, October 16, 1779. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 434.)

Ship *Rambler*, same tonnage and force. Letter of marque. Petition of J. & A. Cabot, February 14, 1782, Benjamin Lovett commissioned master. The Beverly men on the *Rambler* in 1780 were Benjamin Lovett captain, and William Ober, H. Hair, Robert Haskell, Robert Stanly, Nathan Gage, John Ellingwood, and William Poland mariners. (Revolutionary Rolls, xl. 70.)

Reprisal

Brigantine *Reprisal*, 70 tons, 8 three-pound guns, and 10 swivels and 60 men. Privateer. On petition of Job Prince and Samuel White of Boston, agents for themselves and Jacob Fowler, Andrew Cabot, John Coffin Jones and Benjamin Hichbourne, owners, John Wheelwright commissioned commander, October 3, 1776, Samuel Smallcorn 1st lieutenant, Nathaniel Thayer 2nd lieutenant, John Gregore master, Joseph Pitman steward, Stephen Johnson gunner, and John Ritchmond doctor. (Revolutionary Rolls, vii. 34.) The *Reprisal* may have been captured in 1777, as Nathaniel Thayer, her 1st lieutenant, returned on the cartel *Swift* from Halifax November 9, 1777.

Resource

Ship *Resource*, 178 tons, 16 six-pounders, 30 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Thomas Woodberry, Ebenezer Parsons, and Israel Thorndike, June 10, 1780, Israel Thorndike commissioned master. (Revolutionary Rolls, xl. 64.)

List of officers and crew and share of prize money: Israel Thorndike captain, 8 shares; Richard Ober mate, 4 shares; Andrew Thorndike 2nd mate, 3 shares; Samuel Cressy master, 3 shares; Nathan French gunner, 2 shares; Francis Gordon boatswain, 2 shares; Batholemew carpenter, 2 shares; Jonathan Wooden master's mate, 1½ shares; Edward Lee master of marines, 2 shares; Dana Whipple of Ipswich, steward, 1½ shares; Joseph Whittredge of Danvers, William Eaves and Stephen Barker of Taunton, Ephriam Walton of Ipswich, Jonathan White of Boston, Jacob Thompson, Nathan Beaurigard, Edward Larcom, William Gage, Nicholas Thorndike, George Bray, —— Herrick, Richard Ober, all mariners from Beverly except where noted, 1 share. There were also three boys, Ezra Hall 16, Herbert Vickory 16, and Edward Marvell 14 years of age.

Ship *Resource*, 140 tons, 10 guns and 24 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Thomas Woodberry and others, September 7, 1780, Richard Ober commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 176.)

List of officers and crew and ages September 11, 1780: Richard Ober captain, 35 years; Andrew Thorndike 1st mate, 27 years; Sam. Cressy 2nd mate, 27 years;

John Waters, 28; Andrew Ober, 18; John Woodby, 22; Jacob Woodby, 18; Andrew Woodby, 30; Thomas Woodby, 37; Ebenezer Woodby, 25; John Lovett, 27; Jacob Brown of Wenham, 28; Nathan Thorne, 18; Jacob Thompson, 18; John Savage, 27; Thomas Harris, 27; Thomas Ober, 22; David Allen, 29; Richard Ober, 24; Richard Thorne, 22; Nicholas Thorndike, 22; John Rea, 22; Joseph Ray, 24; and Andrew Woodman, 27 years of age. All of Beverly except one. (Revolutionary Rolls, xl. 66.)

The *Resource* was taken by an English cruizer in 1780.

RETALIATION

Brigantine *Retaliation*, 70 tons, 10 guns, 9 swivels, 70 men. Privateer. On petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., September 4, 1776, Eleazer Giles commander, Thomas Stephens 1st lieutenant, John Proctor 2nd lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxv. 204.) The *Retaliation* was taken in the autumn of 1777.

REVENGE

Sloop *Revenge*, 90 tons, 12 guns, 60 men. Privateer. Petition of Miles Greenwood and Joseph Lee, May 14, 1776, Joseph White commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxiv. 356.) The sloop *Revenge* was afterwards commanded by Benjamin Warren, Edward Gibaut, and Benjamin Dean.

REVOLUTION

Ship *Revolution*, 330 tons, 20 9-pounders, 130 men. Privateer. On petition of J. & A. Cabot, March 6, 1782, Stephen Webb commissioned commander.

ROVER

Sloop *Rover*, 8 guns, 50 men. Privateer. On petition of Jacob Ashton, Joseph Sprague and others, July 17, 1776, Simon Forester commissioned captain. (Massachusetts Archives, clxv. 421.)

Sloop *Rover*, same armament. Privateer. On petition of Benjamin Goodhue for the owners, November 13, 1776, Abijah Boden was commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvi. 37.)

Sloop *Rover*, 60 tons, 8 guns and 50 men. Privateer. On petition of John Derby, Andrew Cabot and others, August 9, 1777, John Mitchell commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvii. 319.)

SALLY

Ship *Sally*, Captain John Buffinton. Andrew Cabot was part owner.

SARATOGA

Brig *Saratoga*, 120 tons, 8 guns and 30 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot, Joseph Lee and others, July 1, 1778, John Tittle commissioned master.

Brig *Saratoga*, 120 tons, 10 guns, 30 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot, November 20, 1779, Stephen Webb commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 28.)

September 4, 1780, Eleazer Giles was master of the letter of marque *Saratoga* and the list of officers and crew was as follows: Eleazer Giles master, William Ellingwood 1st mate, Benjamin Parsons of Gloucester 2nd mate, Nicholas Ober

prize master, James Hooper of Marblehead gunner, James Higgins (born in Virginia, lives in Beverly), Richard Green, Jonathan Bowls, Benjamin Roundy (Salem), Thomas Giles (Salem), John Tufts (Danvers), Ceaser and Cato Montgomery cooks, Joseph Haskell, all natives and residents of Beverly, except where noted. There were also two English prisoners, Robert Lefavour and James Mull, serving as mariners on the vessel.

On November 1, 1780, the brig *Saratoga* was reported condemned and sold at Beverly.

Scorpion

Schooner *Scorpion*, 50 tons, 14 swivel and 2 carriage guns, 40 men. Privateer. On petition of Joseph White and Miles Greenwood of Salem, November 8, 1777, Israel Thorndike commissioned commander, John Ashton 1st lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvii. 436.)

Schooner *Scorpion*, 45 tons, 16 swivel guns, 40 men. Privateer. On petition of E. H. Derby, February 27, 1778, John Brooks commissioned commander, John Marsh 1st lieutenant.

Schooner *Scorpion*, 50 tons, 2 guns, 40 men. On petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., June 16, 1778, Benjamin Niles commissioned master. In this petition the *Scorpion* is called both letter of marque and privateer.

Schooner *Scorpion*, same armament and petitioners. Letter of marque. March 18, 1779, Benjamin Ives was commissioned master. September 20, 1779, Perry Howland was master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 25, 410.)

Scourge

Ship *Scourge*, 240 tons, 20 guns, 120 men. On petition of Brown & Thorndike, May 24, 1781, Timothy Parker commissioned commander. The *Scourge* was taken by an English cruizer April 22, 1782.

Sebastian

Ship *Sebastian*, 150 tons, 10 guns, 30 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot, February 18, 1779, Benjamin Lovett commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 444.)

Ship *Sebastian*, same force and petitioner, September 18, 1779, Benjamin Ellingwood master. August 21, 1780, Ichabod Groves master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 403.) Said to have been taken by an English cruizer in 1780.

Shaker

Galley *Shaker*, 50 tons, 6 four-pounders, 40 men. Privateer. On petition of Job Prince, Andrew Cabot and others, May 9, 1782, Samuel Stacy commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 153.)

Ship *Shaker*, 50 tons, 6 guns, 40 men. Privateer. On petition of Brown & Thorndike, February 26, 1783, James Lovett commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 307.)

Spanish Packet

Ship *Spanish Packet*, 10 guns and 20 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Francis Cabot and James Jeffreys, February 18, 1782, Thomas Daling commissioned master.

STARKS

Brigantine *Starks*, 120 tons, 6 guns and 20 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot, Richard Quatermass commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxviii. 67.)

Brigantine *Starks*, 10 guns and 20 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot October 16, 1779, Ezra Ober was commissioned master, Richard Ober 1st mate, Edward Foster 2nd mate, Benjamin Porter gunner, Benjamin Presson prize master, James Richerson, David Bunker, John Tuck, John Anderson, William Morgan, Robert Stanly, Osman Thorndike, William Thompson, all of Beverly; Joseph and Nathaniel Kingman of Wenham; James Dodge and Thomas Stevens of Ipswich.

STURDY BEGGAR

Schooner *Sturdy Beggar*, 90 tons, 6 guns and 20 men. Privateer. On petition of E. H. Derby, June 13, 1776, Peter Landen of Salem commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxiv. 391.)

Schooner *Sturdy Beggar*, number of guns and crew not given. Privateer. On petition of Benjamin Goodhue, August 2, 1776, Allen Hallet commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxv. 24.)

Schooner *Sturdy Beggar*, 100 tons, 8 guns and 60 men. Privateer. On petition of Benj. Goodhue and others, October 2, 1776, Edward Rowland commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxv. 308.) On February 24, 1777, the *Sturdy Beggar*, Captain Rowland, was reported taken by an English cruizer and the crew afterwards confined in Mill Prison.

Brigantine *Sturdy Beggar*, 100 tons, 10 guns and crew of unknown number. Privateer. On petition of Joshua Ward of Salem, August 20, 1777, Philip Lefavour of Marblehead commissioned commander. (Revolutionary Rolls, v. 3.) Bond of *Sturdy Beggar* signed by Benjamin Goodhue and Andrew Cabot. Whether the schooner *Sturdy Beggar* had not been taken by an English cruizer and been rerigged as a brigantine, or whether this was another vessel, the writer has been unable to ascertain. The brigantine *Sturdy Beggar* is said to have been wrecked on the coast of France.

SUCCESS

Ship *Success*, Captain William Langdon. Petition of Zachariah Gage, June 16, 1777, for exchange of Captain Langdon, two mates and six sailors, of ship *Success* of Beverly, taken seven weeks before by the *Diamond* frigate. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvii. 32.)

Brig *Success*, 120 tons, 8 guns and 15 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Stephen Higginson and Francis Cabot of Salem, January 4, 1779, William Groves commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 398.)

SWALLOW

Schooner *Swallow*, 60 tons. Petition of Thomas Davis of Beverly to send the *Swallow* to Virginia for flour, January 8, 1777.

Schooner *Swallow*, John Loviet, master. Built in New England in 1750. Registered at Salem, October 22, 1750. Owned by Thomas Davis and Benjamin Fisher. (Essex Institute Historical Collections, v. 282.)

Swift

Brigantine *Swift*, 100 tons, 8 guns and 20 men. Letter of marque. Petition of William Homans and others, January 3, 1781, Asa Woodberry commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 324.)

Brigantine *Swift*, 100 tons, 14 guns, 70 men. Privateer. Petition of William Homans and others of Beverly, January 5, 1781, John Tittle commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 405.)

Brigantine *Swift*, 100 tons, 14 guns, 70 men. Privateer. Same petition, October 20, 1781, Israel Johnson commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 36.) The *Swift* was captured in 1782.

Terrible Creature

Brigantine *Terrible Creature*, 16 guns, 100 men. Privateer. Petition of George and Andrew Cabot, March 9, 1778, Robert Richardson commissioned commander, Zachariah Birchmore 1st lieutenant, Nathaniel West 2nd lieutenant, John Bradford master.

True American

Schooner *True American*, 90 tons, 10 guns, 70 men. Privateer. Petition of George Dodge for Andrew Cabot, April 29, 1777, John Buffinton commissioned commander, Benjamin Chapman 1st lieutenant, John Brooks 2nd lieutenant, William Thomas master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvi. 372.)

Brigantine *True American*, 90 tons, 70 guns, 25 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Andrew Cabot, May 20, 1778, John Buffinton commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxviii. 237.)

Two Friends

Schooner *Two Friends*, 60 tons. Owned in 1782 by Andrew Cabot.

Valiant

Schooner *Valiant*. No record of her commission in the State Archives, except list of officers and crew, June 3, 1780:

Joshua Ellingwood	Capt.	28	years	of	age	5	ft.	2	in.	in	stature	dark
Nathan Batchelder	Mate	29	"	"	"	5	"	6	"	"	"	lite
William Porter		28	"	"	"	5	"	5	"	"	"	dark
Edward Smith		20	"	"	"	5	"	8	"	"	"	lite
David Herrick		22	"	"	"	5	"	8	"	"	"	dark
Nathaniel Wallis		21	"	"	"	5	"	9	"	"	"	lite
Joshua Herrick		18	"	"	"	5	"		"	"		lite

Union

Brigantine *Union*, 120 tons, 6 guns, 4 swivels, 20 men. Petition of Samuel Ward of Salem, January 4, 1779, William Langdell commissioned captain. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 399.)

Warren

Schooner *Warren*, 50 tons, 5 carriage and 10 swivel guns, 50 men. Privateer. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and others, October 29, 1776, Israel Thorndike commissioned commander, Nicholas Ogleeby 1st lieutenant, William Ryan 2nd lieutenant, John Lee master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 396.)

Schooner *Warren*, 60 tons, 10 guns, 50 men. Privateer. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., April 29, 1777, Nicholas Ogleeby, commissioned commander.

Schooner *Warren*, 60 tons, 10 guns, 50 men. Privateer. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., December 3, 1777, John Ravell commissioned commander, Samuel Foote 1st lieutenant. The *Warren* was taken by the *Tom*, December 27, 1777, and by the *Fanny* February 6, 1778.

WASHINGTON

Brigantine *Washington*, 90 tons, 12 guns, 80 men. Privateer. Petition of John Dyson, Thomas Davis of Beverly and Jonathan Hobby and Samuel Thwing of Boston, October 3, 1776, Elias Smith commissioned commander, James Lovett 1st lieutenant, William Tuck 2nd lieutenant, John Vickory master.[1] (Massachusetts Archives, clxv. 311.)

Brigantine *Washington*, same force and petitions, May 2, 1777, Elias Smith commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvi. 379.)

Brigantine *Washington*, 95 tons, 14 guns, 75 men. Privateer. Petition of Samuel Dyson and Samuel Thwing, November 8, 1777, Nicholas Ogleby commissioned commander, John Ober 1st lieutenant, William Ryan 2nd lieutenant, David Stevenson master. (In the bond the name is written "Oglisby.") (Massachusetts Archives, clxvii. 437.)

It is possible that the *Washington*, Captain Ogleeby, was not the original *Washington*.

Of the seventy merchant and private armed vessels, described in the above list, it is probable that sixty were owned or controlled in Beverly and the other ten out of town. It is possible that some have been included which properly belonged to Salem, but the change of ownership in those days was so frequent, the evidence so conflicting, that it is hard to draw the line. There were undoubtedly other vessels, besides the above, sailing from Beverly, and there is reason to believe that the following vessels might be included in the list, though proof is lacking:

Schooner *Gen. Gates*	Owned in 1776 by John Gardner and partner. John Cabot, witness on the bond.
Schooner *Harlequin*	Owned in 1776 by John Gardner and partner. The *Harlequin* was the schooner *Sally*, renamed, and Andrew Cabot owned ⅛ of the *Sally*.
Brig *Pluto*	Petition of Josiah Orne of Salem in 1777. Andrew Cabot, witness on the bond.
Schooner *Fair Lady*	Owned in Ipswich in 1776. William Homans, Jr., one of her owners.

[1] With the exception of John Vickory, who was probably a Marblehead man, all the officers and most of the crew were from Beverly.

Ship *Rhodes* — Owned by William Shillaber and others in 1780. The *Rhodes* sent a number of prizes into Beverly and several were sold at the Cabot wharf.

Ship *Hawk*, Ship *Neptune*, Brig *Neptune*, Schooner *Resolution*, Schooner *Batchelder*, Sloop *Gates*, Brig *Rambler*.

It is impossible to enumerate all the vessels in which Beverly capital was interested, and the above is only a partial list. Shares in vessels were reckoned in eighths and multiples of that fraction and, in absence of other kinds of investment, the inhabitants of the seaport towns bought and sold them as stocks are bought and sold to-day. Men used their shares in ships as collateral, bought and sold futures; hedged against possible losses; sold short and played the game for all it was worth, and a fascinating game it was: a hundred pounds invested might within thirty days pay back a thousand; one successful cruize might win a fortune. To be sure, the chance of loss was great, but when did that ever check the gambling spirit? Under these conditions the control of vessels passed rapidly from hand to hand. The prosperous ship-owner of to-day might be the bankrupt of to-morrow, and within six months' time the same vessel might be owned consecutively in Beverly, Salem, and Boston. This spirit of speculation or gambling also affected the officers and men of the private armed vessels. After a successful cruize many of them, like the Scotch Highlanders after a victory, gave up their positions for a time and remained ashore to squander their booty.

The history of Revolutionary privateering in the town of Beverly is, as has been said, the history of the house of Cabot. Before the war the firm of J. & A. Cabot had no great prominence in New England, though of good credit and considerable means. Beginning with small and scattered ventures in privateers, by shrewdness and natural ability they had by the end of the war accumulated great wealth and had become the most prosperous mercantile firm in the State. Andrew Cabot was a student of conditions, a good judge of men, and his partner, Joseph Lee, was an expert in ship architecture. Much of the firm's success was due to the captains commanding their vessels, and these Andrew Cabot picked with rare judgment and bound to the firm by liberal and considerate treatment. Hugh Hill, Benjamin Lovett, John Edmonds, John Buffinton, and Joseph Robinson were especial favorites of the firm and made much money for themselves and the owners.

To give a complete list of the vessels in which the firm of J. & A. Cabot were interested is impossible, but that they were part owners in the following is certain:

Brigantine	*Active*
Ship	*Black Prince*
Ship	*Buccanier*
Snow	*Cato*
Brig	*Chance*
Ship	*Cicero*
Ship	*Commerce*
Brigantine	*Defence*
Brigantine	*Defence*
Snow	*Diana*
Ship	*Essex*
Brigantine	*Experiment*
Sloop	*Fly*
Brigantine	*Fortune*
Brigantine	*Hampden*
Brigantine	*Hector*
Brigantine	*Hope*
Ship	*Junius Brutus*
Ship	*Lyon*
Ship	*Oliver Cromwell*
Ship	*Pilgrim*
Ship	*Rambler*
Brigantine	*Reprisal*
Sloop	*Revenge*
Ship	*Revolution*
Sloop	*Rover*
Ship	*Sally*
Schooner	*Sally*
Sloop	*Sally*
Brig	*Saratoga*
Ship	*Sebastian*
Galley	*Shaker*
Ship	*Spanish Packet*
Brigantine	*Starks*
Schooner	*Sturdy Beggar*
Brigantine	*Terrible Creature*
Schooner	*True American*
Schooner	*Two Friends*
Brigantine	*Union*

The total tonnage owned in Beverly in 1780 amounted to 2844 tons, and of this J. & A. Cabot controlled more than two-thirds. The *Cicero, Revolution, Buccanier, Lyon,* and *Rambler* were owned almost entirely by the firm, the others merely enough to hold control. A certain amount of the tonnage of vessels sailing from Beverly was held out of town. The following list for 1780 is given in the Nathan Dane Papers:

Buccanier	200 tons	Owned in Salem and Boston	12/96
Pilgrim	235 "	" " " " "	32/96
		" " Newbury	16/96
Scourge	235 "	" " Salem and Boston	24/96
		" " Newbury	6/96
Mohawk	200 "	" " Ipswich	8/96
Fortune	90 "	Out of town	24/96
Swift	90 "	" "	24/96
Sch. *Two Friends*	60 "	" "	12/96
Revolution	260 "	" " Beverly	
Cicero	240 "	" " "	
Lyon	300 "	" " "	
Chance	100 "	" " "	

From 1781 to 1783 the loss of vessels to Beverly by capture was very great, but even then Beverly was more fortunate than her sister seaport town. On January 7, 1782, George Williams writes: "The town of Marblehead has lost all but two or three vessels. The town of Beverly is almost in the same order except John and Andrew Cabot. They own 2¾ parts of three ships in France which sent into France 4000 hogshead of sugar and several other prizes. Joseph Lee, Edward Allen and Mr. Gardner own the other ¼." Mr. Cabot was better off than George Williams gives him credit, for, besides those mentioned, he owned the *Rambler*, and during the year bought or built a new *Pilgrim* and a new *Commerce*. As soon as peace was declared he prepared to carry out a previously formed plan. A vessel not named, Captain Fearson, had already sailed for the Baltic and in the early spring of 1784 the *Commerce*, Captain Tuck, cleared for St. Petersburg. She was followed May 17, 1784, by the *Sebastian*, Captain Worsely, and the two ships arrived back at Beverly, the *Commerce* October 8, 1784, and the *Sebastian* a few days later.[1] The two voyages were not profitable, but Mr. Cabot was not discouraged, and in 1785 he writes to Gardoqui & Sons: "We have quitted the West India trade and the trade in piece goods and have built two rope walks and gone into the Russian line, importing hemp, iron and sail cloth and sell entirely for fish. We supply ⅓ of the articles mentioned for Beverly, Salem, Glouces-ter, Manchester and Marblehead."

With the coming of peace, trade reasserted itself. To one who reads over the entries and clearances of the port of Salem from April 4, 1783, when Captain Derby in the *Astrea* brought the first printed copy of the declaration of cessation of arms, it seems as though all the vessels lost during the seven years of war had sprung to life and assumed a peaceful guise. Vessels with the same old names, often with the same captain, cleared from port as fast as they could be fitted out. Asa Woodberry in the *Swallow* and Robert Haskell

[1] "Elsinore May 27, 1783. Yesterday arrived the first commercial ship which has appeared in our seas. She came from Boston bound for Riga" (Salem Gazette, August 1, 1783). As Capt. Fearson in the *Buccanier* sailed from France for the Baltic as soon as peace was declared, it is possible that this is the vessel meant and that Andrew Cabot had the honor of first showing our flag in those waters. In 1784 the *Commerce*, Capt. Tuck, reached St. Petersburg before the *Light Horse* and beat her on the return voyage.

in the *Tryal* were among the earliest. May 16th Joshua Ellingwood in the *Industry* cleared for Guadaloupe, and a few days later Ezra Ober returned from France in the *Cicero*. June 16th Andrew Thorndike sailed for Hispaniola in the *Active*, and during the year we see Captain Tuck in the *Commerce*, Benjamin Lovett in the *Rambler*, John Carnes in the *Sebastian*, Benjamin Ives in the *Volant*, Richard Ober in the *Jane*, John Tittle in the *Hector*, James Lovett in the *Leopard*, and Isaac Ray in the *Chance*.

In conclusion, it may be doubted whether privateering, from a business point of view, was profitable to our Massachusetts seaport towns. A few men like Andrew Cabot and Hasket Derby made great fortunes, but the majority lost all they had. Still warfare of any kind is an economic loss, and damage to the enemy a necessary part of warfare, and in this sense privateering was a success.

APPENDIX

Here is given an alphabetical list of officers on Beverly privateers and letters of marque vessels, their residences and rank held on any vessel during the war, also date of commissions.

Adams, Daniel Beverly Salem	1st Lieut. State brigantine *Independence*, Capt. Samson	Sept. 19, 1776
	1st Lieut. State brigantine *Freedom*, Capt. John Clouston	Feb. 10, 1777
	Captain L. M.[1] sloop *Driver*	Sept. 1, 1779
	Commander privateer schooner *Lively*	Apr. 22, 1782
	Captain L. M. schooner, name not given	Nov. 18, 1782
	Commander privateer schooner *Hawk*	Dec. 3, 1782
Allen, Jesse Manchester	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine *Franklin*, Capt. John Leach	Oct. 15, 1778
	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Pilgrim*, Capt. Joseph Robinson	Aug. 14, 1782
Ashton, John Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *Scorpion*, Capt. Israel Thorndike	Nov. 7, 1777
	Commander privateer schooner *Hampden*	July 14, 1778
	Commander privateer brigantine *Neptune*	Aug. 5, 1779
Bacon, William Salem	Surgeon privateer ship *Franklin*, Capt. John Turner	Dec. 2, 1780
Barr, James Salem	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Oliver Cromwell*, Capt. Thomas Simmons	July 8, 1778

[1] The letters "L.M." indicate "Letter of marque."

	Commander privateer sloop *Oliver Cromwell*	Aug. 11, 1779
	Commander privateer ship *Oliver Cromwell*	Aug. 16, 1779
	Commander privateer ship *Rover*	May 28, 1781
	Commander privateer brigantine *Montgomery*	June 20, 1782
Bartlett, John Beverly?	2nd Lieut. privateer sloop *Satisfaction*	Nov. 4, 1776
	Commander privateer brigantine *Hampden*	Dec. 1, 1777
Bartlett, William Beverly?	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine *Hampden*, Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll	Nov. 1, 1777
Batchelder, Nathan Beverly	1st Mate L. M. schooner *Valiant*, Capt. Joshua Ellingwood	June 3, 1780
Bickford, Benj. Beverly	1st Mate L. M. snow *Diana*, Capt. William Herrick	Sept. 23, 1780
	Captain L. M. ship *Daniel*	Apr. 1782
Bickford, John Beverly	1st Mate L. M. ship *Cornwall*, Capt. John Edmonds	Jan. 15, 1778
	1st Mate L. M. brigantine *Gen. Wayne*, Capt. John Leach	June 17, 1780
Blanchard, Samuel Boston	Surgeon privateer ship *Vengeance*, Capt. Thomas Thomas	June 27, 1779
	Surgeon privateer ship *Pilgrim*, Capt. Joseph Robinson	Aug. 2, 1780
Boardman, John	2nd Lieut. privateer brig *Defence*, Capt. John Edmonds	July 6, 1779
Bowman (Bourman), Francis Salem	Captain L. M. sloop *Independence*	Jan. 1, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Black Prince*, Capt. Elias Smith	June 23, 1778
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Fortune*	June 28, 1779
Bradford, John Boston	Sailing master privateer brigantine *Terrible Creature*, Capt. Robert Richardson	Mar. 9, 1778
Bray, John Marblehead Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *True Blue*, Capt. Richard Stiles	Apr. 29, 1777
	1st Lieut. State brigantine *Tyrannicide*, Capt. Jonathan Harraden	Sept. 15, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Franklin*, Capt. John Turner	Dec. 2, 1780
	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine *Gen. Pickering*	Sept. 30, 1778
	Captain privateer ship *Oliver Cromwell*	Apr. 19, 1781
Brazail, James Beverly?	1st Lieut. L. M. brigantine *Union*, Capt. William Langdell	Jan. 4, 1779

Brewster, Martin Cape Cod?	Captain privateer schooner *Hopewell*	Oct. 21, 1782
Brookhouse, Nathaniel Salem	Captain L. M. schooner *Tyger*	Dec. 11, 1778
	Captain privateer ship *Junius Brutus*	Oct. 26, 1781
	Captain privateer brigantine *Lively*	Mar. 8, 1783
Brooks, John Salem	2nd Lieut. privateer schooner *True American*, Capt. John Buffinton	Apr. 29, 1777
	Captain privateer schooner *Scorpion*	Feb. 28, 1778
	Captain privateer ship *Junius Brutus*	Aug. 23, 1780
	Captain privateer ship *Junius Brutus*	Jan. 15, 1782
Brown, Thomas	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Oliver Cromwell*, Capt. John Bray	Apr. 18, 1781
Buckman, James Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. brigantine *Gen. Wayne*, Capt. John Leach	June 17, 1780
Buffinton, John Salem	Captain L. of M. ship *Sally*	May 3, 1777
	Captain privateer brig *True American*	May 20, 1778
	Captain privateer ship *Marquis LaFayette*	Mar. 16, 1782
Burchmore, Zachariah Beverly?	Captain brigantine *Union*	Dec. 1776
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Hector*	Mar. 27, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine *Terrible Creature*	Mar. 9, 1778
Carnes, John Beverly	Captain privateer brigantine *Lyon*	June 9, 1778
	Captain privateer ship *Hector*	June 22, 1779
	Captain privateer brigantine *Gen. Lincoln*	Aug. 31, 1779
	Captain privateer brigantine *Montgomery*	Sept. 12, 1780
	Captain privateer ship *Porus*	June 7, 1781
	Captain privateer ship *Mohock*	Sept. 6, 1782
Carpenter, J.	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Oliver Cromwell*, Capt. James Barr	Aug. 16, 1779
Carwick (Carrack), John Beverly	1st Mate L. M. brigantine *Defence*, Capt. John Edmonds	Mar. 22, 1780
Cathcart, John Salem	1st Lieut. State brigantine *Tryannicide*, Capt. Allen Hallet	Jan. 4, 1779
	Captain State brigantine *Tryannicide*	May 4, 1779
	Captain privateer ship *Essex*	May 6, 1780
	Captain privateer ship *Essex*	Apr. 14, 1781
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Tartar*	Mar. 1, 1782
	Captain privateer ship *Tartar*	Jan. 8, 1783
Chapman, Benj. Salem	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *True American*, Capt. John Buffinton	Apr. 29, 1777

	Captain privateer schooner *Viper*	Apr. 14, 1778
	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Jack*, Capt. Nathan Brown	July 1, 1780
Cole, William Marblehead	Captain privateer schooner *True Blue*	Aug. 29, 1776
	Captain privateer brigantine *Oliver Cromwell*	Apr. 29, 1777
	Captain privateer ship *Brutus*	July 10, 1781
Connolly, Thomas Salem	Captain privateer brigantine *Franklin*	Apr. 20, 1778
Cressy, Samuel Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *Hope*, Capt. William Woodberry	Oct. 13, 1778
	Sailing master L. M. ship *Resource*, Capt. Israel Thorndike	June 21, 1780
	2nd Mate L. M. ship *Resource*, Capt. Richard Ober	Sept. 7, 1780
Dalling, Thomas Beverly	Captain L. M. ship *Spanish Packet*	Feb. 25, 1782
Devol, Silas	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Franklin*, Capt. Allen Hallet	June 29, 1781
	Captain privateer ship *Franklin*	Dec. 16, 1781
Dunham, Cornelius Beverly?	Captain privateer schooner *Hopewell*	July 26, 1782
Edmonds, John Beverly	Captain privateer ship *Cornwall*	Jan. 17, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine *Defence*	July 1, 1779
	Captain privateer brigantine *Defence*	Mar. 24, 1780
Ellingwood, Benj. Beverly	Captain L. M. schooner *Friendship*	Feb. 1, 1778
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Sebastian*	Sept. 18, 1779
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Active*	May 6, 1780
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Active*	July 6, 1780
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Ceres*	June 19, 1783
Ellingwood, Joshua Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine *Mars*	Aug. 10, 1779
	Captain L. M. schooner *Valiant*	June 3, 1780
	Captain schooner *Industry*	May 16, 1783
Ellingwood, William Beverly	1st Mate L. M. brigantine *Saratoga*, Capt. Eleazer Giles	Sept. 4, 1780
Elliot, Simon	1st Lieut. *Marquis La Fayette*	1779
Fearson, Jesse Salem	Captain privateer schooner *Swett*	Aug. 19, 1779
	Captain privateer brigantine *Fortune*	Apr. 27, 1780
	Captain privateer brigantine *Cato*	May 28, 1781
	Captain privateer ship *Buccanier*	Mar. 27, 1782
Fearson, John Salem	1st Lieut. privateer brig *Eagle*, Capt. William Groves	June 17, 1780
Foot, Samuel	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *Warren*, Capt. John Ravell	Dec. 3, 1777
Fisher, Joshua Beverly	Surgeon on a Marblehead vessel	

Forrester, Simon Salem	Captain privateer sloop *Rover*	July 17, 1776
	Captain privateer ship *Centurion*	Jan. 4, 1780
	Captain privateer ship *Jason*	June 8, 1780
	Captain privateer ship *Patty*	Sept. 29, 1781
	Captain privateer ship *Exchange*	Feb. 12, 1782
Foster, Edward Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. brigantine *Starks*, Capt. Ezra Ober	Sept. 20, 1779
	2nd Mate L. M. brigantine *Fanny*, Capt. Herbert Woodberry	Aug. 22, 1780
Foster, Jonathan Beverly	1st Mate L. M. brigantine *Freedom*, Capt. Benj. Ober	Sept. 11, 1780
Foster, Samuel Beverly	Captain L. M. sloop *Fish Hawk*	Nov. 30, 1779
	Captain privateer *Fish Hawk*	May 2, 1781
	Captain privateer schooner *Surprise*	Aug. 23, 1781
	Captain privateer schooner *Penguin*	May 7, 1782
Gage, William Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. snow *Diana*, Capt. William Herrick	Sept. 19, 1780
Gage, Zachariah Beverly	Captain L. M. brig *Chance*	1781
Giles, Eleazer Beverly	Captain privateer brigantine *Retaliation*	Sept. 4, 1776
	Captain L. M. snow *Cato*	Sept. 18, 1779
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Saratoga*	Sept. 4, 1780
Groves, Ichabod Beverly	Captain L. M. ship *Sebastian*	Aug. 21, 1780
Groves, William Beverly	Captain privateer schooner *Blackbird*	Aug. 6, 1777
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Success*	Jan. 4, 1779
	Captain L. M. sloop *Fish Hawk*	Sept. 1, 1779
	Captain L. M. brig *Eagle*	June 17, 1780
Hacker, Hoystead Providence, R. I.	Captain privateer ship *Buccanier*	Aug. 3, 1781
Hallet, John Allen Boston	Captain privateer schooner *Sturdy Beggar*	Aug. 2, 1776
	Captain L. M. State sloop *Republic*	Dec. 5, 1776
	Captain privateer brigantine *Starks*	Sept. 12, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine *America*	Dec. 24, 1777
	Captain State brigantine *Tryannicide*	July 10, 1778
	Captain State brig *Active*	Apr. 30, 1779
	Captain privateer brig *Phoenix*	Feb. 16, 1780
	Captain L. M. ship *Tartar*	Aug. 3, 1780
	Captain privateer ship *Franklin*	June 22, 1781
	Captain L. M. brig *Minerva*	Feb. 23, 1782
Hammond, John Beverly	1st Mate L. M. brigantine *Active*, Capt. Benj. Ellingwood	July 6, 1780
Hammond, J. L. Beverly? Salem	3rd Mate privateer ship *Pilgrim*, Capt. Joseph Robinson	Aug. 2, 1780

Harris, John Beverly	2nd Lieut. privateer brig *Eagle*	June 17, 1780
Haskell, Robert Beverly	Captain L. M. sloop *Driver*	1779
	Captain L. M. sloop *Betty*	Sept. 19, 1780
Hawkins, Abraham Boston	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Buccanier*, Capt. Hoystead Hacker	Aug. 3, 1781
Herrick, William Beverly	1st Lieut. State brigantine *Despatch*, Capt. Stephen Cleveland	1776
	Captain L. M. snow *Diana*	Sept. 19, 1780
Hill, Hugh Beverly	Captain privateer ship *Pilgrim*	Sept. 12, 1778
	Captain L. M. ship *Cicero*	Jan. 15, 1782
Hilton, Henry Beverly	1st Mate schooner *Alert*, Capt. Jacob Oliver	1779
Holland, William Beverly	Captain privateer schooner *Hope*	1777
	Captain privateer schooner *Hawk*	Nov. 1, 1779
Hooper, John Marblehead	2nd Lieut. privateer schooner *True Blue*, Capt. William Cole	Aug. 29, 1776
	2nd Lieut. State brigantine *Freedom*, Capt. John Clouston	Feb. 19, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Pilgrim*	Sept. 12, 1778
Howland, Perry Beverly?	Captain privateer schooner *Scorpion*	Sept. 28, 1779
Ives, Benj. Beverly	Captain privateer schooner *Scorpion*	Mar. 18, 1779
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Fortune*	July 3, 1781
	Lieut. privateer brigantine *Favorite*, Capt. William Patterson	No date
James, William Beverly	Captain privateer schooner *Adventure*	May 16, 1780
	Captain privateer schooner *Lee*	Sept. 6, 1782
Johnson, Israel Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine *Fox*	July 18, 1780
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Swift*	Oct. 20, 1781
	Captain L. M. ship *Fox*	May 9, 1782
Knowlton, Joseph Beverly	Captain privateer schooner *Dolphin*	July 14, 1781
Lakeman, Richard Ipswich	Captain L. M. schooner *Diana*	Aug. 20, 1781
Langdell, William Beverly	Captain L. M. ship *Content*	1777
	Captain privateer *Centipede*	May 14, 1778
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Union*	Jan. 23, 1779
Langden, William[1] ?	Captain L. M. ship *Success*	May 1777
	Captain privateer schooner *Cent-Pied*	Dec. 23, 1777
Larcum, Henry Beverly	1st Mate privateer schooner *Scorpion*, Capt. Benj. Ives	June 16, 1778

[1] There is some confusion between the names Langdell and Langden which the writer has been unable to unravel.

Leach, John Beverly	Captain privateer schooner *Dolphin*	Sept. 28, 1776
	Captain privateer sloop *Trenton*	Apr. 24, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine *Gen. Wayne*	June 17, 1780
	Captain L. M. brig *Fanny*	1781
Leach, John Salem	Captain privateer schooner *Swett*	Sept. 9, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine *Lively*	Dec. 20, 1779
	Captain privateer ship *Junius Brutus*	May 23, 1780
Leach, John Jr.[1]	Captain privateer brigantine *Franklin*	Oct. 16, 1778
	Captain L. M. *St. Mary's Packet*	Aug. 7, 1782
Leach, Nathan	Captain L. M. schooner *Valiant*	
Lee, John	Sailing master privateer schooner *Warren*, Capt. Israel Thorndike	Oct. 29, 1776
	2nd Lieut. schooner *Warren*, Capt. Israel Thorndike	Apr. 29, 1777
Lefavour, Philip Marblehead	Captain privateer schooner *Sturdy Beggar*	Aug. 20, 1777
Lovett, Benj. Beverly	Sailing master State brig *Tyrannicide*, Capt. Jonathan Harraden	Feb. 22, 1777
	Captain L. M. ship *Sebastian*	Feb. 18, 1779
	Captain L. M. ship *Rambler*	Oct. 16, 1779
	Captain L. M. ship *Rambler*	Mar. 6, 1782
Lovett, James Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer brig *Washington*, Capt. Elias Smith	Oct. 3, 1776
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship *Essex*, Capt. John Cathcart	June 12, 1780
	Captain privateer ship *Shaker*	Feb. 26, 1783
Manly, John Beverly Marblehead	Captain privateer schooner *Hancock*	Jan. 1, 1776
	Captain Continental frigate *Hancock*	Apr. 17, 1776
	Captain privateer ship *Cumberland*	Dec. 19, 1778
	Captain privateer ship *Jason*	June 2, 1779
	Captain frigate *Hague*	Sept. 11, 1782
Marsh, John Beverly	2nd Mate State brig *Tyrannicide*, Capt. Jonathan Harraden	Feb. 24, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *Scorpion*, Capt. John Brooks	Feb. 25, 1778
	Captain privateer sloop *Fly*	Aug. 29, 1778
	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine *Neptune*, Capt. John Ashton	Aug. 5, 1779
Minot, James Boston	Surgeon privateer ship *Franklin*, Capt. Allen Hallet	June 26, 1781
Morgan, William Beverly	Gunner privateer schooner *Resolution*, Capt. Samuel Trask	Oct. 11, 1780
	Master privateer schooner *Resolution*, Capt. Amos Potter	Apr. 5, 1781
	Captain privateer schooner *Resolution*	May 18, 1781

[1] Boston, Beverly, and Salem are all given as the residence of a John Leach, and it is difficult to distinguish between them.

Moses, Benj. Salem	Master State brig *Tyrannicide*, Capt. John Fiske	Oct. 26, 1776
	2nd Lieut. State brigantine *Tyrannicide*, Capt. Jonathan Harraden	Mar. 10, 1777
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship *Pilgrim*, Capt. Hugh Hill	Sept. 12, 1778
Newman, Robert	Captain L. M. schooner *Adventure*	Sept. 8, 1779
Niles, Benj.	Captain privateer schooner *Scorpion*	June 16, 1778
Ober, Benj. Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine *Freedom* Captain L. M. schooner *Hawk*	Sept. 7, 1780
Ober, Ezra Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer sloop *Fly*, Capt. John Marsh	Aug. 29, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine *Starks*	Sept. 20, 1779
	Captain privateer brigantine *Starks*	July 14, 1780
Ober, Israel Beverly	Captain L. M. sloop *Fish Hawk*	Sept. 1, 1780
Obeir, Israel F. ?	Captain L. M. sloop *Little Vincent*	Dec. 4, 1781
Ober, James Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. brigantine *Freedom* Capt. Benjamin Ober	Sept. 17, 1781
Ober, John Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer brig *Washington*, Capt. Ogilby	May 8, 1777
Ober, Nathaniel Beverly	1st Mate L. M. sloop *Fish Hawk*, Capt. Samuel Foster	Nov. 20, 1777
Ober, Nicholas	Prize Master brig *Saratoga*, Capt. Eleazer Giles	Sept. 4, 1780
Ober, Richard Beverly	Captain privateer snow *Fanny*	Jan. 15, 1778
	1st Mate L. M. brigantine *Starks*, Capt. Ezra Ober	Sept. 20, 1779
	1st Mate L. M. ship *Resource*, Capt. Israel Thorndike	June 12, 1780
	Captain ship *Resource*	Sept. 7, 1780
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Fortune*	Nov. 7, 1781
Ober, William Beverly	1st Mate L. M. ship *Rambler*, Capt. Benjamin Lovett	1780
Ogliby (Ogleeby), Nicholas Marblehead	2nd Lieut. State schooner *Hancock*, Capt. John Manly	Jan. 1, 1776
	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *Warren*, Capt. Israel Thorndike	Oct. 30, 1776
	Captain privateer schooner *Warren*	Apr. 30, 1777
	Captain privateer brig *Washington*	Nov. 18, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine *Bellona*	Jan. 2, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine *Bunker Hill*	Nov. 8, 1778
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship *Thomas*, Capt. Richard Cowell	Sept. 14, 1780

Oliver, Jacob Beverly	Captain privateer schooner Hammond	Dec. 10, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer sloop *Gates*	Jan. 23, 1778
	1st Lieut. privateer sloop *Bowdoin*	July 2, 1778
	Captain privateer schooner *Alert*	1779
	Master ship *Eagle*, Capt. William Groves	June 17, 1780
	1st Lieut. brig *New Adventure*, Capt. John Neil	1781
Parker, Timothy Norwich, Conn.	Captain privateer ship *Scourge*	May 26, 1781
Parsons, Thomas Gloucester	1st Mate L. M. brigantine *Saratoga*, Capt. Eleazer Giles	Sept. 4, 1780
Patten, John Beverly	Captain privateer schooner *Spring Bird*	Mar. 30, 1779
	Captain privateer brig *Spit-Fire*	Apr. 4, 1780
	Captain privateer brig *Active*	Apr. 9, 1781
Payne (Pain), Edward English	1st Mate L. M. ship *Count D'Estaing*, Capt. Elias Smith	Aug. 22, 1780
Porter, John Beverly or Danvers	Captain L. M. brig *Experiment*	Mar. 30, 1779
	Captain privateer schooner *Fox*	Nov. 15, 1782
Potter, Abijah Boston	1st Lieut. privateer ship *Franklin*, Capt. Allen Hallet	June 26, 1781
Potter, Amos Boston	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *Resolution*, Capt. Samuel Trask	Oct. 11, 1780
	Captain privateer schooner *Resolution*	Mar. 31, 1781
	Captain privateer brigantine *Prospect*	Oct. 4, 1781
	Captain privateer lugger *Dreadnought*	May 11, 1782
	Captain privateer sloop *Revenge*	Feb. 4, 1783
Proctor, John Marblehead	2nd Lieut. privateer brig *Retaliation*, Capt. Eleazer Giles	Sept. 4, 1776
	Sailing master State brigantine *Freedom*, Capt. John Clouston	Feb. 4, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer brig *Rambler*	Sept. 2, 1779
Quatermass, Richard Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine *Starks*	Dec. 8, 1777
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Starks*	Oct. 6, 1778
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Gen. Wayne*	Feb. 3, 1780
	Captain L. M. schooner *Success*	May 6, 1779
Ravell, John Salem	Captain privateer schooner *Warren*	Dec. 3, 1777
	Captain privateer sloop *Morning Star*	Sept. 25, 1780
	Captain L. M. schooner *Polly*	Dec. 11, 1782
Richardson, Robert Salem	Captain privateer *Terrible Creature*	Mar. 9, 1778
Richerson, Philip Beverly	Sailing master privateer brig *Eagle*, Capt. William Groves	June 17, 1780

Robinson, Joseph Salem	Master's mate State brigantine *Massachusetts*, Capt. John Fisk	Mar. 17, 1777
	Master State brigantine *Massachusetts*, Capt. John Fisk	July 31, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine *Pluto*	Nov. 13, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine *Franklin*	Mar. 30, 1779
	Captain privateer ship *Pilgrim*	Aug. 2, 1780
	Captain privateer ship *Pilgrim*	Aug. 14, 1781
	Captain privateer ship *Pilgrim*	Nov. 20, 1781
Ryan, William Marblehead	2nd Lieut. privateer schooner *Warren*, Capt. Israel Thorndike	Oct. 29, 1776
	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *Warren*, Capt. Nicholas Ogleeby	Apr. 29, 1777
	1st Lieut. brig *Washington*, Capt. Nicholas Ogleeby	Nov. 18, 1777
Sellman, J. Marblehead	2nd Lieut. privateer brig *Franklin*, Capt. Joseph Robinson	Apr. 20, 1780
Simmons, Thomas Salem	Captain privateer schooner *Lively*	Dec. 23, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine *Oliver Cromwell*	July 10, 1778
	Captain privateer ship *Oliver Cromwell*	Mar. 29, 1779
	Captain privateer ship *Grand Turk*	June 13, 1781
	Captain privateer brigantine *Ranger*	Oct. 9, 1781
Smith, Elias Beverly	Captain privateer brig *Washington*	Oct. 3, 1776
	Captain privateer ship *Black Prince*	June 17, 1778
	Captain L. M. ship *Count D'Estaing*	Aug. 22, 1780
	Captain privateer ship *Mohock*	Nov. 20, 1781
Smith, Ezra Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. schooner *Alert*, Capt. Jacob Oliver	1779
Stephenson, David Marblehead	Master privateer schooner *Warren*, Capt. Nicholas Ogleeby	Apr. 29, 1777
	Master privateer brig *Washington*, Capt. Nicholas Ogleeby	Nov. 18, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine *Bellona*	Jan. 1, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine *Siren*	July 13, 1781
Stephens, Thomas Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer brig *Retaliation*, Capt. Eleazer Giles	Sept. 4, 1776
	Captain privateer sloop *Bowdoin*	July 2, 1778
Stevens, John Marblehead	2nd Lieut. privateer schooner *Langdon*, Capt. Jacob Oliver	Aug. 24, 1776
	Captain privateer sloop *Satisfaction*	Nov. 9, 1776
	Captain privateer brig *Rambler*	Sept. 2, 1779
Stone, Samuel Beverly	1st Mate L. M. brigantine *Fanny*, Capt. Herbert Woodberry	Aug. 22, 1780
Sugden, George Beverly	Master's mate privateer ship *Pilgrim*, Capt. Joseph Robinson	Aug. 14, 1780

Swasey (Swazy), Nathaniel Salem or Ipswich	2nd Lieut. privateer schooner *Success*, Capt. Philip trask	Sept. 3, 1778
	1st Lieut. privateer brig *Defence*, Capt. John Edmonds	July 6, 1779
	Captain privateer brig *Active*	Dec. 16, 1780
Thomas, William ?	Master L. M. schooner *True American*, Capt. John Buffinton	Apr. 29, 1777
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship *Gen. Putnam*, Capt. Daniel Waters	July 6, 1779
Thorndike, Andrew Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. ship *Resource*, Capt. Israel Thorndike	Apr. 29, 1777
	1st Mate ship *Resource*, Capt. Richard Ober	Sept. 7, 1780
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Saratoga*	June 16, 1781
Thorndike, Ebenezer Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *Hammond*, Capt. Jacob Oliver	Dec. 10, 1777
Thorndike, Israel	Captain privateer schooner *Warren*	Oct. 30, 1776
	1st Lieut. State brigantine *Tyrannicide*, Capt. Jonathan Harraden	Mar. 10, 1777
	Captain privateer schooner *Scorpion*	Nov. 8, 1777
	Captain L. M. ship *Resource*	June 12, 1780
Tittle, John Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine *Saratoga*	July 1, 1778
	Captain L. M. ship *Marquis La Fayette*	Nov. 23, 1779
	Captain L. M. brigantine *Swift*	June 5, 1781
	Captain L. M. ship *Cato*	Nov. 20, 1781
Trask, Joseph Beverly?	Captain privateer schooner *Resolution*	Dec. 6, 1782
	Captain L. M. schooner *Buckram*	Aug. 22, 1782
Tuck, William Beverly	2nd Lieut. privateer brig *Washington*, Capt. Elias Smith	Oct. 3, 1776
	Captain privateer *Bennington*	May 6, 1779
	Captain L. M. ship *Lyon*	Mar. 6, 1782
Turner, John Salem	Captain privateer ship *Franklin*	Dec. 2, 1780
Vickory, John Beverly	Master privateeer brig *Washington*, Capt. Elias Smith	Oct. 3, 1776
Warren, Benj. Salem	Captain privateer sloop *Revenge*	Sept. 14, 1776
	Captain privateer brigantine *Hampden*	July 5, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine *Lyon*	
	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *Modesty*	Aug. 6, 1779
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship *Pilgrim*	Aug. 14, 1782
Webb, Stephen Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer sloop *Patty*	Jan. 21, 1778
	Capt. L. M. brigantine *Saratoga*	Nov. 20, 1779
	Capt. L. M. ship *Commerce*	Jan. 15, 1781

West, Nathaniel Salem	3rd Lieut. privateer *Terrible Creature*, Capt. Robert Richardson	Apr. 4, 1778
	Captain privateer *Terrible Creature*	1778
West, Samuel Salem	1st Lieut. privateer schooner *Tryal*	Sept. 7, 1778
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship *Oliver Cromwell*, Capt. James Barr	Aug. 16, 1779
White, Joseph Salem	Captain privateer sloop *Revenge*	May 14, 1776
Williams, Theodore	2nd Mate L. M. ship *Count D'Estaing*, Capt. Elias Smith	Sept. 14, 1780
Woodberry, Asa Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine *Swift*	Jan. 3, 1780
	Captain L. M. schooner *Swallow*	1783
Woodberry, Benj. Beverly	Mate cartel schooner *Tryal*	1782
Woodberry, Herbert Beverly	Capt. L. M. brigantine *Fanny*	Jan. 14, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine *Hope*	May 28, 1782
Woodberry, William Beverly	Captain privateer brig *Hope*	Oct. 14, 1778
	Captain privateer ship *Hope*	June 12, 1780
Woodberry, W., Jr.	Captain privateer ship *Neptune*	Sept. 7, 1780
	Captain privateer ship *Mars*	

Mr. Percival Merritt communicated a letter written 5 August, 1775, by the Rev. Robert Boucher Nickolls to the Earl of Dartmouth, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, soliciting some provision in the Church. Mr. Merritt spoke as follows:

Mr. Nickolls, who was a native of Barbados and a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford, served at King's Chapel, Boston, as an assistant to the Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, from about October, 1770, to April, 1772. He then went to Salem as curate to the Rev. Mr. McGilchrist at St. Peter's Church. Soon after his removal to Salem he opened a school for boys, where he endeavored to instil principles of loyalty to the Church and government of Great Britain, from the standpoint of his own stalwart Anglicanism and Toryism. His connection with St. Peter's Church ceased in December, 1774, and his school came to a sudden end on April 21, 1775.

Mr. Nickolls also served for some time as deputy chaplain to Earl Percy's regiment, but a day or two before the battle of Bunker Hill he sailed for England carrying dispatches from General Gage

to the British government. Governor Hutchinson exerted himself in Mr. Nickoll's behalf after the latter's arrival in London, and introduced him to Lord Dartmouth, as well as to other persons of influence. His application to the Earl did not meet with success, but in 1779 he was presented to the living of Stoney Stanton, in Leicestershire, by the Earl of Huntingdon.

Eventually his military service in New England proved to be the means of his receiving further ecclesiastical preferment in England; for in 1785,[1] through the influence of Earl Percy, he was appointed Dean of the Collegiate Church of Middleham in Yorkshire in recognition of "his services as chaplain to the 5th regiment of foot in America, and for his loyalty in that war." He occupied both of his clerical positions until his death in 1814.

The letter follows:

LONDON Aug: 5. 1775.

MY LORD;

The freedom I presume upon in addressing your Lordship must rather be excused by the suggestions of your Lordships known goodness of heart than by any apologies I can offer. And I humbly conceive the motives that urge me to this measure when laid before your Lordship will engage your candid attention and vindicate myself from any charge of presumption. Soon after my arrival in London M^r^ Pownal informed me that in consequence of General Gage's request your Lordship was pleased to express an obliging intention to honour me with some mark of your countenance. Upon this ground, my Lord, I will venture to lay before your Lordship those circumstances which compel me to entreat the benevolent exertions of your influence; at the same time I confess it gives me no inconsiderable pain to be obliged to speak in a manner that may seem to arrogate to my self that praize of which I have been more ambitious than deserving.

During a residence of five years in New England I was engaged in the instructing of youth and in performing the duties of my ecclesiastical function. The state of education and the prevailing principles thro'out the provinces of New England rather tended to alienate the affections of young persons from the parent state than conciliate them to it. They grew up without discipline without restraint without order: the principles and prejudices they imbibed were the popular ones the fruits of which we too well know from experience. I stood, perhaps, the singular instance of an instructor of young persons who ventured to form them

[1] He was not installed until 1786.

more strictly to order, to oppose erroneous principles as well as to inculcate others more friendly to the church and the government of this country. Secret opposition was made to this scheme and I had many enemies on account of it who did not openly appear but whose influence was perceptible: while in the exercise of my function I had the misfortune, if it be such, to incur public displeasure, by supporting those principles and doctrines in which the real liberty and happiness of mankind are equally concerned; the principles of peace and order and regard to laws and magistracy. About the same time the provision I had in the church failed me; partly from the disaffection but chiefly from the inability of my audience. I struggled on however under many disadvantages; still hoping, what I was made to apprehend there was some reason to expect, that when public peace was restored, I then should reap the fruits of my labour and receive both honourable countenance and protection from the government. But unhappily peace was at a greater distance than my hopes had placed her. The din of war soon scattered my little flock and the labour of years in collecting them was fatally blasted on the 19th of April last.

One circumstance I beg leave to mention, in addition to these, which I consider as much the severest part of my misfortune: the younger branches of an aged parents family whom I had the happiness to assist in bringing forward into the world were by this accident thrown back upon the hands of that parent, whom, from accumulating wealth and increasing stores the divine Providence had been pleased by fire, by storms, by false brethren to bring down to a humble and a lonely dwelling, where yet he hoped to spend in peace the sad remnant of a stormy life, and to forget the pangs of disappointment in the presence, and amidst the pious cares, of his children. Here again the hand of rebellion fell severe; the calamities of the times deprived him of the enjoyment of his little property and drove him thus destitute to a distant part of the continent where he has to expect every distress if the present disorders should unhappily continue any longer. In this distracting situation I might indeed, for my own particular, have precluded want by officiating as deputy-chaplain in the army, a character in which I had been honoured with the approbation of my superiors; yet the instability and inadequateness of such a provision (either to the calls of duty and affection or to what my past labours might seem to entitle me to) were motives that induced me to come hither with the advice and under the countenance of my superiors, to try if it were possible to obtain a moderate establishment in the church that might in some degree compensate my sufferings and enable me to shut out distress

and anguish of heart from those whom duty hath taught me to honour and whose situation demands every assistance I can give.

Under these circumstances, my Lord I look up, tho' with timid diffidence, to your Lordship's goodness. 'Twere needless to say how much a very moderate provision in the church would engage my own gratitude as well as promote the happiness of those whose welfare is intimately connected with my own. I know the number and superior claim of competitors for preferment in this country: I presume not therefore to cast my eyes upon any thing here. I would contentedly and thankfully return to America for a decent establishment there; but as none such is to be expected, I humbly beg leave to entreat your Lordship's public influence in my behalf with his Majesty's Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in order to procure, if it were possible, a speedy provision in that kingdom. Pardon, my Lord, the freedom; but labour tho' attended with parsimony never enriched me: and the very scanty remnant of fortune, thus distracted is an argument that powerfully urges me to entreat an early consideration of what is here humbly offered to your Lordship's kind attention. The fear of intruding when more important objects engaged your Lordship's concern hath hitherto suppressed importunity and even during a recess from public cares 'tis with the utmost reluctance I invade your Lordship's retirement.

If my present application should happily meet with the honour of your Lordship's concurrence your commands communicated thro' Gov^{r} Hutchinson will be received with respectful gratitude and considered as the grounds of my hope and the measures of my future conduct.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect, My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and most faithful ℏble Servant

ROB^{T} BOUCHER NICKOLLS.

[*Endorsed:*]

The Rev^{d} M^{r} Nickolls 5 Aug. 1775 soliciting some Provision in the Church.[1]

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL communicated a letter dated Half Moon, 14 July, 1756, written by William Flint, and spoke as follows:

This is not an important letter, but it throws a side light on the conditions in the camp at that time. For some time previously, and until his recall, General Shirley had been very active in collect-

[1] Dartmouth Manuscripts. For permission to have the letter copied, I am indebted to the present Earl of Dartmouth.

ing troops and stores for an expedition against Crown Point and to provide for the defence of Oswego. He had gathered a large force at Half Moon,[1] consisting of some regulars, remnants of Braddock's expedition, provincial troops from New England, and some New York Troops, besides some rangers for scouting. He had also made arrangements with Sir William Johnson for assistance from his Indians. He had strengthened the fortifications of Oswego and arranged a transport system for supplies to that point by way of the Mohawk and Oneida Lake.

On June 7, 1756, Colonel (afterward General) Webb arrived at New York, bringing letters from the Ministry of dates of March 13 and 31, directing General Shirley to return to England. On June 25th General Abercrombie arrived at Albany, when he took over the command, pending the arrival of the Earl of Loudoun, who had been appointed Shirley's successor but who had not then left England. Abercrombie brought with him a regiment of regulars and one of Highlanders. On July 15th the New England troops advanced from Half Moon, and the 48th Regiment followed the next day for Fort Edward, where the writer of this letter was on July 26th and where he probably died soon after.

The letter was written by William Flint, who was born in what is now North Reading April 14, 1714, on the old homestead, which remained in the family for one hundred and twenty-five years. He was the third of three generations of William Flints, who resided there. He married September 22, 1736, Susannah, oldest daughter of George and Jerusha (Pope) Flint, who was born July 4, 1715, and died December 7, 1790. They had eight children. He died at Lake George in 1756, probably soon after this letter was written. He was a captain in Colonel Ichabod Plaisted's Regiment.

A "Petition of Ebenezer Nichols in behalf of Susannah Flynt Widow of Capt[n] Flynt who died at Lake George the Summer past," passed the Legislature February 21, 1757.[2] She was the executrix of his estate.

He is recorded as a farmer, but he may have been an innkeeper as well, for again in the Province Laws is a "Petition of Jeremiah

[1] Half Moon, at the junction of the Hudson and the Mohawk Rivers, is now Waterford, New York. For its location, see the map in our Publications, vii. 260.

[2] Massachusetts Province Laws, xv. 682.

Eatton of Reading in the County of Middlesex Setting forth that he lives in the North Parish of said Reading, in which Parish Captain William Flint deceased heretofore obtained a Licence to sell Spirituous Liquors, Praying the General Sessions of the Peace for the said County may be impowered to Grant him a Licence (at their next Term) to sell Spirituous Liquors." [1] Passed April 16, 1762.

The letter follows:

MY DEAR

I now send you a line or two to let you Know that I am in helth hoping that you are all well I have had a bad turn wth a cold & cawgh and flux or canp Deceaze but thro the undeserved Mercys of my God I am in good helth. I have Buried Jon^{a} Hart and fear I shall Loose Serj^{t} Masson two as hearty men as any in my Company we have Rain Every Day and it is very unwholsom weather hear I can scarse Keep my Cloaths that ant on my back from Moulding and spoiling as for Living I live well anough for we have fresh beef Evry week & Salt Fish and I have Bought me a Good tea kittle w^{h} cost me abou[t] two Dollars very handy in the ca[mp I] have Tea Chocalat or Coffee wth Biscit & Butter for Breakfast Constantly when at my tent, things have be[en] Dull wth us but there is a Sudden turn of affairs and we Genera[lly] suppose that we shall Quickly come to action the Lord grant us victory. We are going to march forward tomorrow or next Day and shall not tary long at the lake but shall (God Willing) speak to our perfidius Enemies In the High places of the Field we have good news from oswago of a great victory obtain'd against them w^{h} certainly Enlivens y^{e} Sperits of our Army to Emulation be not two Anxiously Trobled for me but let y^{r} soul joyn wth mine in Fervant Petitions for the pardon of our Sins and for a prepared State for that world where the Wicked cease from Troubling. let Billy write all y^{r} concernes and afairs and send to me, the post Rides Every week from Boston to Albany and Esq^{r} Nichols or M^{r} Temple can send Along y^{r} Letters I have Rec^{d} one from Esq^{r} Nichols in w^{h} was inclosd y^{rs} & M^{r} Putnams I have wrot to Cap^{t} Damon some time since & to unkl[e] Benj^{a} and to Father Flint and should be Glad to hear if they Rec^{d} em and to hear from em: return my hearty thanks to M^{r} Putnam and Desire Publick prayrs for us if you Rec^{e} this before you hear any further. Reading People are all well Lynn End are all Sick but none Dangerous but Masson: Now my Mind is ten times in midst of my Famely before I can write five words, but

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, xvii. 188.

with hope and patience I cheerfuly Submit to my duty beliveing what is is best, neither will I Carve for Divine Providence but trust in the Goodness of God w^h^ if it should please him to return me to my Famely & frinds then Shall I enjoyce w^th^ you in his Salvation, but if not God Grant thro Christ that I may rejoyce in heaven where the joy shall be Compleat & full of Glory Amen we have Good Ministers in the Camp I believe but many bad Hearers send me how Every thing prospers w^th^ you and how all the children Do and Fail not in your Duty to them: Give my Kind regards to all my Frinds and Neighbours and my love & Duty to my Mother & Bretheren I have heard that Ant Flint is Dead and Edmond Damon and Philip, the Officers of the Bay and Espeshaly of our Regiment have all a very Good Understanding one with Another and we live very hapily together but the New York Rigements are a Sink of Filth and a publick disturbance both by Night & by day but some of their Officers are prety Genteel civil Gentlemen I and my Company a[re] in the Left wing of the Bay forces and New York long side me so that I hear a Great Deal of Cursing and swaring and I perceve some whoring too there being 3 or 4 weomen in the tents near unto mine, but anough of this Filth — If you could see what I have seen perhaps it would make you wonder if not Blush

We hear that France has proclaimd War at last which we like well and hope to pay em well for their trechery & perfidy and if Cannada should fall a prey unto us I hope we should not be unthankfull, Such provision of stores and armaments were never seen in America before as is with us besides w^t^ was up last year and the Highlanders added w^th^ their Broad Swords makes a very daring prospect, but vain is the help of man. I fear most, the Difeculty of Commands will Bread jealousy and Difficulty with our Cheif Commanders Gen^l^ Ambercrombie will have the command but I hear that he says Winslow shall councel & Direct and he will pursue but some of our Collonels are bitterly against having any thing to Do with em but we run a great risk if we go on w^th^ out em for if we should then not succeed we shall never be paid from home and if we go on w^th^ em it seems we shall loose the Glory if we Do succeed, but I say let us all go and prosper & let God have all the Glory and let N England say Amen. I have not above half Done but for this time will conclude with subscribing your Loving Husband W Flint

Camps at Half Moon 14 July. 1756.

P. S. When I shall have so much Leasure time again is uncertain but hope you and my Frinds will Improve an oppertunity to write unto me I want to hear from Every body &c

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS stated that a year ago Mr. William C. Lane gave a list of "fellow-commoners" at Harvard College,[1] and offered as an addition to that list the name of George Ball of the Class of 1734, who was admitted a fellow-commoner in 1730[2] — perhaps the last of that privileged class. Mr. Matthews added that information about Ball was desired, as nothing seemed to be known about him with certainty.[3]

[1] See pp. 165–175, above.

[2] "At a Meeting of y^{e} Presid^{t} & Fellows Agreed that George Ball be admitted a Fellow-Commoner," August 18, 1730, Faculty Records, i. 30.

[3] It is sometimes said that Ball was born in Cambridge, but of this there is no proof and the statement is probably due to a misapprehension. The Class of 1734 was placed on September 22, 1730, when Ball was assigned to the fourth place. (Faculty Records, i. 32.) His age is given as 14, and his place of residence at entrance (but not necessarily of birth) as Cambridge. In an interleaved Triennial Catalogue he is said to have been a Captain in the British Navy during the Revolution. (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, xxvi. 565.)

APPENDIX

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

1892–1922

FOREWORD

ON December 6th, 1892, a call was issued inviting certain persons to attend a private Conference at the St. Botolph Club on the 10th "to consider a proposal to form a Society to be composed exclusively of gentlemen whose ancestors were residents of the Colonies of Plymouth or the Massachusetts Bay." The Conference was duly held at the time and place specified; it was voted that "it is expedient to organize a Society to commemorate the Founders of the Colonies of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay, and their deeds;" and a Committee was appointed "to prepare a Statement of the purposes of the proposed Society and the draft of a Code of By-Laws." At an adjourned meeting of the Conference on December 17th, the Committee made a report recommending "that the proposed Society be named THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY, and that its purposes be such as are expressed in the words subsequently used in the Articles of Association, dated 19 December, 1892, and in the Certificate of Incorporation;" and also presented a draft of a code of By-Laws. The meeting was then adjourned to the 27th, on which day an organization was effected, a code of By-Laws was adopted, and officers were elected. The Certificate of Incorporation, in which occur the names of fourteen gentlemen,[1] was executed on the 27th, and the Charter passed the Seals on the 29th.

The first Stated Meeting of the Society was held on January 18th, 1893, and at an adjourned special meeting

[1] The fourteen incorporators of the Society are those whose names are found under the year 1892 on p. 469, below.

on the 25th the following preamble and vote were adopted:

Whereas, it has appeared that the name of this Society might create confusion by its resemblance to that of another Society, it is, therefore,

Voted, That the name of The Massachusetts Society be changed, and that it hereby adopt the name of THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.[1]

Thirty years have elapsed since the Society was thus happily organized. In commemoration of this event, at its meeting on the 14th of December, 1922, the Council authorized the Editor to prepare and print lists of members of the Society from the beginning to the present time.

The Society has published twenty volumes, as follows:

VOLUME	CONTENTS	MEETINGS INCLUDED			YEAR[2]
I	Transactions	Dec.	1892–1894	Dec.	1895[3]
II	Collections[4]				1913
III	Transactions	Jan.	1895–1897	April	1900
IV	Collections[5]				1910
V	Transactions	Nov.	1897–1898	Dec.	1902
VI	Transactions	Jan.	1899–1900	March	1904
VII	Transactions	April	1900–1902	April	1905
VIII	Transactions	Nov.	1902–1904	Nov.	1906
IX	Collections[6]				1907
X	Transactions	Dec.	1904–1906	Nov.	1907[7]
XI	Transactions	Dec.	1906–1907	Dec.	1910
XII	Transactions	Jan.	1908–1909	Dec.	1911
XIII	Transactions	Jan.	1910–1911	March	1912
XIV	Transactions	April	1911–1913	Feb.	1913

[1] The Certificate of Change of Corporate Name is dated March 3, 1893.

[2] The date in this column is that given on the title-page. If a volume was not distributed until the following year, the fact is stated in a footnote.

[3] Volume I was distributed in the autumn of 1896.

[4] Massachusetts Royal Commissions, 1681–1774.

[5] Land-Bank and Silver-Bank Papers; Bibliography of the Massachusetts House Journals, 1715–1776; Bibliography of the Massachusetts Laws, 1641–1776.

[6] Check-List of Boston Newspapers, 1704–1780.

[7] Volume X was distributed in May, 1908.

XVII	Transactions	March	1913–1914	Dec.	1915 [1]
XVIII	Transactions	Jan.	1915–1916	April	1917
XIX	Transactions	Nov.	1916–1917	Nov.	1918 [2]
XX	Transactions	Dec.	1917–1919	Feb.	1920
XXI	Transactions	March	1919–1919	Dec.	1920
XXII	Collections [3]				1920 [4]

Volumes XXIII (Collections [5]) and XXIV (Transactions [6]) will be ready for publication in 1923; it is hoped that Volumes XV and XVI (Collections [7]) will be completed in 1924; Volume XXV (Transactions [8]) is in type to date, and its completion may be expected about 1924. An Index Volume to the first twenty-five volumes of our Publications is in active preparation, and the Society has in hand manuscript material [9] for two or three volumes of Collections.

For the Committee of Publication,
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON,
Chairman.

BOSTON, 31 December, 1922

[1] Volume XVII was distributed in January, 1916.
[2] Volume XIX was distributed in April, 1919.
[3] Plymouth Church Records, 1620–1859, Part i.
[4] Volume XXII was distributed in January, 1921.
[5] Plymouth Church Records, 1620–1859, Part ii.
[6] Volume XXIV contains the Transactions from January, 1920, to January, 1922, both included.
[7] Harvard College Records (Corporation Records, 1636–1750).
[8] Volume XXV begins with the meeting of February, 1922.
[9] Massachusetts Royal Instructions.

COUNCIL

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

31 DECEMBER, 1922

President

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, PH.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE

Vice-Presidents

HON. ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D. . . . . WORCESTER
REV. GEORGE FOOT MOORE, LL.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE

Recording Secretary

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM, A.B. . . . . MILTON

Corresponding Secretary

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Registrar

ALFRED JOHNSON, LITT.D. . . . . BROOKLINE

Executive Members

ALLAN FORBES, A.B. . . . . WESTWOOD
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., LITT.D. . . . . WORCESTER
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Editor of Publications

ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B. . . . . BOSTON

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

R = Resident Member
H = Honorary Member
C = Corresponding Member

D = Death
R = Resignation
Rem = Removal

Dates of enrolment, death, resignation or removal, are given[1]

Abbott, Wilbur Cortez — Cambridge
R. December 20, 1921

Adams, George Burton — New Haven, Conn.
C. May 1, 1917

Adams, Herbert Baxter — Baltimore, Md.
C. April 25, 1898 — D. July 30, 1901

Agassiz, George Russell — Boston and Newport, R. I.
R. January 18, 1918
C. March 30, 1920

Aiken, Alfred Lawrence — Worcester
R. November 26, 1920

Aiken, John Adams — Greenfield
R. December 1, 1910

Allen, Rev. Joseph Henry — Cambridge
R. December 23, 1893 — D. March 20, 1898
Memoir, vi. 288, portrait

Ames, Frederick Lothrop — North Easton
R. April 1, 1893 — D. September 13, 1893
Memoir, i. 258, portrait

Ames, James Barr — Cambridge
R. March 7, 1893 — D. January 8, 1910
Memoir, xiii. 75; portrait, front

Anderson, George Pomeroy — Boston
R. January 9, 1922

Andrew, John Forrester — Boston
R. January 31, 1893 — D. May 30, 1895
Memoir, iii. 351, portrait

Andrews, Charles McLean — New Haven, Conn.
C. March 5, 1915

[1] For a note on the place of residence, see p. 469, below.

ANGELL, JAMES BURRILL — Ann Arbor, Mich.
C. January 22, 1899
H. November 22, 1909 — D. April 1, 1916

APPLETON, FRANCIS RANDALL — Ipswich
R. May 7, 1906

AUSTIN, JAMES WALKER — Boston
R. April 26, 1893 — D. October 15, 1895

AUSTIN, WALTER — Dedham
R. February 7, 1922

AYER, JAMES BOURNE — Boston
R. January 4, 1906 — D. May 14, 1910

BABSON, ROBERT TILLINGHAST — Gloucester
R. January 24, 1894 — Lapsed November 2, 1911

BACON, EDWIN MUNROE — Boston
R. February 6, 1893 — R. November 4, 1899

BAKER, EZRA HENRY — Boston
R. February 17, 1910

BALCH, FRANCIS VERGNIES — Boston
R. March 3, 1893 — D. February 4, 1898
Memoir, XII. 339, portrait

BALCH, THOMAS WILLING — Philadelphia, Pa.
C. January 26, 1907

BALDWIN, SIMEON EBEN — New Haven, Conn.
C. March 22, 1898

BANGS, EDWARD APPLETON — Boston
R. February 20, 1897 — R. November 3, 1904

BARKER, JAMES MADISON — Pittsfield
R. May 23, 1893 — D. October 3, 1905

BARTLETT, JOHN — Cambridge
R. February 28, 1894 — R. November 21, 1903

BAXTER, JAMES PHINNEY — Portland, Me.
C. November 29, 1899 — D. May 8, 1921

BAYLIES, WALTER CABOT — Taunton
R. April 24, 1893

BIGELOW, MELVILLE MADISON — Cambridge
R. November 28, 1911 — R. December 4, 1920

BILLINGS, JOHN SHAW — New York
C. March 23, 1900 — D. March 11, 1913

BIRD, EDWARD VANDERHOOF — Assouan, Egypt
C. March 1, 1912

BLACK, GEORGE NIXON — Boston
R. January 26, 1894

BLAKE, FRANCIS — Weston
R. February 4, 1904 — D. January 19, 1913

BLAKESLEE, GEORGE HUBBARD — Worcester
R. February 7, 1921

BLODGETT, JOHN TAGGARD — Providence, R. I.
C. January 8, 1909 — D. March 4, 1912

BOLTON, CHARLES KNOWLES — Brookline
R. December 26, 1898 — R. November 21, 1912

BOWDITCH, CHARLES PICKERING — Boston
R. April 22, 1893 — D. June 1, 1921

BOWEN, CLARENCE WINTHROP — New York
C. March 18, 1905

BOWLES, FRANCIS TIFFANY — Barnstable
R. February 6, 1922

BREWSTER, FRANK — Boston
R. April 24, 1893

BRIGHAM, CLARENCE SAUNDERS — Worcester
R. January 23, 1912

BRIMMER, MARTIN — Boston
R. April 21, 1893 — D. January 14, 1896
Memoir, III. 337, portrait

BROOKS, JAMES WILLSON — Petersham
R. January 9, 1906 — D. September 19, 1912

BROWN, REV. HOWARD NICHOLSON — Boston
R. May 8, 1919

BULLOCK, AUGUSTUS GEORGE — Worcester
R. March 2, 1915

BUTLER, SIGOURNEY — Boston
R. April 26, 1893 — D. June 7, 1898
Memoir, X. 181, portrait

CABOT, LOUIS — Milton
R. April 28, 1897 — D. February 9, 1914

CARTER, FRANKLIN — Williamstown and New Haven, Conn.
R. May 5, 1893
C. April 26, 1906 — D. November 22, 1919

CARTER, JAMES COOLIDGE — New York
H. December 17, 189 — D. February 14, 1905
Portrait, X, front

CHADWICK, JAMES READ — Boston
R. January 30, 1905 — D. September 24, 1905

CHAMBERLAIN, JOSHUA LAWRENCE — Brunswick, Me.
C. December 26, 1898 — D. February 24, 1914

CHANDLER, SETH CARLO — Wellesley
R. February 9, 1893 — R. November 19, 1902

CHANNING, EDWARD — Cambridge
R. March 26, 1915

CHANNING, WALTER — Brookline
R. June 9, 1893 — R. February 9, 1894

CHAPMAN, HENRY LELAND — Brunswick, Me.
C. April 28, 1907 — D. February 24, 1913

CHASE, CHARLES AUGUSTUS — Worcester
R. April 7, 1893 — D. June 5, 1911

CHOATE, CHARLES FRANCIS — Southboro
R. April 11, 1893 — D. May 23, 1911

CHOATE, JOSEPH HODGES — New York
H. February 4, 1895 — D. May 14, 1917

CLARKE, ELIOT CHANNING — Boston
R. March 2, 1894 — R. November 6, 1902

CLEVELAND, GROVER — Washington, D. C.
H. February 22, 1894 — D. June 24, 1908
Portrait, XII. 182

CLIFFORD, CHARLES WARREN — New Bedford
R. March 9, 1893

CLOUGH, SAMUEL CHESTER — Boston
R. February 6, 1913

CODMAN, OGDEN — Lincoln
R. December 29, 1908

CONANT, ERNEST LEE — Cambridge
R. April 21, 1894 — R. October 10, 1895

COOLIDGE, ARCHIBALD CARY — Cambridge
R. February 15, 1910

COOLIDGE, THOMAS JEFFERSON — Manchester
R. January 4, 1906 — D. April 14, 1912

CRANE, WINTHROP MURRAY — Dalton
R. March 26, 1903 — D. October 2, 1920

CUNNINGHAM, HENRY WINCHESTER — Manchester
R. December 19, 1892

CUNNINGHAM, STANLEY — Boston
R. April 26, 1893 — D. November 28, 1907
Memoir, XII. 307

CURTISS, FREDERIC HAINES — Boston
R. January 21, 1899

DAVIS, ANDREW MCFARLAND — Cambridge
R. December 19, 1892 — D. March 29, 1920
Portrait, XXIV, front

DAVIS, CHARLES HENRY — Worcester
R. March 5, 1894 — D. July 24, 1910
Memoir, XIV. 77

DAVIS, HORACE — San Francisco, Cal.
C. April 29, 1898 — D. July 13, 1916

DAVIS, JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT — Washington, D. C.
C. December 23, 1899 — D. December 27, 1907
Portrait, XII. 2

DELABARRE, EDMUND BURKE — Providence, R. I.
C. January 2, 1917

DELANO, FREDERIC ADRIAN — Washington, D. C.
C. January 3, 1918

DEWEY, FRANCIS HENSHAW — Worcester
R. December 1, 1913

DEXTER, FRANKLIN BOWDITCH — New Haven, Conn.
C. December 29, 1898 — D. August 13, 1920

DEXTER, REV. MORTON — Boston
R. January 31, 1902 — D. October 29, 1910

DOWSE, WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER — Sherborn
R. May 5, 1921

DREW, EDWARD BANGS — Cambridge
R. April 12, 1915 — R. April 30, 1918

DWIGHT, THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN — Boston
R. February 28, 1893 — R. December 1, 1902

EAMES, WILBERFORCE — New York
C. May 14, 1898

EDES, HENRY HERBERT — Boston
R. December 19, 1892 — D. October 13, 1922
Portrait, XXV, front

EELLS, REV. JAMES — Boston and Tarrytown, N. Y.
R. January 27, 1905
C. November 21, 1905 — Expelled December 27, 1906

EMERTON, EPHRAIM — Cambridge
R. March 4, 1901 — R. November 1, 1904

ENDICOTT, WILLIAM — Boston
R. December 19, 1892 — D. November 7, 1914

ENDICOTT, WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD — Danvers
R. November 18, 1893 — D. May 6, 1900
Memoir, VIII. 30; portrait, front

ENDICOTT, WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD — Danvers
R. January 10, 1918

EVERETT, REV. CHARLES CARROLL — Cambridge
R. May 20, 1893 — D. October 16, 1900
Memoir, VII. 337, portrait

FAIRBANKS, ARTHUR — Cambridge
R. January 20, 1912 — R. November 9, 1914

FARWELL, JOHN WHITTEMORE — Cohasset
R. May 2, 1910

FENN, REV. WILLIAM WALLACE — Cambridge
R. January 10, 1908

FIELD, EDWARD — Providence, R. I.
C. February 1, 1899

FISHER, REV. GEORGE PARK — New Haven, Conn.
C. January 25, 1899 — D. December 20, 1909

FOOTE, REV. HENRY WILDER — Cambridge
R. April 16, 1915

FORBES, ALLAN — Westwood
R. January 24, 1913

FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY — Boston and Washington, D. C.
R. February 22, 1899
C. November 21, 1904
R. January 28, 1909

FOSTER, FRANCIS APTHORP — Cambridge
R. March 4, 1902

FULLER, MELVILLE WESTON — Washington, D. C.
H. March 31, 1893 — D. July 4, 1910

FURNESS, HORACE HOWARD — Wallingford, Pa.
C. March 23, 1900 — D. August 13, 1912
Portrait, XIV, front

GAGE, HOMER — Worcester
R. March 3, 1922

GARDINER, ROBERT HALLOWELL — Gardiner, Me.
C. March 26, 1906

GAY, FREDERICK LEWIS — Brookline
R. March 21, 1893 — D. March 3, 1916
Memoir, XIX. 392; portrait, front

GIBBS, WOLCOTT — Newport, R. I.
C. May 5, 1899 — D. December 9, 1908
Portrait, XII. 188

GIFFORD, WILLIAM LOGAN RODMAN — St. Louis, Mo.
C. March 1, 1906

GILMAN, DANIEL COIT — Baltimore, Md.
C. March 18, 1899 — D. October 13, 1908

GOODALE, GEORGE LINCOLN — Cambridge
R. December 22, 1893

GOODELL, ABNER CHENEY — Salem
R. January 30, 1893 — D. July 20, 1914
Memoir, XVIII. 193; portrait, front

GOODWIN, WILLIAM WATSON — Cambridge
R. January 31, 1893 — D. June 15, 1912

GOULD, BENJAMIN APTHORP — Cambridge
R. December 19, 1892 — D. November 26, 1896
Memoir, III. 476; portrait, front

GRANDGENT, CHARLES HALL — Cambridge
R. January 26, 1914

GRANT, ROBERT — Boston
R. April 6, 1912

GRAY, MORRIS — Newton
R. April 9, 1919

GREEN, CHARLES MONTRAVILLE — Boston
R. February 20, 1893

GREEN, SAMUEL SWETT — Worcester
R. May 3, 1893 D. December 8, 1918

GREENE, EVARTS BOUTELL — Champaign, Ill.
C. March 31, 1915

GREENOUGH, CHESTER NOYES — Cambridge
R. January 26, 1912

GREENOUGH, JAMES BRADSTREET — Cambridge
R. October 26, 1898 D. October 11, 1901

GRIFFIN, APPLETON PRENTISS CLARK — Newton and Washington, D. C.
R. February 3, 1896
C. April 27, 1905

HACKETT, FRANK WARREN — New Castle, N. H.
C. March 28, 1908

HADLEY, ARTHUR TWINING — New Haven, Conn.
C. December 22, 1899

HALE, REV. EDWARD — Cambridge
R. May 4, 1900 D. March 27, 1918

HALE, REV. EDWARD EVERETT — Boston
R. November 24, 1906 D. June 10, 1909

HALE, GEORGE SILSBEE — Boston
R. January 31, 1893 D. July 27, 1897

HALL, REV. EDWARD HENRY — Brookline
R. January 29, 1900 D. February 22, 1912
Memoir, XVII. 403; portrait, front

HAMMOND, OTIS GRANT — Concord, N. H.
C. January 5, 1918

HART, FRANCIS RUSSELL — Milton
R. January 2, 1915

HARTWELL, EDWARD MUSSEY — Boston
R. February 9, 1920 D. February 19, 1922

HAY, JOHN — Washington, D. C.
H. May 19, 1903 D. July 1, 1905

HAYNES, GEORGE HENRY — Worcester
R. February 4, 1920

HEMENWAY, AUGUSTUS — Canton
R. March 9, 1893 R. April 17, 1908

HENSHAW, SAMUEL — Cambridge
R. February 3, 1915

HIGGINSON, HENRY LEE — Boston
R. May 5, 1900 — D. November 14, 1919
Portrait, XXI, front

HILL, ADAMS SHERMAN — Boston
R. March 2, 1904 — D. December 25, 1910

HILTON, GUSTAVUS ARTHUR — Boston
R. December 19, 1892 — D. September 18, 1913

HOLDEN, EDWARD SINGLETON — Washington, D. C.
C. March 22, 1898 — D. March 16, 1914

HOMANS, JOHN — Boston
R. March 23, 1894 — R. April 17, 1895

HOOPER, EDWARD WILLIAM — Cambridge
R. March 5, 1894 — D. June 25, 1901

HOSMER, JAMES KENDALL — Washington, D. C.
C. January 24, 1908

HOWE, ARCHIBALD MURRAY — Cambridge
R. December 22, 1893 — R. October 26, 1898

HOWE, MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE — Boston
R. February 2, 1911

HUDSON, JOHN ELBRIDGE — Boston
R. February 27, 1895 — D. October 1, 1900

HUNNEWELL, JAMES MELVILLE — Boston
R. December 29, 1922

HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM REED — New York
C. May 2, 1899 — D. July 26, 1909

HURD, FRANCIS WILLIAM — Boston
R. May 22, 1902 — D. March 3, 1915

INCHES, JOHN CHESTER — Boston
R. December 19, 1892 — D. September 26, 1901

JAMESON, JOHN FRANKLIN — Providence, R. I.
C. March 19, 1898

JENNEY, CHARLES FRANCIS — Boston
R. January 27, 1920

JOHNSON, ALFRED — Brookline
R. December 27, 1915

JOHNSON, EDWARD FRANCIS — Woburn
R. January 2, 1894 — R. November 14, 1906

JOHNSON, SAMUEL — Boston
R. February 3, 1893 — D. August 13, 1899

KELLEN, WILLIAM VAIL — Boston
R. January 20, 1906

KIDDER, NATHANIEL THAYER — Milton
R. November 25, 1916

KINNICUTT, LINCOLN NEWTON — Worcester
R. March 4, 1912 — D. December 13, 1921

KITTREDGE, GEORGE LYMAN — Cambridge
R. March 4, 1893

KNOWLTON, MARCUS PERRIN — Springfield
R. January 10, 1902 — D. May 7, 1918

LANE, GARDINER MARTIN — Boston
R. March 15, 1893 — D. October 3, 1914

LANE, GEORGE MARTIN — Cambridge
R. March 7, 1893 — D. June 30, 1897
Memoir, VI. 97; portrait, front

LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE — Cambridge
R. March 5, 1897

LANGLEY, SAMUEL PIERPONT — Washington, D. C.
H. March 9, 1899 — D. February 27, 1906

LANMAN, CHARLES ROCKWELL — Cambridge
R. January 25, 1919

LATHROP, JOHN — Boston
R. May 16, 1893 — D. August 24, 1910

LAWRENCE, REV. ARTHUR — Stockbridge
R. March 2, 1894 — D. September 20, 1909

LAWRENCE, RT. REV. WILLIAM — Cambridge
R. February 21, 1893 — R. November 15, 1899

LAWTON, FREDERICK — Boston
R. February 5, 1921

LEE, FRANCIS HENRY — Salem
R. March 8, 1905 — D. October 7, 1913

LEFAVOUR, HENRY — Boston
R. March 29, 1906

LEVERETT, GEORGE VASMER — Boston
R. April 29, 1901 — D. October 18, 1917

LINCOLN, FRANCIS HENRY — Hingham
R. May 1, 1893 — D. July 7, 1911
Memoir, XIV. 129, portrait

LINCOLN, WALDO — Worcester
R. January 30, 1893

LITTLEFIELD, GEORGE EMERY — Somerville
R. January 24, 1913 — D. September 4, 1915

LODGE, HENRY CABOT — Nahant
R. January 8, 1918

LORD, ARTHUR — Plymouth
R. November 23, 1906

LORING, AUGUSTUS PEABODY — Beverly
R. November 25, 1903

LORING, CHARLES GREELY — Boston
R. January 15, 1901 — D. August 18, 1902

LOTHROP, THORNTON KIRKLAND	Boston
R. March 26, 1903	D. November 2, 1913
LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE	Cambridge
R. November 24, 1909	R. March 15, 1911
LOWELL, AUGUSTUS	Brookline
R. January 26, 1898	D. June 22, 1900
LOWELL, FRANCIS CABOT	Boston
R. January 30, 1893	D. March 6, 1911
LOWELL, JOHN	Newton
R. December 19, 1892	D. May 14, 1897
LOWELL, JOHN	Newton
R. May 15, 1919	D. December 3, 1922
LYMAN, ARTHUR THEODORE	Waltham
R. January 11, 1899	D. October 24, 1915
MACDONALD, WILLIAM	Providence, R. I.
C. January 2, 1917	
MCINTIRE, CHARLES JOHN	Cambridge
R. April 30, 1914	
MARSH, ARTHUR RICHMOND	Cambridge
R. April 11, 1901	Rem. November 5, 1908
MASON, CHARLES FRANCIS	Watertown
R. January 6, 1896	
MATTHEWS, ALBERT	Boston
R. APRIL 21, 1896	
MAYO, LAWRENCE SHAW	Newton
R. February 7, 1916	
MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW	Cambridge
R. January 26, 1912	
MERRITT, EDWARD PERCIVAL	Boston
R. December 29, 1910	
MINNS, THOMAS	Boston
R. January 11, 1897	D. October 28, 1913
MOORE, REV. EDWARD CALDWELL	Cambridge
R. December 27, 1909	
MOORE, REV. GEORGE FOOT	Cambridge
R. December 3, 1910	
MORGAN, JOHN PIERPONT	New York
H. December 30, 1910	D. March 31, 1913
MORGAN, JOHN PIERPONT	New York
C. March 4, 1922	
MORGAN, MORRIS HICKY	Cambridge
R. December 29, 1908	D. March 16, 1910
MORISON, SAMUEL ELIOT	Boston
R. March 5, 1912	

MORTON, JAMES MADISON — Fall River
R. May 4, 1901

MURDOCK, HAROLD — Brookline
R. February 2, 1909

NASH, FRANCIS PHILIP — Geneva, N. Y.
C. November 24, 1907 — D. February 5, 1911

NASH, NATHANIEL CUSHING — Cambridge
R. April 20, 1894 — R. November 20, 1908

NEWCOMB, SIMON — Washington, D. C.
H. March 22, 1898 — D. July 11, 1909
Portrait, XII, front

NICHOLS, CHARLES LEMUEL — Worcester
R. January 26, 1913

NOBLE, JOHN — Boston
R. March 24, 1893 — D. June 10, 1909

NOBLE, JOHN — Cambridge
R. January 31, 1903

NOYES, JAMES ATKINS — Cambridge
R. December 27, 1901

OLNEY, RICHARD — Boston
R. April 29, 1893 — D. April 8, 1917

PAINE, NATHANIEL — Worcester
R. March 21, 1893 — R. January 1, 1913

PALFREY, JOHN GORHAM — Belmont
R. February 15, 1900 — R. November 21, 1905

PARK, REV. CHARLES EDWARDS — Boston
R. February 29, 1908

PARKER, REV. HENRY AINSWORTH — Cambridge
R. April 30, 1894 — D. February 17, 1919

PARKER, HERBERT — Lancaster
R. July 3, 1906 — R. February 16, 1910

PARKMAN, FRANCIS — Boston
R. April 13, 1893 — D. November 8, 1893
Memoir, I. 304, portrait

PARMENTER, JAMES PARKER — Arlington
R. November 26, 1918

PEABODY, REV. ENDICOTT — Groton
R. May 3, 1893 — R. November 20, 1900

PEABODY, JOHN ENDICOTT — Brookline
R. March 8, 1921 — D. August 17, 1921

PEIRCE, JAMES MILLS — Cambridge
R. February 14, 1893 — D. March 21, 1906

PERKINS, REV. JOHN CARROLL — Portland, Me.
C. February 1, 1905

PETERS, JOHN ANDREW — Bangor, Me.
C. February 24, 1899 — D. April 2, 1904

PHELPS, EDWARD JOHN — Burlington, Vt.
H. December 26, 1893 — D. March 9, 1900

PHILLIPS, STEPHEN WILLARD — Salem
R. April 20, 1915

PICKERING, EDWARD CHARLES — Cambridge
R. April 1, 1901 — R. November 11, 1904

PICKERING, HENRY GODDARD — Boston
R. January 29, 1919

PIER, ARTHUR STANWOOD — Milton
R. December 29, 1922

PIPER, WILLIAM TAGGARD — Cambridge
R. January 23, 1894 — D. July 25, 1911
Memoir, XIV. 351, portrait

PLIMPTON, GEORGE ARTHUR — New York
C. April 3, 1903

PORTER, REV. EDWARD GRIFFIN — Boston
R. October 23, 1893 — D. February 5, 1900
Memoir, VII. 55, portrait

POTTER, ALFRED CLAGHORN — Cambridge
R. November 25, 1913

PUTNAM, CHARLES PICKERING — Boston
R. February 4, 1911 — D. April 22, 1914

PUTNAM, HERBERT — Washington, D. C.
C. February 29, 1904

PUTNAM, WILLIAM LOWELL — Manchester
R. February 1, 1909

QUINCY, HENRY PARKER — Boston
R. February 6, 1893 — D. March 11, 1899

RACKEMANN, CHARLES SEDGWICK — Milton
R. December 19, 1892

RAND, EDWARD KENNARD — Cambridge
R. December 31, 1913

RHODES, JAMES FORD — Boston
R. November 24, 1899 — R. December 7, 1902

RICE, FRANKLIN PIERCE — Worcester
R. January 26, 1914 — D. January 4, 1919

RICKETSON, JOHN HOWLAND — Pittsburgh, Pa.
C. March 8, 1899 — D. July 20, 1900

ROBINSON, EDWARD — New York
C. December 24, 1910

ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS — Cambridge
R. January 26, 1912

ROOT, ELIHU — New York
H. May 3, 1910

ROPES, REV. JAMES HARDY — Cambridge
R. January 27, 1902

RUGG, ARTHUR PRENTICE — Worcester
R. December 29, 1910

RUSSELL, ELIAS HARLOW — Worcester
R. March 27, 1905 — R. March 18, 1909

RUSSELL, WILLIAM EUSTIS — Cambridge
R. May 4, 1893 — D. July 16, 1896
Memoir, v. 83, portrait

SALTONSTALL, LEVERETT — Newton
R. December 19, 1892 — D. April 15, 1895
Memoir, v. 358; portrait, front

SALTONSTALL, RICHARD MIDDLECOTT — Newton
R. April 9, 1896 — D. April 17, 1922

SANFORD, JOHN ELIOT — Taunton
R. April 6, 1894 — D. October 11, 1907

SARGENT, JOHN SINGER — London, England
H. February 15, 1922

SEARS, JOSHUA MONTGOMERY — Boston
R. January 31, 1893 — D. June 2, 1905

SEARS, PHILIP HOWES — Waltham
R. February 28, 1893 — D. May 1, 1898

SEDGWICK, HENRY DWIGHT — Stockbridge
R. January 24, 1894 — D. December 26, 1903

SHATTUCK, FREDERICK CHEEVER — Boston
R. February 5, 1918

SHATTUCK, GEORGE OTIS — Boston
R. January 17, 1894 — D. February 23, 1897
Memoir, VIII. 7, portrait

SHAW, ROBERT GOULD — Wellesley
R. March 7, 1919

SLADE, DANIEL DENISON — Newton
R. December 19, 1892 — D. February 11, 1896
Memoir, VI. 215, portrait

SLADE, DENISON ROGERS — Newton and Sandwich, N. H.
R. February 2, 1898
C. November 21, 1906 — D. June 17, 1914

SMITH, JEREMIAH — Cambridge
R. January 24, 1898 — R. November 6, 1907

SMITH, JUSTIN HARVEY — Hanover, N. H.
C. April 30, 1910 — Rem. December 14, 1911

SNOW, CHARLES ARMSTRONG — Boston
R. April 24, 1896 — D. September 1, 1920

STEVENS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN — London, England
C. January 7, 1902 — D. March 6, 1902

STURGIS, RICHARD CLIPSTON — Boston
R. May 13, 1916

SWIFT, LINDSAY — Boston
R. December 19, 1895 — D. September 11, 1921

TAFT, HENRY WALBRIDGE — Pittsfield
R. March 17, 1894 — D. September 22, 1904

TAFT, WILLIAM HOWARD — Cincinnati, Ohio
H. January 11, 1913

THAYER, EZRA RIPLEY — Boston
R. December 30, 1902 — D. September 14, 1915

THAYER, JAMES BRADLEY — Cambridge
R. December 19, 1892 — D. February 14, 1902
Portrait, VII. 296

THAYER, JOHN ELIOT — Lancaster
R. January 24, 1898

THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE — Cambridge
R. May 1, 1893 — R. November 12, 1896
R. December 29, 1913

THORNDIKE, SAMUEL LOTHROP — Cambridge
R. March 24, 1893 — D. June 18, 1911

TILLINGHAST, CALEB BENJAMIN — Boston
R. January 1, 1907 — D. April 28, 1909
Memoir, XII. 359, portrait

TOPPAN, ROBERT NOXON — Cambridge
R. March 18, 1893 — D. May 10, 1901
Memoir, VII. 263, portrait

TROWBRIDGE, JOHN — Cambridge
R. March 27, 1911 — R. December 3, 1917

TUCKER, GEORGE FOX — New Bedford
R. January 4, 1894 — R. February 2, 1917

TUCKER, REV. WILLIAM JEWETT — Hanover, N. H.
C. October 26, 1898

TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON — Madison, Wis., and Cambridge
C. March 24, 1899
R. November 21, 1910

TUTTLE, JULIUS HERBERT — Dedham
R. January 27, 1908

TYLER, MOSES COIT — Ithaca, N. Y.
C. February 23, 1900 — D. December 28, 1900

WADE, WINTHROP HOWLAND — Dedham
R. April 25, 1903

WAIT, WILLIAM CUSHING — Medford
R. April 29, 1897

WALKER, FRANCIS AMASA — Boston
R. March 1, 1893 — D. January 5, 1897

WALKER, REV. WILLISTON — New Haven, Conn.
C. January 26, 1903 — D. March 9, 1922

WARE, DARWIN ERASTUS — Boston
R. April 3, 1893 — D. April 2, 1897
Memoir, v. 38, portrait

WARE, HORACE EVERETT — Milton
R. March 14, 1905 — D. January 27, 1919

WARE, THORNTON MARSHALL — Fitchburg
R. February 29, 1904 — D. December 28, 1912

WARREN WINSLOW — Dedham
R. March 16, 1915

WASHBURN, CHARLES GRENFILL — Worcester
R. March 3, 1913

WATERS, REV. THOMAS FRANKLIN — Ipswich
R. January 3, 1907 — R. March 6, 1919

WATSON, WILLIAM — Boston
R. December 19, 1892 — D. September 30, 1915

WEEDEN, WILLIAM BABCOCK — Providence, R. I.
C. April 25, 1903 — D. March 28, 1912

WELD, CHARLES GODDARD — Boston
R. January 15, 1897 — D. June 18, 1911

WELD, WILLIAM GORDON — Boston
R. February 8, 1893 — D. April 16, 1896
Memoir, III. 329

WELLS, EDGAR HUIDEKOPER — Boston and New York
R. January 25, 1913
C. November 21, 1913

WELLS, SAMUEL — Boston
R. January 30, 1893 — D. October 3, 1903
Memoir, X. 27, portrait

WENDELL, BARRETT — Boston
R. April 30, 1912 — D. February 8, 1921

WESTON, ROBERT DICKSON — Cambridge
R. January 30, 1906

WHEELER, GEN. JOSEPH — Alabama
C. March 12, 1901 — D. January 25, 1906

WHEELWRIGHT, ANDREW CUNNINGHAM — Cohasset
R. April 23, 1896 — D. June 15, 1908

WHEELWRIGHT, EDMUND MARCH — Boston
R. January 23, 1894 — D. August 14, 1912

WHEELWRIGHT, EDWARD — Boston
R. February 3, 1893 — D. May 9, 1900
Portrait, VII, front

WHITE, ANDREW DICKSON — Ithaca, N. Y.
H. November 26, 1907 — D. November 4, 1918

WHITNEY, DAVID RICE — Boston
R. March 1, 1894 — D. December 10, 1914

WHITNEY, JAMES LYMAN — Cambridge
R. December 30, 1898 — R. June 17, 1910

WIGGLESWORTH, EDWARD — Boston
R. March 20, 1893 — D. January 23, 1896
Memoir, III. 348, portrait

WIGGLESWORTH, GEORGE — Boston
R. January 30, 1893

WILBUR, JAMES BENJAMIN — Manchester, Vt.
C. January 10, 1922

WILLIAMS, GEORGE FREDERICK — Dedham
R. April 24, 1893 — R. July 15, 1908

WILLIAMS, HENRY — Boston
R. February 28, 1893 — D. March 5, 1901

WILLIAMS, MOSES — Brookline
R. February 10, 1893 — D. August 21, 1919

WILLIAMSON, JOSEPH — Belfast, Me.
C. March 18, 1898 — D. December 4, 1902
Portrait, VIII. 12

WILLIAMSON, WILLIAM CROSS — Boston
R. May 2, 1893 — D. June 13, 1903
Memoir, XIX. 34, portrait

WILLISTON, SAMUEL — Cambridge and Belmont
R. April 26, 1893 — R. October 3, 1897
R. April 8, 1919

WINSHIP, GEORGE PARKER — Providence, R. I., and Cambridge
C. May 5, 1899
R. January 10, 1916

WOLCOTT, ROGER — Boston
R. May 15, 1893 — D. December 21, 1900
Memoir, XI. 348, portrait

WOODBURY, JOHN — Boston
R. November 30, 1910

WOODS, HENRY ERNEST — Boston
R. December 19, 1892 — D. October 11, 1919

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF RESIDENT MEMBERS[1]

DATE OF ENROLMENT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1892 Dec. 19	*Benjamin Apthorp Gould, LL.D., F.R.S.	Cambridge
1892 Dec. 19	*Hon. John Lowell, LL.D.	Newton
1892 Dec. 19	*Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, A.M.	Newton
1892 Dec. 19	*William Endicott, A.M.	Boston
1892 Dec. 19	*Henry Herbert Edes, A.M.	Boston
1892 Dec. 19	*John Chester Inches, Esq.	Boston
1892 Dec. 19	*Daniel Denison Slade, M.D.	Newton
1892 Dec. 19	*James Bradley Thayer, LL.D.	Cambridge
1892 Dec. 19	*Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M.	Cambridge
1892 Dec. 19	*William Watson, Ph.D.	Boston
1892 Dec. 19	Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B.	Manchester
1892 Dec. 19	*Gustavus Arthur Hilton, LL.B.	Boston
1892 Dec. 19	*Henry Ernest Woods, A.M.	Boston
1892 Dec. 19	Charles Sedgwick Rackemann, A.M.	Milton
1893 Jan. 30	*Abner Cheney Goodell, A.M.	Salem
1893 Jan. 30	George Wigglesworth, A.M.	Boston
1893 Jan. 30	*Hon. Francis Cabot Lowell, LL.D.	Boston
1893 Jan. 30	Waldo Lincoln, A.B.	Worcester
1893 Jan. 30	*Samuel Wells, A.B.	Boston
1893 Jan. 31	*William Watson Goodwin, D.C.L.	Cambridge
1893 Jan. 31	*George Silsbee Hale, A.M.	Boston
1893 Jan. 31	*Joshua Montgomery Sears, A.B.	Boston
1893 Jan. 31	*Hon. John Forrester Andrew, LL.B.	Boston
1893 Feb. 3	*Edward Wheelwright, A.M.	Boston
1893 Feb. 3	*Samuel Johnson, A.M.	Boston
1893 Feb. 6	*Henry Parker Quincy, M.D.	Boston
1893 Feb. 6	†Edwin Munroe Bacon, A.M.	Boston
1893 Feb. 8	*William Gordon Weld, Esq.	Boston
1893 Feb. 9	†Seth Carlo Chandler, LL.D.	Wellesley
1893 Feb. 10	*Moses Williams, A.B.	Brookline
1893 Feb. 14	*James Mills Peirce, A.M.	Cambridge
1893 Feb. 20	Charles Montraville Green, M.D.	Boston

[1] An asterisk (*) denotes death while a member; a dagger (†) indicates that membership has ceased either through resignation, removal to or from the State, or otherwise; a double dagger (‡) means transfer to another class of membership. The place of residence given is that where the member lived at the time of his election. The place of residence of each of the fourteen incorporators of the Society, though not given in the Transactions, is recorded in the Records of the Society. Curiously enough, however, the place of residence of no member elected in 1893 and of scarcely a member elected in 1894 is recorded either in the Council Records or in the Records of the Society, nor is it given in the Transactions. Hence the place of residence of those elected in 1893 and 1894 is somewhat conjectural.

DATE OF ENROLMENT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1893 Feb. 21	†Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.	Cambridge
1893 Feb. 28	†Theodore Frelinghuysen Dwight, Esq.	Boston
1893 Feb. 28	*Henry Williams, A.B.	Boston
1893 Feb. 28	*Philip Howes Sears, A.M.	Waltham
1893 March 1	*Francis Amasa Walker, LL.D.	Boston
1893 March 3	*Francis Vergnies Balch, LL.B.	Boston
1893 March 4	George Lyman Kittredge, LL.D.	Cambridge
1893 March 7	*George Martin Lane, LL.D.	Cambridge
1893 March 7	*James Barr Ames, LL.D.	Cambridge
1893 March 9	Hon. Charles Warren Clifford, A.M.	New Bedford
1893 March 9	†Augustus Hemenway, A.B.	Canton
1893 March 15	*Gardiner Martin Lane, A.B.	Boston
1893 March 18	*Robert Noxon Toppan, A.M.	Cambridge
1893 March 20	*Edward Wigglesworth, M.D.	Boston
1893 March 21	†Nathaniel Paine, A.M.	Worcester
1893 March 21	*Frederick Lewis Gay, A.B.	Brookline
1893 March 24	*John Noble, LL.D.	Boston
1893 March 24	*Samuel Lothrop Thorndike, A.M.	Cambridge
1893 April 1	*Hon. Frederick Lothrop Ames, A.B.	North Easton
1893 April 3	*Darwin Erastus Ware, A.M.	Boston
1893 April 7	*Charles Augustus Chase, A.M.	Worcester
1893 April 11	*Charles Francis Choate, A.M.	Southboro
1893 April 13	*Francis Parkman, LL.D., F.S.A.	Boston
1893 April 21	*Hon. Martin Brimmer, A.B.	Boston
1893 April 22	*Charles Pickering Bowditch, A.M.	Boston
1893 April 24	†Hon. George Frederick Williams, A.B.	Dedham
1893 April 24	Walter Cabot Baylies, A.B.	Taunton
1893 April 24	Frank Brewster, A.M.	Boston
1893 April 26	†Samuel Williston, LL.D.	Cambridge
1893 April 26	*Sigourney Butler, LL.B.	Boston
1893 April 26	*Stanley Cunningham, A.B.	Boston
1893 April 26	*Hon. James Walker Austin, A.M.	Boston
1893 April 29	*Hon. Richard Olney, LL.D.	Boston
1893 May 1	*Francis Henry Lincoln, A.M.	Hingham
1893 May 1	†William Roscoe Thayer, LL.D.	Cambridge
1893 May 2	*William Cross Williamson, A.M.	Boston
1893 May 3	*Samuel Swett Green, A.M.	Worcester
1893 May 3	†Rev. Endicott Peabody, LL.M.	Groton
1893 May 4	*Hon. William Eustis Russell, LL.D.	Cambridge
1893 May 5	*‡Franklin Carter, LL.D.	Williamstown
1893 May 15	*Hon. Roger Wolcott, LL.D.	Boston
1893 May 16	*Hon. John Lathrop, A.M.	Boston
1893 May 20	*Rev. Charles Carroll Everett, D.D.	Cambridge
1893 May 23	*Hon. James Madison Barker, LL.D.	Pittsfield
1893 June 9	†Walter Channing, M.D.	Brookline
1893 Oct. 23	*Rev. Edward Griffin Porter, A.M.	Boston
1893 Nov. 18	*Hon. William Crowninshield Endicott, LL.D.	Danvers
1893 Dec. 22	George Lincoln Goodale, M.D., LL.D.	Cambridge

DATE OF ENROLMENT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1893 Dec. 22	†Archibald Murray Howe, A.M.	Cambridge
1893 Dec. 23	*Rev. Joseph Henry Allen, D.D.	Cambridge
1894 Jan. 2	†Edward Francis Johnson, LL.B.	Woburn
1894 Jan. 4	†George Fox Tucker, Ph.D.	New Bedford
1894 Jan. 17	*George Otis Shattuck, LL.B.	Boston
1894 Jan. 23	*Edmund March Wheelwright, A.B.	Boston
1894 Jan. 23	*William Taggard Piper, Ph.D.	Cambridge
1894 Jan. 24	*Henry Dwight Sedgwick, A.B.	Stockbridge
1894 Jan. 24	†Robert Tillinghast Babson, LL.B.	Gloucester
1894 Jan. 26	George Nixon Black, Esq.	Boston
1894 Feb. 28	†John Bartlett, A.M.	Cambridge
1894 March 1	*David Rice Whitney, A.M.	Boston
1894 March 2	*Rev. Arthur Lawrence, D.D.	Stockbridge
1894 March 2	†Eliot Channing Clarke, A.B.	Boston
1894 March 5	*Charles Henry Davis, A.B.	Worcester
1894 March 5	*Edward William Hooper, LL.D.	Cambridge
1894 March 17	*Henry Walbridge Taft, A.M.	Pittsfield
1894 March 23	†John Homans, M.D.	Boston
1894 April 6	*Hon. John Eliot Sanford, LL.D.	Taunton
1894 April 20	†Nathaniel Cushing Nash, A.M.	Cambridge
1894 April 21	†Ernest Lee Conant, A.M.	Cambridge
1894 April 30	*Rev. Henry Ainsworth Parker, A.M.	Cambridge
1895 Feb. 27	*John Elbridge Hudson, LL.B.	Boston
1895 Dec. 19	*Lindsay Swift, A.B.	Boston
1896 Jan. 6	Charles Francis Mason, A.B.	Watertown
1896 Feb. 3	‡Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, Esq.	Newton
1896 April 9	*Richard Middlecott Saltonstall, A.B.	Newton
1896 April 21	Albert Matthews, A.B.	Boston
1896 April 23	*Andrew Cunningham Wheelwright, A.M.	Cohasset
1896 April 24	*Charles Armstrong Snow, A.B.	Boston
1897 Jan. 11	*Thomas Minns, Esq.	Boston
1897 Jan. 15	*Charles Goddard Weld, M.D.	Boston
1897 Feb. 20	†Edward Appleton Bangs, A.B.	Boston
1897 March 5	William Coolidge Lane, A.B.	Cambridge
1897 April 28	*Louis Cabot, A.B.	Milton
1897 April 29	Hon. William Cushing Wait, A.M.	Medford
1898 Jan. 24	†Jeremiah Smith, LL.D.	Cambridge
1898 Jan. 24	John Eliot Thayer, A.M.	Lancaster
1898 Jan. 26	*Augustus Lowell, A.M.	Brookline
1898 Feb. 2	*‡Denison Rogers Slade, A.B.	Newton
1898 Oct. 26	*James Bradstreet Greenough, A.B.	Cambridge
1898 Dec. 26	†Charles Knowles Bolton, A.B.	Brookline
1898 Dec. 30	†James Lyman Whitney, A.M.	Cambridge
1899 Jan. 11	*Arthur Theodore Lyman, A.M.	Waltham
1899 Jan. 21	Frederic Haines Curtiss, Esq.	Boston
1899 Feb. 22	‡Worthington Chauncey Ford, LL.D.	Boston
1899 Nov. 24	†James Ford Rhodes, LL.D.	Boston
1900 Jan. 29	*Rev. Edward Henry Hall, D.D.	Brookline

DATE OF ENROLMENT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1900 Feb. 15	†John Gorham Palfrey, LL.B.	Belmont
1900 May 4	*Rev. Edward Hale, A.B.	Cambridge
1900 May 5	*Henry Lee Higginson, LL.D.	Boston
1901 Jan. 15	*Charles Greely Loring, A.M.	Boston
1901 March 4	†Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D.	Cambridge
1901 April 1	†Edward Charles Pickering, LL.D.	Cambridge
1901 April 11	†Arthur Richmond Marsh, A.B.	Cambridge
1901 April 29	*George Vasmer Leverett, A.M.	Boston
1901 May 4	Hon. James Madison Morton, LL.D.	Fall River
1901 Dec. 27	James Atkins Noyes, A.B.	Cambridge
1902 Jan. 10	*Hon. Marcus Perrin Knowlton, LL.D.	Springfield
1902 Jan. 27	Rev. James Hardy Ropes, D.D.	Cambridge
1902 Jan. 31	*Rev. Morton Dexter, A.M.	Boston
1902 March 4	Francis Apthorp Foster, Esq.	Cambridge
1902 May 22	*Francis William Hurd, A.M.	Boston
1902 Dec. 30	*Ezra Ripley Thayer, LL.D.	Boston
1903 Jan. 31	John Noble, LL.B.	Cambridge
1903 March 26	*Hon. Winthrop Murray Crane, LL.D.	Dalton
1903 March 26	*Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, A.M.	Boston
1903 April 25	Winthrop Howland Wade, A.M.	Dedham
1903 Nov. 25	Hon. Augustus Peabody Loring, LL.B.	Beverly
1904 Feb. 4	*Francis Blake, A.M.	Weston
1904 Feb. 29	*Thornton Marshall Ware, A.B.	Fitchburg
1904 March 2	*Adams Sherman Hill, LL.D.	Boston
1905 Jan. 27	‡Rev. James Eells, A.B.	Boston
1905 Jan. 30	*James Read Chadwick, M.D.	Boston
1905 March 8	*Francis Henry Lee, Esq.	Salem
1905 March 14	*Horace Everett Ware, A.B.	Milton
1905 March 27	†Elias Harlow Russell, Esq.	Worcester
1906 Jan. 4	*James Bourne Ayer, M.D.	Boston
1906 Jan. 4	*Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, A.B.	Manchester
1906 Jan. 9	*James Willson Brooks, A.M.	Petersham
1906 Jan. 20	William Vail Kellen, LL.D.	Boston
1906 Jan. 30	Robert Dickson Weston, A.B.	Cambridge
1906 March 29	Henry Lefavour, LL.D.	Boston
1906 May 7	Francis Randall Appleton, LL.B.	Ipswich
1906 July 3	†Hon. Herbert Parker, LL.D.	Lancaster
1906 Nov. 23	Arthur Lord, LL.D.	Plymouth
1906 Nov. 24	*Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D.	Boston
1907 Jan. 1	*Caleb Benjamin Tillinghast, Litt.D.	Boston
1907 Jan. 3	†Rev. Thomas Franklin Waters, A.B.	Ipswich
1908 Jan. 10	Rev. William Wallace Fenn, D.D.	Cambridge
1908 Jan. 27	Julius Herbert Tuttle, Esq.	Dedham
1908 Feb. 29	Rev. Charles Edwards Park, D.D.	Boston
1908 Dec. 29	Ogden Codman, Esq.	Lincoln
1908 Dec. 29	*Morris Hicky Morgan, LL.D.	Cambridge
1909 Jan. 28	Worthington Chauncey Ford, LL.D.	Boston
1909 Feb. 1	William Lowell Putnam, LL.B.	Manchester

DATE OF ENROLMENT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1909 Feb. 2	Harold Murdock, A.M.	Brookline
1909 Nov. 24	†Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.D.	Cambridge
1909 Dec. 27	Rev. Edward Caldwell Moore, D.D.	Cambridge
1910 Feb. 15	Archibald Cary Coolidge, LL.D.	Cambridge
1910 Feb. 17	Ezra Henry Baker, A.B.	Boston
1910 May 2	John Whittemore Farwell, Litt.B.	Cohasset
1910 Nov. 21	Frederick Jackson Turner, LL.D.	Cambridge
1910 Nov. 30	John Woodbury, A.B.	Boston
1910 Dec. 1	Hon. John Adams Aiken, LL.D.	Greenfield
1910 Dec. 3	Rev. George Foot Moore, D.D.	Cambridge
1910 Dec. 29	Edward Percival Merritt, A.B.	Boston
1910 Dec. 29	Hon. Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D.	Worcester
1911 Feb. 2	Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, Litt.D.	Boston
1911 Feb. 4	*Charles Pickering Putnam, M.D.	Boston
1911 March 27	†John Trowbridge, S.B.	Cambridge
1911 Nov. 28	†Melville Madison Bigelow, LL.D.	Cambridge
1912 Jan. 20	†Arthur Fairbanks, Litt.D.	Cambridge
1912 Jan. 23	Clarence Saunders Brigham, A.M.	Worcester
1912 Jan. 26	Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D.	Cambridge
1912 Jan. 26	Roger Bigelow Merriman, Ph.D.	Cambridge
1912 Jan. 26	Chester Noyes Greenough, Ph.D.	Cambridge
1912 March 4	*Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Esq.	Worcester
1912 March 5	Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D.	Boston
1912 April 6	Hon. Robert Grant, Litt.D.	Boston
1912 April 30	*Barrett Wendell, Litt.D.	Boston
1913 Jan. 24	Allan Forbes, A.B.	Westwood
1913 Jan. 24	*George Emery Littlefield, A.B.	Somerville
1913 Jan. 25	‡Edgar Huidekoper Wells, A.B.	Boston
1913 Jan. 26	Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt.D.	Worcester
1913 Feb. 6	Samuel Chester Clough, Esq.	Boston
1913 March 3	Hon. Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B.	Worcester
1913 Nov. 25	Alfred Claghorn Potter, A.B.	Cambridge
1913 Dec. 1	Francis Henshaw Dewey, A.M.	Worcester
1913 Dec. 29	William Roscoe Thayer, LL.D.	Cambridge
1913 Dec. 31	Edward Kennard Rand, Ph.D.	Cambridge
1914 Jan. 26	Charles Hall Grandgent, L.H.D.	Cambridge
1914 Jan. 26	*Franklin Pierce Rice, Esq.	Worcester
1914 April 30	Hon. Charles John McIntire	Cambridge
1915 Jan. 2	Francis Russell Hart, Esq.	Milton
1915 Feb. 3	Samuel Henshaw, A.M.	Cambridge
1915 March 2	Augustus George Bullock, A.B.	Worcester
1915 March 16	Hon. Winslow Warren, LL.B.	Dedham
1915 March 26	Edward Channing, Ph.D.	Cambridge
1915 April 12	†Edward Bangs Drew, A.M.	Cambridge
1915 April 16	Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, A.M.	Cambridge
1915 April 20	Stephen Willard Phillips, LL.B.	Salem
1915 Dec. 27	Alfred Johnson, Litt.D.	Brookline
1916 Jan. 10	George Parker Winship, Litt.D.	Cambridge

DATE OF ENROLMENT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1916 Feb. 7	Lawrence Shaw Mayo, A.M.	Newton
1916 May 13	Richard Clipston Sturgis, A.B.	Boston
1916 Nov. 25	Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, B.A.S.	Milton
1918 Jan. 8	Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D.	Nahant
1918 Jan. 10	William Crowninshield Endicott, A.B.	Danvers
1918 Jan. 18	‡George Russell Agassiz, A.B.	Boston
1918 Feb. 5	Frederick Cheever Shattuck, M.D., LL.D.	Boston
1918 Nov. 26	Hon. James Parker Parmenter, A.M.	Arlington
1919 Jan. 25	Charles Rockwell Lanman, LL.D.	Cambridge
1919 Jan. 29	Henry Goddard Pickering, A.M.	Boston
1919 March 7	Robert Gould Shaw, A.M.	Wellesley
1919 April 8	Samuel Williston, LL.D.	Belmont
1919 April 9	Morris Gray, LL.B.	Newton
1919 May 8	Rev. Howard Nicholson Brown, D.D.	Boston
1919 May 15	*John Lowell, A.B.	Newton
1920 Jan. 27	Hon. Charles Francis Jenney, LL.B.	Boston
1920 Feb. 4	George Henry Haynes, Ph.D.	Worcester
1920 Feb. 9	*Edward Mussey Hartwell, LL.D.	Boston
1920 Nov. 26	Alfred Lawrence Aiken, A.B.	Worcester
1921 Feb. 5	Hon. Frederick Lawton, A.B.	Boston
1921 Feb. 7	George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D.	Worcester
1921 March 8	*John Endicott Peabody, A.B.	Brookline
1921 May 5	William Bradford Homer Dowse, LL.B.	Sherborn
1921 Dec. 20	Wilbur Cortez Abbott, A.M.	Cambridge
1922 Jan. 9	George Pomeroy Anderson, Esq.	Boston
1922 Feb. 6	Francis Tiffany Bowles, U.S.N.A.	Barnstable
1922 Feb. 7	Walter Austin, LL.B.	Dedham
1922 March 3	Homer Gage, M.D.	Worcester
1922 Dec. 29	Arthur Stanwood Pier, A.B.	Milton
1922 Dec. 29	Hon. James Melville Hunnewell, LL.B.	Boston

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF HONORARY MEMBERS

DATE OF ENROLMENT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1893 March 31	*Hon. Melville Weston Fuller, LL.D.	Washington, D.C.
1893 Dec. 26	*Hon. Edward John Phelps, LL.D.	Burlington, Vt.
1894 Feb. 22	*Hon. Grover Cleveland, LL.D.	Washington, D.C.
1895 Feb. 4	*Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate, D.C.L.	New York, N.Y.
1897 Dec. 17	*Hon. James Coolidge Carter, LL.D.	New York, N.Y.
1898 March 22	*Simon Newcomb, D.C.L., F.R.S.	Washington, D.C.
1899 March 9	*Samuel Pierpont Langley, D.C.L., F.R.S.	Washington, D.C.
1903 May 19	*Hon. John Hay, LL.D.	Washington, D.C.
1907 Nov. 26	*Hon. Andrew Dickson White, D.C.L.	Ithaca, N.Y.
1909 Nov. 22	*Hon. James Burrill Angell, LL.D.[1]	Ann Arbor, Mich.
1910 May 3	Hon. Elihu Root, LL.D.	New York, N.Y.
1910 Dec. 30	*John Pierpont Morgan, LL.D.	New York, N.Y.
1913 Jan. 11	Hon. William Howard Taft, D.C.L.	Cincinnati, Ohio
1922 Feb. 15	John Singer Sargent, LL.D.	London, England

[1] Corresponding Member, 1899.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

DATE OF ENROLMENT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1898 March 18	*Hon. Joseph Williamson, Litt.D.	Belfast, Me.
1898 March 19	John Franklin Jameson, LL.D.	Providence, R.I.
1898 March 22	Hon. Simeon Eben Baldwin, LL.D.	New Haven,Conn.
1898 March 22	*Edward Singleton Holden, LL.D.	Washington, D.C.
1898 April 25	*Herbert Baxter Adams, LL.D.	Baltimore, Md.
1898 April 29	*Hon. Horace Davis, LL.D.	San Francisco
1898 May 14	Wilberforce Eames, A.M.	New York, N.Y.
1898 Oct. 26	Rev. William Jewett Tucker, D.D.	Hanover, N.H.
1898 Dec. 26	*Hon. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, LL.D.	Brunswick, Me.
1898 Dec. 29	*Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D.	New Haven,Conn.
1899 Jan. 22	*‡Hon. James Burrill Angell, LL.D. (Transferred to Honorary Roll, 22 November, 1909)	Ann Arbor, Mich.
1899 Jan. 25	*Rev. George Park Fisher, LL.D.	New Haven,Conn.
1899 Feb. 1	Edward Field, A.B.	Providence, R.I.
1899 Feb. 24	*Hon. John Andrew Peters, LL.D.	Bangor, Me.
1899 March 8	*Hon. John Howland Ricketson, A.M.	Pittsburgh, Pa.
1899 March 18	*Daniel Coit Gilman, LL.D.	Baltimore, Md.
1899 March 24	‡Frederick Jackson Turner, LL.D.	Madison, Wis.
1899 May 2	*Rev. William Reed Huntington, LL.D.	New York, N.Y.
1899 May 5	‡George Parker Winship	Providence, R.I.
1899 May 5	*Wolcott Gibbs, LL.D.	Newport, R.I.
1899 Nov. 29	*Hon. James Phinney Baxter, Litt.D.	Portland, Me.
1899 Dec. 22	Arthur Twining Hadley, LL.D.	New Haven,Conn.
1899 Dec. 23	*Hon. John Chandler Bancroft Davis, LL.D.	Washington, D.C.
1900 Feb. 23	*Moses Coit Tyler, LL.D.	Ithaca, N.Y.
1900 March 23	*John Shaw Billings, D.C.L.	New York, N.Y.
1900 March 23	*Horace Howard Furness, LL.D.	Wallingford, Pa.
1901 March 12	*Gen. Joseph Wheeler, U.S.A.	Alabama
1902 Jan. 7	*Benjamin Franklin Stevens, L.H.D., F.S.A.	London, England
1903 Jan. 26	*Rev. Williston Walker, D.D.	New Haven,Conn.
1903 April 3	George Arthur Plimpton, LL.D.	New York, N.Y.
1903 April 25	*Hon. William Babcock Weeden, A.M.	Providence, R.I.
1904 Feb. 29	Herbert Putnam, LL.D.	Washington, D.C.
1904 Nov. 21	‡Worthington Chauncey Ford, LL.D.	Washington, D.C.
1905 Feb. 1	Rev. John Carroll Perkins, D.D.	Portland, Me.
1905 March 18	Clarence Winthrop Bowen, LL.D.	New York, N.Y.
1905 April 27	Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, Esq.	Washington, D.C.
1905 Nov. 21	†Rev. James Eells, A.B.	Tarrytown, N.Y.

DATE OF ENROLMENT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1906 March 1	William Logan Rodman Gifford, A.B.	St. Louis, Mo.
1906 March 26	Robert Hallowell Gardiner, A.B.	Gardiner, Me.
1906 April 26	*Franklin Carter, LL.D.	New Haven,Conn.
1906 Nov. 21	*Denison Rogers Slade, A.B.	Sandwich, N.H.
1907 Jan. 26	Thomas Willing Balch, L.H.D.	Philadelphia, Pa.
1907 April 28	*Henry Leland Chapman, LL.D.	Brunswick, Me.
1907 Nov. 24	*Francis Philip Nash, LL.D.	Geneva, N.Y.
1908 Jan. 24	James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D.	Washington, D.C.
1908 March 28	Hon. Frank Warren Hackett, A.M.	New Castle, N.H.
1909 Jan. 8	*Hon. John Taggard Blodgett, A.M.	Providence, R.I.
1910 April 30	†Justin Harvey Smith, LL.D.	Hanover, N.H.
1910 Dec. 24	Edward Robinson, LL.D.	New York, N.Y.
1912 March 1	Edward Vanderhoof Bird, Esq.	Assouan, Egypt
1913 Nov. 21	Edgar Huidekoper Wells, A.B.	New York, N.Y.
1915 March 5	Charles McLean Andrews, L.H.D.	New Haven,Conn.
1915 March 31	Evarts Boutell Greene, Ph.D.	Champaign, Ill.
1917 Jan. 2	Edmund Burke Delabarre, Ph.D.	Providence, R.I.
1917 Jan. 2	William MacDonald, LL.D.	Providence, R.I.
1917 May 1	George Burton Adams, Litt.D.	New Haven,Conn.
1918 Jan. 3	Frederic Adrian Delano, A.B.	Washington, D.C.
1918 Jan. 5	Otis Grant Hammond, A.M.	Concord, N.H.
1920 March 30	George Russell Agassiz, A.B.	Newport, R.I.
1922 Jan. 10	James Benjamin Wilbur, Esq.	Manchester, Vt.
1922 March 4	John Pierpont Morgan, LL.D.	New York, N.Y.

INDEX

INDEX

Places are in Massachusetts unless otherwise stated
Names of vessels are grouped under the heading Ships
Names of Indians are grouped under the heading Indians

ABBOTT, Katharine McLane (Tiffany), wife of Gordon, 31
—— Wilbur Cortez, Litt.D., 119; elected Resident Member, 300; accepts, 309
Abeale, John, and others, petition for land grant, 1708, 76
Abel, Preserved, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Abercrombie, Gen. James (*d* 1781), and the Crown Point expedition, 439, 441
—— Lt.-Col. James (*d* 1775), 276, 278; quoted, on British retreat from Lexington, 1775, 274
Aborn, Daniel, document signed by, 393
Acadia, original grant of, 216; confusion of, with Nova Scotia, 216; disputes as to boundary of, 216, 217, 224, 226, 236; cession of, to France, by Charles II, 205, 218; cession of, to Great Britain, 1713, 248. *See also* France; Nova Scotia
Acadia & Nova Scotia, An Enquiry into the Origin of the Terms, by Gov. Bernard, 216
Adams, Capt. ——, 269
—— Capt. ——, 327
—— Ann, daughter of Joseph. *See* Hill
—— Charles, son of President John, 380
—— Capt. Daniel, 375, 384, 387, 400, 408, 412; commands held by, 424
—— Rev. Eliphalet (*d* 1753), 7
—— Hannah, wife of Joseph, experience of, with British soldiers, April 19, 1775, 284–286, 290
—— Joel, son of Joseph, 286
Adams (*continued*)
—— John, President, 249, 380; as president of the Senate, 181; quoted, on northeastern boundary, 248
—— John Quincy, President, son of President John, letter of, relating to his connection with the Courier Politique de l'Univers, 297
—— Joseph (*d* 1794), during battle of Lexington, 283, 285, 285 *n*
Addington, Sec. Isaac, 47
Admiralty, Courts of, in Massachusetts, during the Revolution, 328
Agassiz, Alexander (*d* 1910), 179
—— George Russell, A.B., son of Alexander (*d* 1910), elected Corresponding Member, 10; accepts, 60, 113
Aiken, Alfred Lawrence, A.B., elected Resident Member, 111; accepts, 120
Albany County, N. Y., boundary of, 55, 56 *n*
Alden, David, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— John (*d* 1687), freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— John (*d* 1702), son of John (*d* 1687) freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Alexander, Henry, third Earl of Stirling, 207, 208
—— Henry, fourth Earl of Stirling, 208
—— Sir William, first Earl of Stirling, his claims in America, 207, 208, 209, 216, 217, 238, 248, 249; his death, 208; his advertisement for settlers

Alexander (*continued*)
of his lands, 238, 239; letter of, to Gov. Bernard, 240; his claims disallowed by Massachusetts, 240–243
—— William, second Earl of Stirling, 208
—— William, calling himself Earl of Stirling, petition of others and of, for possession of the so-called County of Canada, 206, 207–209
Alexandria, proposed town in Maine, 239
Allen, David, 403, 416
—— Capt. Edward, deposition of, 1782, concerning behavior of English prisoners, 396
—— Edward, Beverly ship-owner, 343, 423
—— Col. Ethan (*d* 1789), 387
—— Jesse, 414, 424
—— John Fisk, 140, 140 *n*
—— Pickering Dodge, son of John Fisk, 140, 140 *n*
—— Richard, 414 *n*
—— William, 404, 407
Allin, Gideon, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— John, Scituate, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— John, Swansea, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Samuel, Barnstable, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Samuel, Bridgewater, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Allis, Rev. Samuel (H. C. 1724), 310, 312
Allyn, Matthew, 44
Alsop, Anthony (*d* 1726), 198 *n*
American Loyalists, scheme for indemnification of, by grant of province of New Ireland, 247
Ames, Rev. William (*d* 1633), 23
Amherst, Sir Jeffrey, first Baron Amherst of Montreal, 54, 55
Anderson, George Pomeroy, 119, 308; elected Resident Member, 309; accepts, 318
—— Hugh Johnston, Governor of Maine, 34
—— John, 418
—— Mary, seventeenth century benefactress of Harvard College, 63
Andrews, Charles McLean, L.H.D., quoted, on Gov. Bernard's petition regarding Mt. Desert, 244 *n*
Andros, Gov. Sir Edmund, 293
—— Rev. Thomas (*d* 1845), 392 *n*
Aoukoubi, Indian word for rum, 202 *n*
Aquinas, Thomas, Saint, 186
Argyle, N. Y., patent for township of, issued, 55
Ariosto, Ludovico, 187
Aristotle, quoted, on conceit, 185
Arnold, Rev. Jonathan, 75
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Ashe, St. George, Bishop of Clogher, quoted, on Rev. D. Bradstreet, 7
Ashkenazi, Mordechai ben Judah Loeb, 147
Ashton, Jacob, 410, 416
—— Capt. John, 401, 404, 413, 417, 430; document signed by, 397; commands held by, 424
Ashurst, Henry (*d* 1680), 61 *n*; legacy of, to Harvard College, 61, 62
Ashworth. *See* Ashurst
Atkins, Henry, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Austin, Jonah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155, 155 *n*
—— Walter, LL.B., 308; elected Resident Member, 318
Avery, Humphrey, and others, land grant to, 1774, 59
—— Samuel, land deeded to, 1763, 58

B., I., silver beaker so marked, belonging to Harvard College, 167, 167 *n*, 168, 169
Babbitt, Edward, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155, 155 *n*
Babcock, Capt. George W., 361, 362 *n*
Babson, James, 404, 407
Bachi, Pietro, 170 *n*
Bacon, Edward, 224, 231
—— Nathaniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— William, ship's surgeon, 410, 424
Baker, Ezra Henry, A.B., objects exhibited by, 177–179
—— John, 403
—— Joseph, 408
—— Nicholas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Balch, John, 408

Balch (*continued*)
—— Rev. William (H. C. 1724), 310, 312
Baldwin, Loammi (*d* 1807), 264
Ball, George (H. C. 1734), fellow-commoner at Harvard College, 442, 442 *n*
—— Rev. George Sumner (1822–1902), son of Micah Ross, sketch of, 148, 148 *n*
—— Hannah, Barnard (Nourse), wife of Rev. George Sumner, 148
—— Micah Ross, 148
—— Rachel (Lincoln), wife of Micah Ross, 148
Bancker, Gerard, 239
Bancroft, George (*d* 1891), cited, 272, 280
Bane, Lewis, York, Me., on committee for choosing site for Massachusetts Hall, 1718, 96
Bangs, Edward, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Joshua, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Banks, Dr. Charles Edward, obtains photograph of portrait of Gov. Bernard, 249, 249 *n*, 250, 251, 251 *n*
Banyan, ——, witness in suit of New York against J. H. Lydius, 1762, 56
Barber, Edward, killed in battle of Lexington, 279, 283, 290
Barker, Francis, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Francis, Hingham, 163
—— Mrs. George G., acknowledgment to, 121
—— Hannah, wife of Francis, 163
—— John, Scituate, 104
—— Lt. John, 268, 268 *n*; quoted, on British retreat from Lexington, 274
—— Dr. Joshua, son of Francis, officer of Martimercurian Company, 161, 162; sketch of, 163
—— Robert, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Stephen, 415
Barnard, Rev. John (*d* 1770), quoted, 27
Barnard, Vt., how named, 253
Barney, Commodore Joshua, 380, 381
Barnstable, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 149
Barr, James, 343, 413, 414, 424, 426, 435
Barras, Louis, Comte de, 383
Barrett, Col. James (*d* 1779), 257
Barrington, William Wildman, second Viscount Barrington of Ardglass, extracts from letter of, to Gov. Bernard, 231, 232
Barrington, Nova Scotia, settlement of, 363, 364
Barstow, Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Bartlett, Benjamin, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Capt. John, offices held by, 425
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Dr. Josiah (1759–1820), 414 *n*
—— Robert, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152, 152 *n*
—— William, of Frampton, Eng., 322 *n*
—— William (*d* 1809), Beverly, 322 *n*, 376; ship-owner, 319, 343, 358, 367, 377, 409, 412, 413, 414; prize agent, 322, 328, 329, 330, 330 *n*, 331; letter of, 329
—— Lt. William, 411, 425
Bass, Rev. Edward, Bishop of Massachusetts, 27 *n*; at St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, 27
Batchelder, John, 411
—— Josiah, Beverly ship-owner, 319, 320, 322, 339, 347
—— Josiah (*d* 1828), Beverly, son of Josiah, business man and politician, 321, 321 *n*, 322, 331, 340, 364, 365, 406, 408, 409; ships owned by, 336, 344, 347, 353, 408, 409, 416, 417, 419, 420; document signed by, 375
—— Nathan, 419, 425
—— Nathaniel, 401; document signed by, 397
—— Nathaniel, Jr., 413
—— Samuel Francis (H. C. 1893), acknowledgment to, 175 *n*
Batchellor (Batchelor), Daniel, 404, 407
Bateman, Lt. ——, 361
Batherick, Ruth, Lexington, 270
Batholemew, ——, 415
Baxter, Hon. James Phinney, Litt. D., death, xvii; tribute to, 303
—— Rev. Richard (*d* 1691), 28, 28 *n*
Bay Psalm Book, 182

Bay State League, Colonial Society joins, 31
Beach, Rev. John, note on the printing of his Sermon on Eternal Life, 80 *n*
Beaumont, Francis, 188
Beaurigard, Nathan, 415
Beirse, Austine, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Belcher, Gov. Jonathan, on committee connected with the building of Massachusetts Hall, 100, 103; his attitude on Biblical instruction in the college, 102
—— Jonathan (H. C. 1728), son of Gov. Jonathan, 310, 312
Belchertown, granted to Connecticut, 1715, 43
Belfast, Me., extract from Annals of, on raisings, 195
Belknap, Rev. Jeremy (*d* 1798), 8 *n*
Bennett, ——, 175
Bentley, Rev. William (*d* 1819), quoted, on the Courier Politique de l'Univers, 298 *n*
Bernard, Amelia (Offley), wife of Gov. Sir Francis, 198
—— Lt.-Col. Benjamin, in battle of Lexington, 262, 263, 267, 267 *n*, 281 *n*
—— Rev. Francis, 198
—— Gov. Sir Francis, son of Rev. Francis, 220 *n*; his grant of Mount Desert, 197–254; sketch of, 198, 198 *n*; his purchases of land and promotion of settlement near Fort Point, 199; his surveys, 199–203; his grant near Passamaquoddy Bay, 199–200; his ability as draughtsman and architect, 200 *n*; letter of, to J. Pownall, 1762, 210–212; his memorial to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1762, 212–215; his paper on the terms Acadia and Nova Scotia, 216; on the Massachusetts title to lands between the Penobscot and St. Croix, 217–220; letters of, to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, concerning township grants in the Penobscot region, with replies, 220–232; his appeal to King George concerning grant of Mount Desert, 233; his proclamation concerning the Earl of Stirling's claim, 1768, 242; difficulties of, in pre-Revolutionary period, and his recall, 243; confirmation of grant
Bernard (*continued*)
of Mount Desert to him, 244, 245; confiscation and partial restoration to his son, 246; portraits of, 249–253; places named for, 253; death of, 246
—— Sir John, son of Gov. Sir Francis, inherits claims in Mount Desert, 246
—— Margery (Winlowe), wife of Rev. Francis, 198
—— Sir Thomas Tyringham, 243 *n*
Bernard, Me., how named, 253
Bernard, Mt., Me., 253
Bernard Papers, note on, 197 *n*
Bernardston, granted to S. Hunt and others, 1734, 38; how named, 253, 253 *n*
Bernardsville, N. J., how named, 253, 253 *n*
Besbey, Elisha, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Hopestill, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Beskeith, Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150, 150 *n*
Beverly, its character and industries at opening of the Revolution, 318–322; its political attitude and its Committee of Correspondence, 322; its privateering activities during the war, 322, 323, 324–435; defences of, 332–333; naval officer appointed for, with Salem, 1776, 341; ships owned in, 1781, 358–359; women of, make raid on storehouses, 1777, 371; protest against taxes in, 1780, 378; Revolutionary war prisoners from, 399, 404; list of private armed vessels of, during Revolution, 405–421; total tonnage owned in, 1780, 422; ships sailing from, owned elsewhere, 422
Beverly Privateers in the American Revolution, paper by O. T. Howe, 318–435; alphabetical list of the ships, 405–421; of the officers, 424–435
Bible, used at inaugurations of Washington and Harding, 255
Bickford, Capt. Benjamin, 404, 408; offices held by, 425
—— Eli, 392 *n*
—— John, mate, 407, 411, 425
—— John, steward of the Gen. Gates, 404

Bilbao, Spain, Mecca of American privateers, 342
Billington, Francis, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Birchmore. *See* Burchmore
Black, James, 412
Blackwell, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Blakeslee, George Hubbard, Ph.D., 119; elected Resident Member, 156; accepts, 180
Blanchard, Samuel, ship's surgeon, 414 *n*, 425
Blatchford, John, his Narrative of Remarkable Occurrences, 390–391, 390 *n*
Bliss, Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Blush, Abraham, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Boardman, John, 407, 425
Boden, Abijah, 416
Bollan, William (*d* 1776), 210, 232, 241; acts for Gov. Bernard, 204, 206, 207, 209
Bond, Jonas, Watertown, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107
Bongarden, Philip, 69
Bonum, George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Book-lists, colonial, two examples of, 1668 and 1728, 64–71
Book-plates, of E. Holyoke, and G. Rawlins, 2; of R. Elliston, 72; of Harvard College about 1840, 176; of three Harvard clubs, 176, 177
Book-reviewing in the seventeenth century, 314–317
Bordman, Andrew (*d* 1747), on committee for building Massachusetts Hall, 84, 86, 98, 103, 104, 105
Borland, John Landell, 348
Boston, two townships granted to, 1736, 39; the hub of culture, according to C. Mather, 189
—— Castle William, Gov. Bernard's repairs on, 203, 212
—— Church of the Holy Cross, 298
—— King's Chapel, 33
—— Province House, Gov. Bernard's repairs on, 203, 212
—— Town House, R. Keayne's provision for library in, 9
—— Trinity Church, Greene Foundation, 68
Boston, Eng., appeal of, to Boston, Mass., 1846, in interest of peace, 130
Boston Museum of Fine Arts, exhibition of American silver at, 1906, 171 *n*
Bosworth, Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Bounties, for prisoners and captured cannon, 1777, 394
Bourne, Henry, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Melatiah, Sandwich, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107
—— Richard, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Bours, Rev. Peter (*d* 1762), 27, 27 *n*
Bously, John, 405
Bowden, Samuel, 381
Bowditch, Charles Pickering, A.M., death, xvii; tribute to, 303
Bowdoin, Gov. James, with W. Brattle, reports on Earl of Stirling's claims, 241
Bowen, Dr. Joseph, document signed by, 393
Bowles, Francis Tiffany, 308; elected Resident Member, 318
Bowls, Jonathan, 417
Bowman (Bourman), Capt. Francis, commands held by, 374, 410, 425
—— Rev. Jonathan (H. C. 1724), 310, 312
Bowyer, William (1699–1777), London printer, 80, 80 *n*
Boxford, Vt., deed relating to, 1763, 57, 58
Bradford, Capt. ——, prize agent, 331
—— John, 419, 425
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— William, Governor of Plymouth Colony, 20, 190; attitude of, in writing of the Pilgrims, 16; his account of the departure from Delft Haven, 18
—— William (*d* 1704), son of Gov. William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— William (*d* 1752), printer, 79
Bradshaw, J., & Co., land patent issued to, 55

Bradstreet, Anne (Dudley), wife of Gov. Simon, 184, 188; character of, 187
—— Ann (Wood) Price, wife of Dudley (*d* 1702), 6
—— Dudley (*d* 1702), son of Gov. Simon, 6
—— Rev. Dudley (*d* 1714), son of Dudley (*d* 1702), 7 *n*; biographical note on, by A. Matthews, 2–8
—— Gov. Simon, 6, 7
—— Rev. Simon (*d* 1683), son of Gov. Simon, 23, 24
—— Rev. Simon (*d* 1741), son of Rev. Simon (*d* 1683), 23, 24, 30
—— Rev. Simon (*d* 1771), son of Rev. Simon (*d* 1741), 310, 312; notes, by H. W. Foote, on sermons of, preached at Marblehead, 1743–1769, 23–30
Brainard, Morgan B., 309
Brattle, Rev. William (*d* 1717), buys Connecticut River lands, 1716, 44, 45
—— William (*d* 1776), son of Rev. William (*d* 1717), with J. Bowdoin, reports on Earl of Stirling's claims, 241
Brattleboro, Vt., chartered, 1753, 45
Bray, George, 415
—— Capt. John, 344, 410, 414; offices held by, 425, 426
—— John, seaman, 404, 407
Brazail, James, 425
Breda, Treaty of, as affecting land claims in America, 205, 217, 218, 219, 224, 231, 236
Brett, William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Brewer, Daniel (H. C. 1727), 310, 312
Brewster, Capt. Martin, 362, 412, 426
—— Nathaniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— William (*d* 1644), 16
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Bridges, Thomas, 369
Bridgewater, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 151
Bridgman, John, 37, 41
Bridgman's Fort, Vt., cut off from Northfield, Mass., 37
Briggs, Gov. George Nixon, 128 *n*
—— Rev. George Ware (*d* 1895), Writings of, by A. Matthews, 120–146; sketch of, 120–125; bibliography of, 126–146
Briggs (*continued*)
—— Le Baron Russell, son of Rev. George Ware, 176 *n*; quoted, on his father, 124, 124 *n*
—— Walter, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Brigham, Clarence Saunders, A.M., acknowledgments to, 296 *n*, 298 *n*
Bristed, Charles Astor, quoted, on fellow-commoners, 165
Broadsides, early use of, 292; checklist of Massachusetts, 1639–1800, by W. C. Ford, 292
Brockhorn, Hiram, 354
Brookhouse, Capt. Nathaniel, 356, 412; commands held by, 426
Brooks, Gilbert, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Capt. John, 346, 356, 412, 417, 419, 430; commands held by, 426
—— Preston Smith (*d* 1857), 135
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Broughton, Capt. Nicholas, 324, 325
Brown, ——, gift of, to Harvard College, 168, 169, 174. *See also* Browne, Benjamin; Browne, Joseph
—— Capt. ——, 329
—— Benjamin, Yarmouth, N. S., 402; combines business ventures and aid to American war prisoners during the Revolution, 397, 398, 401
—— George Dobbin, acknowledgment to, 72 *n*
—— Hopestill, Sudbury, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107
—— Jacob, 416
—— Rev. John (*d* 1766), book by, exhibited, 312; given to Harvard College Library, 313 *n*
—— Mehitable. *See* Cressy
—— Moses (*d* 1820), Beverly merchant, patriot, and ship-owner, 321, 321 *n*, 347, 348, 349 *n*, 357, 373, 376, 407, 408
—— Capt. Nathan, 384, 399, 427
—— Thomas, 344, 426
—— William, 407
Brown & Thorndike, Beverly merchants and ship-owners, 321, 357, 360, 377, 417
Browne, Benjamin (*d* 1708), 169, 175 *n*
—— James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152

Browne (*continued*)
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Joseph (H. C. 1666), brother of Benjamin (*d* 1708), 169, 170, 174
—— Samuel (*d* 1731), gifts of, to Harvard College, 172, 172 *n*, 173
—— Samuel (H. C. 1727), son of Samuel (*d* 1731), 174; vote of Harvard College Corporation concerning, 173
—— William (H. C. 1727), son of Samuel (*d* 1731), 173
Brunswick, Ferdinand, Duke of, 262
Bryant, John, Taunton, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
—— John, Jr., Scituate, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Sergeant John, Scituate, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Stephen, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Bryce, James, first Viscount Bryce, letters from, 61, 118
Buck, Isaac, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— John Henry, 176 *n*
Buckman, James, 411, 426
Buffinton, Capt. John, 341, 342, 367, 416, 419, 421, 426, 434; commands held by, 426
Bulfinch, Rev. Stephen Greenleaf (*d* 1870), 134
Bumstead, Joseph, 296, 298, 299
Bunker, David, 418
—— George, Nantucket, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 108
Bunyan, John, 68
Burchmore, Capt. Zachariah, 366, 367, 412, 419; commands held by, 426
Burge, Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Burke, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Burlingame, Anson (*d* 1870), 142
Burnet, Gov. William, 30
Burrage, Rev. Henry Sweetser, cited, 199
Burritt, Elihu (*d* 1879), quoted, 130
Burroughs, Rev. Jeremiah (*d* 1646), 186
Burt, John, silversmith, 172
Burton, Warren, 140
Bushnell, Charles Ira, edits several books on Revolutionary experiences, 390 *n*, 391 *n*, 392 *n*
Butler, Francis, 330
Butler & Matthews, merchants of Cadiz, 382
Butman, Thomas, 405
Byfield, Nathaniel (*d* 1733), on committees connected with the building of Massachusetts Hall, 94, 100, 103
Byram, Nicholas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151

CABOT, Andrew, Beverly ship-owner, 321, 322, 336, 337, 338, 341, 342, 344, 346, 348, 349, 349 *n*, 356, 356 *n*, 357, 359, 368, 369, 369 *n*, 372, 377, 380, 381, 382, 398, 405, 407, 410, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 424; quoted, on his shipping business, 367; on other business ventures, 423, 423 *n*
—— Francis, ship-owner, 349 *n*, 366, 367, 382, 417, 418; petition signed by, 398
—— George (*d* 1823), 321, 321 *n*, 342, 344, 347, 348, 349 *n*, 366, 367, 373, 376, 409, 411, 412, 415, 419
—— J. & A., Beverly ship-owners, largely engaged in privateering during the Revolution, 319, 320, 343, 345, 347, 352, 355, 357, 360, 367, 370, 373, 379, 380, 381, 406, 407, 408, 410, 411, 412, 414, 415, 416; general commercial interests of, 321, 359, 366; success of, 421, 423; list of vessels owned by, 422
—— John, Beverly ship-owner, 321, 342, 349 *n*, 359, 367, 420
—— Rev. Marston (H. C. 1724), 310, 312
—— Samuel, 349 *n*, 405
Cadillac, Sieur Antoine de la Mothe, 246; grant to, in Mount Desert, 246
Calef, John, agent for American Loyalists, 247
Calvinists, J. Robinson's remark on, 18
Cambridge, old burying-ground, corner of Garden Street, term God's Acre applied to, 294–295
—— Cambridgeport Parish (later Third Congregational Society), installation of G. W. Briggs as pastor of, 124, 124 *n*

Cambridge (*continued*)
—— Third Congregational Society, celebrates twentieth anniversary of settlement of Rev. G. W. Briggs, 143
Campbell, John, fourth Earl of Loudoun, 439
——.Laughlin, brings Scottish settlers to New York, 55
Canada, claims territory now Vermont, 35
Canada, County of, the Earl of Stirling's grant so-called, 207, 208, 209, 238
Canada Townships, why so called, 49–50
Caner, Rev. Henry (*d* 1792), 64, 435
Captains of Beverly privateers, list of, giving residences, commands held, and dates of commissions, 424–435
Care, Henry, 315
Carey, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Carleton, Sir Guy, first Baron Dorchester, 387
—— Samuel, 406
—— Capt. William, offices held by, 341, 412
Carnes, Capt. John, 346, 358, 370, 404, 413, 424; commands held by, 426
—— Jonathan, document signed by, 393
Carpenter, Daniel, 49
—— I., book by, published 1632, exhibited, 254 *n*
—— J., 414, 426
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151, 151 *n*
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151, 151 *n*
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Carrico, Alexander, 402
Carrisco (Carisco), John, order signed by, 390 *n*
Carronades, slight use of, on Revolutionary privateers, 335, 335 *n*, 362 *n*
Carter, Franklin, LL.D., tribute to, 113
—— Margery. *See* Hutchinson
—— Lt. William, 291; quoted, on American soldiers, 291 *n*
Carver, John, Governor of Plymouth Colony, 20
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Robert, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Carwick (Carrack), Capt. John (Jonathan), 404, 407, 426
Caryl, Rev. Joseph (*d* 1673), 68
Cathcart, Capt. John, 355, 408, 430; commands held by, 426
Censura Temporum, 316
Chadwick, Rev. Benjamin (*d* 1819), son of Thomas, agreement of, with P. Heyliger, 159, 161; sketch of, 159
—— Mary, wife of Thomas, 159
—— Thomas, 159
Chaffin, Rev. William Ladd, 143
Chambers, Charles, on committee for building Massachusetts Hall, 84, 86, 96, 98, 103, 104, 105
—— Matthew, 402, 408
Champlain, Samuel de, 199
—— Mt., Me., how named, 253
Chandler, John (*d* 1740), on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107
Chaney, Rev. George Leonard, 143
Channing, Edward, Ph.D., delegate to annual Conference of Historical Societies, 120
—— Rev. William Ellery (*d* 1842), 144
Chapman, Capt. Benjamin, 404, 419, 426, 427
—— Isaac, 404
—— Lydia. *See* Ober
Charles II, King of England, 205; grants of, 208, 217; land ceded by, to France, 217, 218, 230
Charlestown, N. H., 51, 52
Charters granted to New Hampshire towns by Gov. B. Wentworth, conditions of, 33
Chase, John, document signed by, 393
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 187
Chauncy, Rev. Charles, President of Harvard College, 294
Child, George, 337 *n*
Chipman, Benjamin, 390, 402
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Christian Inquirer, G. W. Briggs editor of, 122 *n*, 123 *n*
Christmas, and the Pilgrims, 1620, 15
Christo et Ecclesiae, paper on, by C. B. Clapp, 256
Church, Benjamin, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Benjamin (H. C. 1727), 310, 312

Churchill, Eliezer, propounded freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
—— Winslow Ware, 308
Cipriani, Giovanni Battista, 2
Clapp, Clifford Blake, paper by, Christo et Ecclesiae, 256
—— Steven, Scituate, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Clarendon, Vt., first settlers of, 59
Clark, John (*d* 1728), 93
—— Rev. Jonas (*d* 1805), 258, 263, 282, 285, 287; quoted, on conduct of British in battle of Lexington, 272, 284, 286, 288, 289
—— William, brother of John (*d* 1728), on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107; reports, 108
Clark's Island, Plymouth Harbor, the Pilgrims' first Sunday on, 15
Clarke, James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Clary, John, land grant to, 1685, 37
—— Jonathan, 411
Cleaves, Eleonora. *See* Lovett
Cleveland, Capt. Stephen, 321, 331, 349 *n*, 366, 373, 429
Cleves, Joshua, on Beverly Committee of Correspondence, 322
Clifton, Robert, document signed by, 393
Clinton, Sir Henry, quoted, on Earl Percy's retreat, 268
Clough, Jepson, 399
Clouston, Capt. John, 401, 424, 429, 432
Club of Odd Volumes, Boston, records of, relating to portrait of Gov. Bernard, 249, 249 *n*, 250–251
Cobb, Ephraim, silversmith, 173
—— Gershom, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152, 152 *n*
—— Henry, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Coburn, Frank Warren (*d* 1923), cited, on battle of Lexington, 267 *n*
Cod fishing in Beverly, before the Revolution, 320
Coffin, Capt. Alexander, his book on British prison and hospital ships in the Revolution, 391, 392
—— Joseph, Nantucket, on committee for choosing site for Massachusetts Hall, 1718, 96
Cognitiones Christianismi, compiled by R. Elliston, 73
Colden, Cadwallader, Lt.-Gov. of New York, 274; proclamation of, against J. H. Lydius, 54
Cole, Daniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Hugh, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— James, Sr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— James, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Job, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Capt. William, 342, 343, 413, 429; commands held by, 427
Coleraine, grant of, to Boston, 1736, and incorporation of, 1761, 39
Collimore, Peter, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Collingwood, Capt. Cuthbert, first Baron Collingwood, 403
Collins, Charles, document signed by, 393
Colman, Rev. Benjamin (H. C. 1692), on committees connected with the building of Massachusetts Hall, 87, 88, 89, 98, 100, 103, 107, 108
Colonial Society of Massachusetts, votes to join Bay State League, 31; endowment of, 81; List of Members of, 1892–1922, 445–477
—— Annual Meeting, 111–119, 300–308
—— Auditing Committee appointed, 60, 257; Reports of, 117, 307
—— Corresponding Members, election of, 10; deaths of, 111, 302; lists of, 1892–1922: alphabetical, 453–468; chronological, 476–477
—— Corresponding Secretary, reports new members, 60, 120, 180, 197, 300, 309, 318; deaths of members, 111; election of, 117, 307. *See also* Park, Charles Edwards
—— Council, Annual Reports of, 111–114, 300–303; members of, elected, 117, 307

Colonial Society (*continued*)
—— Honorary Members, election of, 318; lists of, 1892–1922: alphabetical, 453–468; chronological, 475
—— Nominating Committee appointed, 60, 257; presents candidates, 117, 307
—— President, 1, 10, 31, 60, 111, 119, 156, 180, 197, 257, 300, 308, 309, 317, 318; election of, 117, 120, 307. *See also* Robinson, Fred Norris
—— Publications, bequests for expense of, 112, 301; amount of fund for, November, 1920, 112; progress on, 112, 302; increased demand for, 301; increased cost of, 301; list of, 1892–1922, 448–449
—— Recording Secretary, election of, 117, 307. *See also* Cunningham, Henry Winchester
—— Registrar, election of, 117, 307. *See also* Johnson, Alfred
—— Resident Members, election of, 1, 111, 302; deaths of, 60, 111, 302, 317; lists of, 1892–1922: alphabetical, 453–468; chronological, 469–474
—— Stated meetings, 1, 10, 31, 60, 120, 156, 180, 197, 257, 309, 318
—— Treasurer, reports payment of bequests, 81, 112; Annual Reports of, 114–116, 304–306; election of, 117, 307. *See also* Edes, Henry Herbert
—— Vice-Presidents: death of senior, 60, 60 *n*; election of, 117, 307. *See also* Davis, Andrew McFarland; Moore, George Foot, Rugg, Arthur Prentice
Combe, Francis, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Comenius, John Amos, offer of Presidency of Harvard College to, 295 *n*
Commerce during the Revolution, 362–366, 375
Concord, battle of, 257, 262 *n*, 263 *n*; convention at, 1779, to consider prices, 375–377
Connecticut, rejects northern boundary line as located by N. Woodward and S. Saffery, for Massachusetts, in 1642, 42; line resurveyed by joint commission and settlement made, 1713–1716, 42–46; sells lands granted by Massachusetts in settlement of boundary, 44; arms vessels in the Revolution, 324
Connolly, Capt. Thomas, 345, 410, 427
Cony, John, silversmith, 171
Cooke, Elisha (*d* 1715), 255
—— Elisha (*d* 1737), son of Elisha (*d* 1715), on committees connected with the building of Massachusetts Hall, 88, 89, 104
—— Elizabeth (Leverett), wife of Elisha (*d* 1715), 255
—— Jacob, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152, 152 *n*
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Josiah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Rev. Samuel (*d* 1783), 285, 285 *n*, 287 *n*, 289 *n*
Coolidge, Archibald Cary, LL.D., delegate to annual Conference of Historical Societies, 120
—— Francis Lowell, 308
Cooper, Benjamin (*d* 1786), 288; deposition of, concerning events at his tavern, April 19, 1775, 286
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Nathaniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Rachel, wife of Benjamin (*d* 1786), 286, 288
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150, 151
—— William Dike, 411
Copley, John Singleton (*d* 1815), 252; his portrait of Gov. John Wentworth of New Hampshire, 31; his portrait of Gov. Bernard, 249, 249 *n*, 250
Corlet, Ammi, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153, 153 *n*
Corning, Charles, 345
—— Daniel, trading voyages of, during Revolution, 364
—— David, aid of, to American war prisoners, 1782; capture and release, 399
Cornish, Isaac, 412
Cornwallis, Charles, second Earl Cornwallis, 358
Costello, Stephen, 404, 407
Cotton, Rev. John (*d* 1699), freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— family, arms of, 171
Courier de Boston, publication of, 1789, 296 *n*

Courier Politique de l'Univers, publication of, in Boston, 1792–1793, 296–299
Cowassick (Cowastick, Cohassett), on Connecticut River, 46, 47
Cowell, Capt. Richard, 431
Coy, Capt. William, 328 *n*
Crane, Hon. Winthrop Murray, LL.D., death, xvii; reported, 111; tribute to, 113
Crawford, Francis Marion, cited, 197
Creed, William, 405, 414
Cressy, Benjamin, 403 *n*
—— Mehitable (Brown), wife of Benjamin, 403 *n*
—— Samuel (*d* 1782), son of Benjamin, 403, 403 *n*, 415, 427
Crispe, George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Crocker, Job, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Crooker, Francis, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Josiah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Crosby, William, 195 *n*
—— William George, Governor of Maine, son of William, 34; sketch of, 195
Crossman, Robert, Taunton, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 108
Crow, William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Yelverton, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Crown Point expedition, 439
Crowninshield, Benjamin, 406
Crymes, Lt. ——, of the English brig Observer, 383, 385, 386, 386 *n*
Cudworth, James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Cunningham, Henry Winchester, A.B., elected Recording Secretary, 117, 307
Curtis (Curtice), Richard, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— William, 414 *n*
Cushing, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Thomas (*d* 1788), extract from letter of, 1762, 210
—— William, 131
Cushman, Thomas (*d* 1691), freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Cutler, Samuel, 392 *n*
Cutter, Ammi, 287 *n*
—— Rev. Ammi Ruhamah (H. C. 1725), 310, 312

Dallin, Cyrus Edwin, 119
Dalling (Daling), Capt. Thomas, 382, 417, 427
Damon (Daman), Capt. ——, 440
—— Edmond, 441
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154, 154 *n*
—— Philip, 441
—— Samuel Griffin, 286 *n*
Dandridge, Danske, 392 *n*
Dane, Nathan, 390 *n*
Danforth, Rev. John (*d* 1730), son of Rev. Samuel (*d* 1674), 178, 178 *n*
—— Mary (Wilson), wife of Rev. Samuel (*d* 1674). *See* Rock
—— Rev. Samuel (*d* 1674), 178 *n*
—— Dep.-Gov. Thomas, brother of Rev. Samuel (*d* 1674), 62, 167
Daniels, John H., engraver, his portrait of Gov. Bernard, 249, 250, 251, 251 *n*
Dante Alighieri, 186
Darly, Thomas, 401
Dartmouth, Earls of. *See* Legge
Dartmouth, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 152
Dartmouth College, early conflict for religious control of, 32
Davenport, Addington (*d* 1736), 93, 94
Davis, Abigail (Stephens), wife of Thomas, Sr., 322 *n*
—— Andrew McFarland, A.M., death, xvii; announced, 60; minute adopted, 60 *n*; tribute to, 113
—— Benjamin, Beverly ship-owner, 319
—— Hannah (Leverett), wife of Thomas, son of William, 255
—— Thomas, seaman, 386, 404
—— Thomas, son of William, 254, 255
—— Thomas, Sr., 322 *n*
—— Thomas, Jr., son of Thomas, Sr., Beverly ship-owner, 320, 322, 322 *n*, 338, 411, 418, 420

Davis (*continued*)
—— William, 255
Dawes, Rev. Thomas (*d* 1904), ordination of, 128 *n*
Daws, Story, land grant to, 1765, 45
Dawson, Henry Barton, edits Dring's Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship, 388 *n*
Dayall, Martin, 409
Dean, Capt. Benjamin, 336, 354, 416
—— Israel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
—— John, 414 *n*
—— Nehemiah, 408
Deane, Silas (*d* 1789), protests against treatment of American war prisoners, 1777, 391 *n*
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
—— Walter, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
De Berniere, Ensign Henry, cited, on British casualties at battle of Lexington, 267 *n*; quoted, on behavior of soldiers, 273
Delano, Philip, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Denio, Herbert Williams, his paper, Massachusetts Land Grants in Vermont, 35–59
Dennis, salt works in, 1776, 371 *n*
De Normandie, Rev. Courtland Yardley, 139
—— Rev. James, ordination of, 1862, 139
Derby, Capt. ——, 423
—— Elias Hasket, Salem ship-owner, 337, 346, 367, 406, 410, 417, 418
—— John, Salem ship-owner, 338, 413, 414, 416
—— Richard, 331
Devol (Devoll), Capt. Silas, 345, 346, 411, 427
Dexter, Franklin Bowditch, Litt.D., death, xvii; reported, 111; tribute to, 113
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149, 149 *n*
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Digby, Rear-Admiral Robert (*d* 1815), 392; on exchange of prisoners, 393
Dillon, Capt. ——, 379
Dingley, Jacob, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Dingley (*continued*)
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Disrest, rare word, 241 *n*
Doane, Daniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— John, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Dodge, Alfred, 408
—— Benjamin, Beverly ship-owner, 320
—— George, Salem ship-owner, 367, 413, 415, 419
—— Israel, 408
—— James, 418
—— Thomas, 409
—— William, on Beverly Committee of Correspondence, 322
Doolittle, Amos, his prints of the battle of Lexington, 261
Doty, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Dowe, Valkort, 58
Downs, Michael, 402
Dowse, Jonathan (*d* 1745), on committee of House of Representatives appointed, 1717, to consider providing new building for Harvard College, 90, 91, 92, 93
—— William Bradford Homer, LL.B., elected Resident Member, 257; accepts, 300
Dring, Capt. Thomas, his Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship, 388, 388 *n*, 389, 392
Drummond, Thomas (*d* 1780), born Lundin, afterwards Drummond, known as Lord, quoted, on Earl Percy's retreat, 269
Duane, James, 59
Dudley, Gov. Joseph, son of Gov. Thomas, 46
—— Paul (*d* 1751), son of Gov. Joseph, action of, at Overseers' meeting, 1718, concerning new building for Harvard College, 85, 86, 98, 99, 100, 102, 102 *n*
Dugan, ——, 397
Dummer, Jeremiah (*d* 1739), 7
—— Lt.-Gov. William, brother of Jeremiah (*d* 1739), 82 *n*; quoted, on S. Bradstreet, 30; buys Connecticut River lands, 1716, 44; on committee connected with the building of Massachusetts Hall, 100, 100 *n*, 103

Dummerston, Vt., early history of, 44–45
Dunbar, Col. David, 236
Duncan, James, 247
Dunham, Capt. Cornelius, 362, 412, 427
—— Daniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— John (*d* 1692), freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— John (*d* 1696), son of John (*d* 1692), freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Dunk, George Montagu, second Earl of Halifax, 200, 202
Dunster, Elizabeth (Harris) Glover, first wife of Henry, 169, 170
—— Henry, President of Harvard College, 166, 176 *n*; marriage of, 170
—— Rev. Isaiah (*d* 1791), 287 *n*
Dupuy, Frances (Elliston), wife of John. *See* Tetard
—— Dr. John (*d* 1745), book dedicated to, by R. Elliston, 75, 75 *n*; son-in-law of Elliston, 78; death of, 78 *n*
Durfey, Thomas (*d* 1723), 316
Durham, Vt., 59
Dutch, John, 407
Duxbury, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 153
Dyer, ——, 342
Dyson, John (*d* 1828), Beverly business man and ship-owner, 320, 322, 338, 338 *n*, 353, 374, 378, 405, 407, 409, 410, 420
—— Richard, 400
—— Samuel, 420

EAMES, Anthony, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Earthquakes, in Marblehead, 1755, 24, 26; in Lisbon, 1755, 26
Easterbrook, Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Eastham, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 151
Eaton, Jeremiah, petition of, for license to sell liquor, 440
Eaves, William, 415
Eckstorm, Fannie Hardy, acknowledgment to, 202 *n*
Eddy, Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Zachariah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
EDES, HENRY HERBERT, A.M., 60, 257, 300; speaks on S. Bradstreet, 30; reads letters from Viscount Bryce, 61, 118; his reports as Treasurer, 114–116, 304–306; elected Treasurer, 117, 307; speaks on list of freemen of Plymouth Colony, 149
Edmonds (Edmands), Capt. John, 348, 368, 377, 404, 407, 421, 425, 426, 434; commands held by, 427
—— John Henry, 119, 308
Edson, Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Egremont, Lord. *See* Wyndham, Sir Charles
Eliot, Rev. Andrew (*d* 1778), 169
—— Charles William, President of Harvard College, son of Samuel Atkins (*d* 1862), 179
—— Rev. John (*d* 1813), son of Rev. Andrew (*d* 1778), 8 *n*
—— Samuel Atkins (*d* 1862), quoted, on gift of Trusedale to Harvard College, 62
Eliot's Indian Bible, J. Ratcliff binds, 1664, 65
Ellice, Thomas E., 178
Ellingwood, Capt. Benjamin, 373, 389, 401, 405, 411, 417, 428; commands held by, 427
—— Ebenezer, Beverly ship-owner, 322, 369, 373, 411; insurance policy issued to, 370; agreement signed by, 374
—— Elisha, 401
—— John, 415
—— Capt. Joshua, 375, 391, 412, 413, 419, 424, 425; commands held by, 427
—— Ralph, 369
—— William, 416, 427
Elliot, James, 414 *n*
—— Simon, 427
Ellis, Jack, 412
—— Rev. Rufus (*d* 1885), 134
Elliston, Frances, daughter of Robert. *See* Tetard

Elliston (*continued*)
—— Mary, wife of Robert, 78
—— Robert (*d* 1756), note on, by A. Matthews, 71–80; books compiled by, 71–76, 78–80; sketch of, 76–78, 77 *n*, 78 *n*; rarity of his books, 80 *n*
Elmes, Rodulphus, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, son of Rev. William (*d* 1811), 118
—— Rev. William (*d* 1811), 263 *n*
Emlyn, Rev. Thomas (*d* 1741), 28, 28 *n*
Enchiridium Polychrestum, compiled by R. Elliston, 74
Enfield, Ct., and the Massachusetts boundary dispute, 43, 46
England, relations of, with United States, 1846, 130
—— Board of Trade, and Gov. Bernard's petition concerning Mount Desert Island, 232, 244, 244 *n*, 245, 245 *n*
—— Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, letters of, to Gov. Bernard, 1762, 63, 224–230, 232, 235
—— Privy Council, and Gov. Bernard's petitions concerning Mount Desert Island, 232, 233, 244, 244 *n*, 245 *n*; advice of, to the king, regarding the Penobscot region, 235–237
Episcopalianism promoted in New Hampshire by the Wentworth family, 32
Equivalent Lands, 51; granted to Connecticut, in settlement of Massachusetts boundary, 41–46, 59
Eustis, Benjamin, 163
—— Elizabeth, wife of Benjamin, 163
—— Gov. William, son of Benjamin, officer of Martimercurian Company, 161, 162; sketch of, 163
Evans, Charles, 80
—— Capt. Henry F., 383, 386 *n*
Eveleth, John, 408
Evelyn, Capt. William Glanville, 291; quoted, on battle of Lexington, 273
Everett, Edward, President of Harvard College, 176 *n*
Ewell, Henry, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154

Fair Harvard, copy of first edition of, exhibited, 179
Falland, Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Falls Fight Township, grant of, 1734, 38; renamed Bernardston, 1762, 38
Falls Town Gore, Vt., 38, 39
Farley, Rev. Frederick Augustus (*d* 1892), sermon of, noted, 126
Farmer, John (*d* 1838), copy of first number of his Memorials exhibited, 178
Farwell, John Whittemore, Litt.B., exhibits Harvard College book-plate of about 1840, 176; exhibits book believed to have belonged to W. Paddy and to J. Leverett, 254; remarks in communicating letter of W. Flint, 438–440
Faunce, Thomas, propounded freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Fearson, Capt. Jesse, 358, 374, 406 408, 410, 423, 423 *n*; commands held by, 427
—— John, 427
Fellow, meaning of term, at Harvard College, 158–159
Fellow-commoners, at Harvard College, 165, 166
Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, 262
Fernald, Henry W., 392 *n*
Ferrinson, James, 407
Finch, Judith, 63
Finney, John, Sr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— John, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Robert, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Fisher, Benjamin, 418
—— Joshua, ship's surgeon, 427
Fishery at Mount Desert, proposed by Gov. Bernard, 1764, 234 *n*
Fishing, in Beverly, before the Revolution, 319, 320; ruined throughout New England by the war, 341
Fiske, John (*d* 1901), 63
—— (Fisk), Capt. John, 431, 433
Fitch, Capt. Jabez, 392 *n*
—— Thomas, 94; on committee to consider providing new building for Harvard College, 1717, 90, 92, 93
—— Zachariah, 39
Fitzgerald, Thomas, 409
Flint, George, 439, 440
—— Rev. James (*d* 1855), 123 *n*, 135; sketch of, 135 *n*

Flint (*continued*)
—— Jerusha (Pope), wife of George, 439
—— Susannah (Flint), wife of William, 439
—— Thomas, trading voyages of, during Revolution, 364; testimonial to, by prisoners whom he helped, 397; with others, petitions General Court for reimbursement for bringing home war prisoners, 398
—— William (*d* 1756), letter of, 1756, communicated, 438; sketch of, 439; text of the letter, 440–441
—— William, son of William (*d* 1756), 440
Florida, Mass., granted to proprietors of Bernardston, 38
Flynt, Henry (H. C. 1693), 82, 90, 91, 99, 100, 102, 103; silver candlesticks belonging to, 170 *n*, 171
Follen, Charles (*d* 1840), 170 *n*
Foot (Foote), Samuel, 420, 427
—— William, 414 *n*
Foote, Rev. Henry Wilder (H. C. 1858), 251 *n*
—— Rev. Henry Wilder, A.M., son of Rev. Henry Wilder (H. C. 1858), his Notes and Some Manuscript Sermons by the Rev. Simon Bradstreet in Marblehead, 1743–1769, 23–30
Forbes, Allan, A.B., elected Member of Council, 120
Ford, Michael, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— William, Sr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— William, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Worthington Chauncey, LL.D., speaks on suppression of names in letters and diaries, 64; cited, regarding books compiled by R. Elliston, 80; speaks on early use of broadsides, 292
Forrester (Forester), Capt. Simon, 338, 345, 416; commands held by, 428
Fort Anne, proposed grant to Albany men, of plantation on Connecticut River, to be thus named, 46–48, 59
Fort Dummer, 36, 52
Fort Pentagoet, 218
Fort Point, Me., Gov. Bernard's interest in, 199
Foster, Edward, 409, 418, 428
—— Isaiah, 409
—— John (*d* 1681), 293
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— John, Plymouth, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107
—— Jonathan, 411, 428
—— Joseph, 401, 408
—— Josiah, 402, 409
—— Paul, 408
—— Capt. Samuel, 353, 354, 400, 404, 409, 431; commands held by, 428
Fowler, Jacob, ship-owner, 338, 415
France, claims of, to territory in Penobscot region, 216, 217, 218, 224, 226, 229, 231; missionaries of, and the Indians, 219; aid of, to United States during Revolution, 363, 363 *n*, 365, 383. *See also* Acadia
Franklin, Anne, printer, 80 *n*
—— Benjamin, 72 *n*, 187, 403; gift of book to, by R. Elliston, 72; cited, on northeastern boundary, 248; protests against treatment of American war prisoners, 1777, 391 *n*
Freeborn, Capt. Daniel, 388
Freeman, Alice, daughter of Edmund. *See* Paddy
—— Edmond, Sr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Edmond, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Edmund, 255
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Freeman's Oath, 292
Freemen, list of, in Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149–155
French, ——, 342
—— Nathan, 415
French newspapers in Boston, 1789–1793, 296–299
Frost, William, 365
Frothingham, Richard (*d* 1880), cited, 272, 280
Frye, John, son of Joshua, 159; sketch of, 160
—— Joshua, 160
—— Sarah, wife of Joshua, 160

Fulham, Vt., later Dummerston, 45
Fuller, Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Matthew, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Robert, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153

GAGE, Andrew, Sr., 381, 399
—— Andrew, Jr., son of Andrew, Sr., 381, 382
—— Elizabeth, wife of Andrew, Sr., 382, 399; document signed by, 381
—— Dr. Homer, 308
—— John, 404, 407
—— Nathan, 415
—— Gov. Thomas, 260 *n*, 262, 267 *n*, 271, 271 *n*, 276, 435, 436; quoted, on alleged atrocities at battle of Lexington, 262 *n*, 266 *n*, 278 *n*; cited, on British losses, 270 *n*; action of, as to prisoners of war, 387
—— William, 408, 415, 428
—— Zachariah, ship-owner, 418
—— Capt. Zachariah, 381, 406, 428
Gallop, Samuel, and others, land grant to, 1735, 49
Galls, John, 406
Gannett, Rev. Ezra Stiles (*d* 1871), 139
—— Matthew, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Gard, William, 405
Gardiner, John, Salem, 336
Gardner, Isaac, killed in battle of Lexington, 283
—— John, Beverly, 420, 423
—— John, Salem, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107
Gardoqui, Joseph, & Sons, agents, at Bilbao, of J. & A. Cabot, 321, 342, 360, 366, 367, 368, 380, 382, 423; complaints of, 359, 381
Garret, Byer, 58
Garven, Nicholas, 414 *n*
Gavett, John, 406
George I, King of England, 8
George II, King of England, 35, 203, 212
George III, King of England, 53, 55, 197, 203, 212, 234
Georgia, in Revolutionary naval warfare, 324
Germain, George Sackville, first Viscount Sackville, 387
Germans, proposal by Gov. Bernard for the settlement of a colony of, at Mount Desert, 1764, 234 *n*
Gibaut, Edward, 336, 416
Gilbert, William (*d* 1693), 62, 63
Giles, Benjamin, 404
—— Edward, on Beverly Committee of Correspondence, 322
—— Capt. Eleazer, 336, 339, 369, 370, 372, 375, 401, 406, 416, 427, 431, 432, 433; sketch of, 336 *n*; privateering cruises of, 337, 337 *n*; document signed by, 397; commands held by, 428
—— Thomas, 401, 404, 417
Gillon, Commodore Alexander (*d* 1794), 379
Gilman, Rev. Nicholas (H. C. 1724), 310, 311, 312
—— Rev. Samuel (*d* 1858), copy of first edition of his Fair Harvard exhibited, 179
Gilmore, Evelyn Langdon, 250
Ginn, Thomas, deposition of, 1782, concerning behavior of prisoners, 396
Glidden, Jonathan, 414 *n*
Glover, Elizabeth (Harris), second wife of Rev. Jose. *See* Dunster
—— Col. John (*d* 1797), Revolutionary activities of, 324, 325, 326, 327
—— Rev. Jose, 169, 170
—— heirs, lawsuits of, with H. Dunster, 176 *n*
God's Acre, use of the term to designate a burying-ground, and particularly the old burying-ground in Cambridge, 293–296
Goelet, Capt. Francis, 160
Golden Ages, various, 182
Goldenstown, Vt., later Rockingham, 51
Goldthwaite, Benjamin, 405
—— Col. Thomas, buys land in company with Gov. Bernard, 199
Goodale, Nathan, 410, 412
Goodhue, Benjamin, Salem ship-owner, 341, 416, 418
Goodrich, Absalom, 412
Goodridge, Samuel, on Beverly Committee of Correspondence, 322
Goodspeed, Roger, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149

Gordon, Francis, 415
—— Rev. William (*d* 1807), quoted, on northeastern boundary, 248; on battle of Lexington, 263 *n*, 275
Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, 191
—— Robert, son of Sir Ferdinando, 191
Gorham, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149, 149 *n*
—— Shubal, Barnstable, on committee for choosing site for Massachusetts Hall, 1718, 96; on committee to inspect it, 1720, 107
Gouge, Rev. Thomas (*d* 1700), 314
Gould, Ann, daughter of Thomas. *See* Greene
—— Lt. Edward Thornton, 260
—— Frances (Robinson), wife of Thomas, 68
—— Thomas, 68
Goulding, Palmer, land grant to, 1735, 51
Grant, Ulysses Simpson, President, 290
Graves, Thomas, quoted, on attractions of New England, 191
Gravier, Charles, Comte de Vergennes, 248, 248 *n*
Gray, Edward, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— James, deposition of, concerning experiences as a Revolutionary prisoner, 399
—— Morris, LL.B., elected Member of Council, 117; declines, 120; on Nominating Committee, 257, 307
—— William, 400
Grayson, William (*d* 1790), member of first United States Senate, 180
Green, Richard, 417
Green Mountain Boys, resist New York land claims, 59
Greene, Ann (Gould), wife of Nathaniel (*d* 1714), 68
—— James, son of John, 68
—— John, associate of Roger Williams, in Providence, 68
—— Nathaniel (*d* 1714), sketch of, 68
—— Gen. Nathaniel (*d* 1786), 68
—— Thomas, son of Nathaniel (*d* 1714), children of, establish Greene Foundation, Trinity Church, Boston, 68
Greening's Island, Me., 202 *n*
Greenough, Chester Noyes, Ph.D., 2 *n*; reads paper on T. Hollis and J. Mayhew, 1
Greenough (*continued*)
—— Mary, daughter of William. *See* Paddy
—— William (*d c* 1678), 255
Greenwood, Miles, Salem ship-owner, 336, 344, 346, 374, 406, 410, 416, 417
Gregoire, Bartolemy de, grant to his wife and, in Mount Desert, 246, 246 *n*
—— Marie Therese de la Mothe Cadillac de, wife of Bartolemy de, grant to her husband and, in Mount Desert, 246, 246 *n*
Gregore, John, 415
Grey, Capt. William, 385, 386
Griffin, Appleton Prentiss Clark, sends photostats of list of Plymouth Colony freemen, 149
—— John, Boston bookseller, 65
Grimaldi, Geronimo (*d* 1786), Marquis of, 343 *n*
Groce (Gross), George, 402, 408, 409
—— John, 412
Groves, Catherine (Leach), wife of John, 373 *n*
—— Capt. Ichabod, son of John, 373, 373 *n*, 404, 417, 428
—— John, 373 *n*
—— Capt. William, 353, 356, 402, 408, 409, 418, 427, 432; commands held by, 428
Guadeloupe, Revolutionary disturbances in, 1794, 299
Guilford, Vt., 39, 49

Hacker, Capt. Hoystead, 358, 406, 428, 429
Hadden, Thomas, 402, 408
Hailston, William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Hair, H., 415
Hale, Daniel, land in Rowley deeded to, by Harvard College, 177, 177 *n*
—— Rev. Edward Everett (d 1909), 134, 136, 139, 143
—— John, 370
Halevi, Solomon Ithiel, 147
Half Moon (now Waterford), N. Y., 439 *n*
Halifax, Earl of. *See* Dunk, George Montagu
Halifax, Vt., 39
Hall, Benjamin Homer (*d* 1893), quoted, on the Harvard Washington Corps, 162

Hall (*continued*)
—— Rev. David (H. C. 1724), 310, 312
—— Ezra, 415
—— George, 408
—— Hannah (Hill), wife of Thomas, 285 *n*
—— Howard Judson, his paper, Two Book-Lists: 1668 and 1728, 64–71
—— Rev. Nathaniel (*d* 1875), 142, 143, 143 *n*
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Thomas, 285 *n*
—— William, Rehoboth, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151, 151 *n*
—— William, Taunton, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Hallett, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Capt. John Allen, 337, 345, 365, 411, 418, 426, 427, 430, 432; commands held by, 428
Hally, William, 409
Hamblen, James, Sr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— James, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Hamilton, Lt. David, 268 *n*
Hammond, J. L., 414 *n*, 428
—— John, 405, 428
—— Otis Grant, A.M., speaks on Governors B. and J. Wentworth, of New Hampshire, and Count Rumford, 33
Hanmore, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154, 154 *n*
Harding, Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Warren Gamaliel, President, 256
Harley, Edward (*d* 1735), brother of Robert, first Earl of Oxford, 74, 74 *n*, 77
—— Edward (*d* 1741), second Earl of Oxford, 77
—— Edward (*d* 1755), third Earl of Oxford, son of Edward (*d* 1735), 77
—— Robert, first Earl of Oxford, 77
Harlow, William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Harraden, Capt. Jonathan, 425, 430, 431, 434
Harris, Benjamin, printer, 292, 293
—— Elizabeth, sister of Richard (*d* 1644). *See* Dunster
Harris (*continued*)
—— George, first Lord Harris of Seringapatam and Mysore, 291
—— John, 381, 408, 414 *n*, 429
—— Richard (*d* 1644), gift of, to Harvard College, 167, 170, 170 *n*, 176 *n*
—— Robert, document signed by, 393
—— Thaddeus William (H. C. 1815), 176 *n*
—— Thomas, 403, 416
Hart, Jonathan, 440
Hartwell, Edward, agent of Lunenburg, 39
—— Edward Mussey, LL.D., death, xvii; elected Resident Member, 1; accepts, 10, 113
Harvard, Rev. John, grave and monument of, 179, 179 *n*
Harvard College, proposed land reservation in favor of, 1708, 47; A Ghost Benefactor of, paper by A. Matthews, 61–63; legacy of Mary Trusedale to, 63; benefactresses of, in seventeenth century, 63; number of students, 1716–1721, 81; larger accommodations needed, 81; Biblical instruction in, 85, 99, 100, 102; rents paid by students, 106; first instructor in Hebrew in, 146; early societies at, 156–158, 309–313; the word Fellow, as used at, 158–159; Early Silver belonging to, by W. C. Lane, 165–176; bookplate of, about 1840, 176; some early clubs of, 176, 177; deed from, of land in Rowley, exhibited, 177; copy of first edition of Fair Harvard exhibited, 279; sketch of, about 1720, 295; religious societies in, about 1720, 309–312
—— Board of Overseers, asks General Court, 1717, to provide new building, 82, 88–90, 91, 104; composition of, at that time, 82 *n*; joint committee considers plans, 83; advises address of thanks in name of Corporation, 87, 106, 107; votes of, in effort to prevent reduction of size of Massachusetts Hall, 100; vote of, concerning Biblical instruction, 100
—— Corporation, action of, on completion of Massachusetts Hall, 87, 88, 106, 107; votes of, regarding Gov. Bernard's portrait, 252, 252 *n*

HARVARD COLLEGE (*continued*)
—— Fellow-commoners, 165, 166; small number of, 174; disappearance of, 175
—— Harvard Hall (second), 82, 83, 95, 97, 101, 104; number of students accommodated in, 81, 85
—— Harvard Hall (third), Gov. Bernard the architect of, 200 *n*
—— Harvard Washington Corps, 162, 163
—— Knights of the Order of the Pudding Stick, 176, 176 *n*
—— Library, T. Hollis's interest in, 2
—— Martimercurian Company, officers of, 1771, 161; account of, 162–165
—— Massachusetts Hall, The Building of, 1717–1720, by W. C. Lane, 81–110; general account, 81–88; transcription of original documents: Overseers present need of additional accommodations to the General Court, 88–90; favorable action of Governor and Court, 90–96; B. Wadsworth's plan of, 95 *n*; J. Leverett's plan of, 95 *n*; site chosen, 97; size of building and appropriation therefor limited to half of what is desired, 97; Overseers' second petition, urging full size, finally granted, 98–106; building completed, inspected, named, and thanks of Corporation presented to General Court, 106–110; first used at Commencement, 1720, 107
—— Order of the Knights of the Square Table, 177, 177 *n*
—— Overseers. *See* Board of Overseers
—— Porcellian Club, 177, 177 *n*
—— President, 106, 107; required to expound the Bible, 100, 102; house of, 105
—— Stoughton College, 83, 95, 97, 101, 104; number of students accommodated in, 81, 85; built by W. Stoughton, 82
Harvard Memorial Society, reprints address of thanks from Harvard College to the General Court for gift of Massachusetts Hall, 88 *n*
Harvey, Adiel, 133, 133 *n*
—— Gen. Edward (*d* 1778), 273, 291
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Haskell, Isaac, deposition of, 1782, concerning behavior of prisoners, 396
—— Joseph, 417
—— Mary (Lovett), wife of William, 340 *n*
—— Philemon, document signed by, 393
—— Capt. Robert (*d* 1789), son of William, 340 *n*, 375, 408, 415, 423; makes secret Nova Scotian expedition, 1776, 340; further secret service of, 340–341; commands held by, 429
—— Ruth. *See* Wood
—— William, 340 *n*
—— William, prisoner, 402
Hastings, Francis, tenth Earl of Huntingdon, 436
—— Jonathan (*d* 1783), 283
Hatch, Jeremiah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Walter, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Hathaway, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Hathorne, Capt. Daniel, 341
—— Hugh, 407
Hauteval, M. d', 297, 297 *n*
Haward, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Lt. Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Hawes, Edmond, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Hawkins, Abraham, 406, 429
—— Benjamin (*d* 1816), member of first United States Senate, 180
—— Christopher, 392 *n*
Hay, John (*d* 1905), 64
HAYNES, GEORGE HENRY, Ph.D., elected Resident Member, 1; accepts, 10, 113; his paper, The President and the Senate, 180–182
Hazen & Jarvis, 239
Hedge, Charlotte A., daughter of Rev. Frederic Henry (H. C. 1825), gives silver bowl and tea-pot to Harvard College, 172, 174
—— Elizabeth, daughter of Levi, 172

Hedge (*continued*)
—— Rev. Frederic Henry (H. C. 1825), son of Levi (H. C. 1792), 171
—— Frederic Henry (H. C. 1851), son of Rev. Frederic Henry (H. C. 1825), 172
—— Levi (H. C. 1792), 171, 172; letter of, about a silver tankard belonging to Harvard College, 174, 175
—— Mary (Kneeland), wife of Levi, 171
Hemans, Felicia Dorothea (Browne), 14
Hemp, raising of, on Mount Desert, proposed by Gov. Bernard, 211
Henfield, Capt. Gideon, 347
Henry, Rev. Matthew (*d* 1714), 28, 28 *n*
Heraclitus Ridens, news-book, 316
Herbert, Charles, 390; A Relic of the Revolution, compiled from his journal of life in Mill Prison, by R. Livesey, 389, 389 *n*
Herrick, ——, 415
—— David, 419
—— Henry, 332 *n*
—— Henry (*d* 1780), son of Henry, 322, 332 *n*; commands troops in defence of Beverly, 1776, 332, 333
—— James, 401; document signed by, 397
—— Joanna (Woodberry), wife of Henry, 332 *n*
—— John, 401; document signed by, 397
—— Joshua, 419
—— Lucy. *See* Woodberry
—— Capt. William, 331, 378, 408, 425, 428, 429
Herrod, Benjamin, 247
Hessian prisoners bound out for service, 396
Heyliger, Peter, agreement of, with B. Chadwick, 159, 161; sketch of, 160
—— William, 160
Hichbourne, Benjamin, ship-owner, 338, 415
Hicks, Daniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Elizabeth, wife of John, 283
—— John, killed in battle of Lexington, 283
Higgins, Benjamin, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— James, 417
Higgins (*continued*)
—— Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Sophia Elizabeth (Mrs. Napier), 249, 250
Higginson, Rev. Francis, 191, 192, 193; extracts from his New Englands Plantation, 190, 191
—— Stephen, 410, 418
Hildeburn, Charles Riché, 76, 80 *n*; quoted, on the typography of R. Elliston's Enchiridium Polychrestum, 78; on J. Parker's work, 79–80
Hill, Ann (Adams), wife of James, 286 *n*; sketch of, 285, 285 *n*
—— Hannah, daughter of James. *See* Hall
—— Capt. Hugh, 350, 368, 369, 379, 380, 381, 382, 407, 414, 421, 431; petition of, concerning seizure of a vessel, 330; sketch of, 349, 352; commands held by, 429
—— James (*d* 1852), 285 *n*
—— Wills, first Earl of Hillsborough and first Marquis of Downshire, 231
Hillsborough, Earl of. *See* Hill, Wills
Hilton, Henry, 429
Hinckley, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Hinsdale, N. H., originally included in Northfield, Mass., 36; charter granted to, 1753, 37; Vernon (Hinsdale), Vt., a part of, 38
Hinsdale, Vt., later Vernon, 37, 39
Hinsdale Gore, Vt., 41
Hirst, Samuel (H. C. 1723), 86 *n*, 87 *n*
Hoar, Samuel (*d* 1856), G. W. Briggs on treatment of, in South Carolina, 1844, 128, 128 *n*
Hobby, Jonathan, 420
Hogkins, Thomas, 414 *n*
Holland, Capt. William, 375, 411; commands held by, 429
Hollett. *See* Hallett
Hollis, Thomas (*d* 1774), C. N. Greenough reads paper on relations of, with J. Mayhew, 1; benefactor of Harvard College, 2; book with manuscript annotations by, exhibited, 312
Hollis Papers, interest and value of, 1

Holmes, Rev. Abiel (*d* 1837), quoted, on battle of Lexington, 275
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153, 153 *n*
—— Josiah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Dr. Oliver Wendell, son of Rev. Abiel, 118
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Holyoke, Rev. Edward, President of Harvard College, 170 *n*, 172; bookplate of, exhibited, 2; note on Holyoke arms on silver bowl owned by Harvard College, 171
—— Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Edward. *See* Kneeland
Homans, John, 163
—— John (*d* 1800), son of John, officer of Martimercurian Company, 161, 162; sketch of, 163
—— Rebecca, wife of John, 163
—— William (*d* 1837), Beverly shipowner, 322, 322 *n*, 357, 362, 379, 408, 412, 419
—— William, Jr., 345, 420
Hooper, James, 417
—— John, 414, 429
Hoosic Mountain, land grant on, 1765, 38
Hopkins, Stephen, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Horsmanden, Daniel, 79 *n*
Horton, Rev. Edward Augustus, 143
—— Francis, 414 *n*
Hoskins, William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Houghton, Jonas, surveyor, 40
Howe, Mark Antony De Wolfe, Litt.D., exhibits two volumes once belonging to S. Sewall, 71; on Nominating Committee, 257
—— Dr. Octavius Thorndike, v; his paper, Beverly Privateers in the American Revolution, 318–435
—— Richard, first Earl Howe, 387
Howes, Jeremiah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Howland, Arthur, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Jabez, son of John (*d* 1672), freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Howland (*continued*)
—— John (*d* 1672), 20
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Capt. Perry, 344, 417, 429
Huckens, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Hudson, Rev. Charles (*d* 1881), 281, 282; quoted, on battle of Lexington, 272, 276, 280
—— Joseph, 414 *n*
Hugues, Victor, 299
Hull, John, mint master, 63
Hunnewell, James Melville, 308
Hunt, Enoch, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Peter, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Lt. Peter, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Samuel, Duxbury, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Samuel, Billerica, with others, obtains grant of township, 1734, later named Bernardston, 38
Hunting, Edward (H. C. 1725), 310, 312
Huntingdon, Earl of. *See* Hastings
Huntington, Rev. Frederic Dan, Bishop of Central New York, 134
Huse, Hiram A., 50
Hutchinson, Rev. Aaron (*d* 1800), 161
—— Aaron (*d* 1843), son of Rev. Aaron, 159; sketch of, 161, 161 *n*
—— Israel, 399
—— Margery (Carter), wife of Rev. Aaron, 161
—— Thomas, (*d* 1739), 94; on committee to consider providing new building for Harvard College, 1717, 90, 92, 93; on committee to choose site, 96; reports, 97
—— Gov. Thomas, son of Thomas (*d* 1739), 220 *n*, 249, 436, 438; rank of, in college, 173; quoted, on Gov. Bernard, 200 *n*, 244
Hyde, Nicholas, 150 *n*. *See also* Ide, Nicholas

IDE (Iyde), Nicholas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150, 150 *n*

Immigration laws of the United States, liberality of, 22
Impressment of American seamen, 394
Indians: Mohawks, deed lands to J. H. Lydius, 1732, 53, 57; Penobscots, treaty of, with Gov. Shute, 1717, 218; war with, in Penobscot region, 1722–26, 218; Gov. Pownall and, 219; Pocumtucks, 36; St. Francis, 53; Six Nations, 57; Squakheags, 36
—— Cauegohe, 57
—— Massasoit, 189
—— Nawelet, 36
—— Ompawmet, sells land, 45
—— Teyonyguawe, 57
Ingalls (Ingles), Capt. 387, 401
Ingersoll, Jared (*d* 1781), 239
—— Jonathan, 413
—— Capt. Jonathan, 411, 425
—— Capt. Samuel, 406
Insurance, marine, during Revolution, 367, 369; policy issued to E. Ellingwood, 370
Ives, Capt. Benjamin, 344, 374, 402, 410, 417, 424; commands held by, 429

JACKSON, Abraham, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Andrew, President, 349
—— Jonathan, 349 *n*, 408, 414
—— Richard (*d* 1787), 231, 232, 245 *n*
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Maj. William (*d* 1828), 380
James I, King of England, American land grants of, 207, 216, 217, 248, 249
James II, King of England, 217. *See also* York, Duke of
James, Capt. William, 354, 405, 429
Jay, John (*d* 1829), cited, on northeastern boundary, 248
Jefferson, Thomas, President, 181
Jeffrey, James, 382, 417
Jenkins, Edward, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
JENNEY, CHARLES FRANCIS, LL.B., elected Resident Member, 1; accepts 10, 113
Jenyns, Soame (*d* 1787), 224, 231
Jewett, Rev. Jedidiah (H. C. 1726), 310, 312
John, King of England, 16
Johnson, Rev. Alfred (*d* 1837), 34
—— ALFRED, Litt.D., 61, 156, 159, 300; speaks of visits of Daniel Webster to Belfast, Me., 34; elected Registrar, 117, 307; reads extracts from Annals of Belfast, Me., 195; speaks on Maine as a Massachusetts frontier, 313
—— Capt. Israel, 379, 387, 404, 410, 419; commands held by, 429
—— Joseph, 414 *n*
—— Lucas, deposition of, concerning ship Jack, 386 *n*
—— Ralph Cross, 34
—— Stephen, 415
—— Sir William (*d* 1774), 439; charge of, against J. H. Lydius, 57
Jones, Benjamin, on Beverly Committee of Correspondence, 322
—— John Coffin, ship-owner, 338, 415
—— John Paul (*d* 1792), 390, 390 *n*
—— Nathan, surveyor, 201
Jourdaine, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Joy, Benjamin, 401

KEAYNE, Robert (*d* 1656), provides by will for a library in Boston Town House, 9; book from library of, 9
Kebby, James, land grants to, 1731, 1733, 39, 40 *n*
Keith, James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Kelby, Robert Hendre, acknowledgment to, 78 *n*; cited regarding books compiled by R. Elliston, 80
—— William, 78 *n*
Kellogg, Lucy Cutler, quoted, 253 *n*
Kelly, James, 398
—— John, 414 *n*
Kempe, John Tabor, 56
Kendall, Rev. James (*d* 1859), 137; dedications to, 130, 135
Kenrick, George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Kilam, John, 408
Kilham, Hannah. *See* Lovett
King, Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Thomas, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Kingman, Joseph, 418

KINGMAN (*continued*)
—— Nathaniel, 418
KINNICUTT, LINCOLN NEWTON, death, xvii; announced, 317
KITTREDGE, GEORGE LYMAN, LL.D., acknowledgment to, 74 *n*
—— Joseph, 408
Kneeland, Elizabeth (Holyoke), wife of William (H. C. 1751), 171
—— Joseph (*d* 1760), silversmith, 172
—— Mary, daughter of William (H. C. 1751). *See* Hedge
—— William (H. C. 1751), 170 *n*, 171; silver tea-pot given to, by Harvard students, 174
Knight, Lt. Joseph, killed in battle of Lexington, 267, 268 *n*
—— Joseph, 408
Knights of the Order of the Pudding Stick. *See under* Harvard College
Knights of the Square Table. *See under* Harvard College
Knowlton, Capt. Joseph, 357, 361, 408, 429

LACKY, Ephraim, 397
Lafitte, Mark, 375, 407, 412
Lake, Rev. Kirsopp, 119, 308
Lakeman, James Fuller, deposition of, concerning a seized vessel, 328 *n*
—— Capt. Richard, 357, 407, 429
—— William, 407
Lamb, Sir Matthew (*d* 1768), 244 *n*–245 *n*
Lamson, Benjamin, 408
Land grants, by Massachusetts in territory now Vermont, 35–59
Landais, Capt. Peter, 390, 390 *n*
—— Capt. Peter, Salem, 337, 418
Lander, Frederic West (*d* 1862), 139, 139 *n*
Lane, James, 163
—— Mary, wife of James, 164
—— Oliver Wellington (*d* 1793), son of James, officer of the Martimercurian Company, 162; sketch of, 163
—— WILLIAM COOLIDGE, A.B., 158, 197, 442; his paper, The Building of Massachusetts Hall, 1717–1720, 81–110; remark of, on a chair which belonged to Judah Monis, 148; his paper, Early Silver belonging to Harvard College, 165–176; acknowledgment to, 197 *n*; speaks on religious societies in Harvard College, about 1720, 309–312
LANE (*continued*)
Langdell, Esther, 381
—— Capt. William, 346, 365, 373, 406, 418, 419, 425, 429 *n*; commands held by, 429
Langdon, Paul, son of Rev. Samuel, 159; sketch of, 160
—— Rev. Samuel, President of Harvard College, 160, 282, 283; quoted, on conduct of British in battle of Lexington, 271, 282, 284, 286
—— (Langdell), Capt. William. *See* Langdell
Langham, Thomas, 167 *n*, 175, 175 *n*; gift of, to Harvard College, 167
La Pérouse, Jean François de Galaup (*d* 1788), Comte de, 384; his account of engagement of the Astrée and Hermione with an English squadron, 1781, 383
Larcom, Edward, 415
—— Jonathan, 404
—— Henry, 429
Lathrop. *See* Lothrop
Latimer, George, 126 *n*
Latinus, King of Latium, 189
La Touche (*d* 1804), Comte de, 383
Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 186
Law, William (*d* 1761), 28, 28 *n*
Lawrence, Zachery, land grants to, 1684, 1685, 37
Lawrence, Pemberton Mill disaster, 1860, 138
LAWTON, FREDERICK, A.B., 119; elected Resident Member, 156; accepts, 180
Laythorpe. *See* Lothrop
Leach, Capt. Benjamin, 400
—— Catherine. *See* Groves
—— John, on Beverly Committee of Correspondence, 322
—— John, boatswain, 408
—— John, Salem ship-owner, 413, 430 *n*
—— Capt. John, Beverly, 361 *n*, 404, 411, 425, 426, 430 *n*; commands held by, 430
—— Capt. John, Salem, 356, 412, 430, 430 *n*
—— Capt. John, Jr., 345, 410, 430
—— Nathan, Beverly ship-owner, 343, 365, 375, 407, 413, 414
—— Capt. Nathan, 375, 430
—— Robert, 408

Leach (*continued*)
—— William (*d* 1838), Beverly shipowner, 322, 322 *n*, 358, 413
Lee, Capt. ——, 342, 343, 367
—— Aaron, 408
—— Arthur (*d* 1792), 248
—— Edward, 415
—— John, 419, 430
—— Capt. John, 340, 370
—— Joseph (*d* 1831), Beverly shipowner and merchant, 321, 321 *n*, 336, 342, 349 *n*, 370, 372, 373, 408, 409, 412, 414, 416, 421, 423
—— William Phillips, petition of, and others, 206, 207–209
Lefavour, Capt. Philip, 337, 430
—— Robert, 417, 418
Legge, William, second Earl of Dartmouth, 269, 435, 436
—— William Heneage, sixth Earl of Dartmouth, 438 *n*
Leonard, Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
L'Estrange, Sir Roger (*d* 1704), his reviews, in the Observator, of forged letter ascribed to I. Mather, 313–317; his opinion of news-books quoted, 315
Lettice, Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Leverett, Elizabeth, daughter of Gov. John. *See* Cooke
—— George Vasmer, bequest of, 81, 112, 301
—— Hannah, daughter of John, President of Harvard College. *See* Davis
—— Gov. John, 67, 255
—— John, President of Harvard College, 7, 255; mentioned in connection with the building of Massachusetts Hall, 82, 82 *n*, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90 *n*, 94, 98, 99, 108; his plan, 95 *n*; extracts from his diary, 98, 107; his answer to Judge Sewall's criticism of Biblical instruction at the college, 99, 102; house occupied by, 105 *n*; address of Corporation of Harvard College, thanking General Court for Massachusetts Hall, signed by, 110; T. Robie's dedication of sermon to, 156–158; book believed to have belonged to, exhibited, 254
—— Sarah (Payton), wife of John, President of Harvard College, 255
Lewis, Edward, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Lewis (*continued*)
—— George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Joseph (H. C. 1724), 310, 312
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Lexington, Earl Percy's retreat from, paper on, by H. Murdock, 257–292
—— Monroe Tavern, association of, with Earl Percy, and battle of Lexington, 259, 263, 279–282
Lincoln, Rev. Calvin (*d* 1881), 143
—— Rachel. *See* Ball
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Lindall, Timothy, Salem, on committee to consider providing new building for Harvard College, 1717, 90, 91, 92, 104
Little, Ephraim, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Jack, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Livermore, Thomas Leonard (*d* 1918), 64
Livesey, Rev. Richard, compiles A Relic of the Revolution, from C. Herbert's journal, 389 *n*
Livingston, Philip J., 239
—— Robert, 48; and others, petition for land grant, 1708, 46
Lombard, Barnard, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Jabez, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Joshua, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Peter, 186
Long Island, grant of, to Duke of York, 1663–4, 208
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 118; his phrase God's Acre, 293–296
—— Rev. Samuel (*d* 1892), brother of Henry Wadsworth, ordination of, 132
Longhorn, Thomas, Cambridge, 167 *n*
—— Thomas, son of Thomas of Cambridge, 167 *n*
Lord, Arthur, A.B., exhibits forged document bearing Myles Standish's name, and discusses signatures of Rev. John Robinson, 63
—— Joseph (H. C. 1726), 310, 312

Loring, Joseph, house of, burned, at battle of Lexington, 264, 265
Lost-town, 189
Lothrop, Barnabas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Melatiah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Loudoun, Earl of. *See* Campbell, John
Louis XIV, King of France, grant by, to A. de la M. Cadillac, of Mount Desert, 246
Lovett, Benjamin, 360 *n*
—— Benjamin (*d* 1804), son of Benjamin, Beverly ship-owner, 320, 322, 346, 346 *n*, 347, 348, 367, 387, 410
—— Capt. Benjamin, 321, 366, 368, 373, 374, 415, 417, 421, 424, 431; commands held by, 430
—— Eleonora (Cleaves), wife of Benjamin, 360 *n*
—— Hannah (Kilham), wife of Benjamin, 346 *n*
—— James, 357, 408
—— Capt. James (*d* 1789), son of Benjamin, 360, 360 *n*, 402, 408, 417, 420, 424; offices held by, 430
—— John, Beverly ship-owner, 322, 347, 348, 411
—— John, seaman, 403, 416
—— Capt. John, 418
—— Jonathan, Beverly ship-owner, 1772, 319, 322
—— Mary. *See* Haskell
Low, Cornelius, 239
Lowell, James Russell, 118
—— John, A.B., on Auditing Committee, 60, 117, 257, 307
Loyalists. *See* American Loyalists
Luca, Joachi di, 350
Lufkin, Joseph, 408
—— Moses, 408
Lumbard. *See* Lombard
Lumbert. *See* Lombard
Lundin, Thomas. *See* Drummond
Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, attack on, 1782, 361; looting of, 362
Luther, Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Lydius, Rev. John, 57
—— John Henry (*d* 1791), son of Rev. John, his purchases of lands from the Indians and claim of confirmation of grant by W. Shirley, 52–59; prosecuted by New York, 54–57; relations of, with Massachusetts government, 57
Lydius (*continued*)
Lyndal. *See* Lindall
Lynde, Benjamin (*d* 1745), 93, 94
Lyons, James, 414 *n*

McCLELLAN, Gen. George Brinton, 290
McClure, Rev. David (*d* 1820), quoted, on battle of Lexington, 271 *n*
McCutcheon, Roger Philip, his paper on The Observator and Increase Mather, 313–317
McDougall, William, 308
McDowell, Jonathan, 414 *n*
M'Ewer, John, document signed by, 393
Macey, George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
McGilchrist, Rev. William (*d* 1780), 435
Mackenzie, Lt. Frederick, 260 *n*, 278; quoted, on battle of Lexington, 258 *n*, 265, 266, 268, 270, 273, 283
Madan, Falconer, letter of, 251
Magee, Capt. James, 385
Magna Charta, 16
Mahan, Capt. Alfred Thayer, cited, on privateering, 323
Maine, as a Massachusetts frontier, A. Johnson speaks on, 313
Manly, Capt. John (*d* 1793), 330, 331, 339, 342, 390, 431; sketch of, 327, 327 *n*; commands fleets of privateers, 339; ships under direct command of, 430
Marblehead, privateering losses of, during the Revolution, 423
—— St. Michael's Church, 27
Marcy, William, killed in battle of Lexington, 279, 282, 283, 289, 290
Marque and reprisal, letters of, authorized by Massachusetts General Court, 1775, 334; regulations governing use of, 334–335, 353; wages on ships carrying these letters, 353 *n*; commerce carried on by, 366; restrictions on manning of, 374
Marrett, Rev. John (*d* 1813), 287 *n*; quoted, on deaths of J. Winship and J. Wyman, 287, 288

Marsh, David, 247
—— John, prize master, 414 *n*
—— Capt. John, 346, 410, 413, 417, 430, 431
Marshall, Rev. Stephen (*d* 1655), 186
Marshfield, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 150
Martimercurian Company (or Band). *See under* Harvard College
Martin, Capt. Arnold, 369
Martindale, Capt. 326
Martyn, Rev. John (*d* 1767), 147; gift of, to Harvard College Library, 148
Marvell, Edward, 415
Marx, Alexander, letter of, regarding Monis family, cited, 147
Mary I, Queen of England, C. Mather on, 185
Massachusetts, claims of, to lands in Penobscot region, 209, 217, 220 *n*, 224; statement concerning these claims, by Gov. Bernard, 217–220; territory conquered by, between Penobscot and St. Croix rivers, 1690, 218; union of Plymouth Colony and, 1691, 218; Revolutionary fleet of, 331; commerce of, during Revolution, 362–366, 375, 382
—— Bay Company, bequest of H. E. Ware, for memorial to, 81, 112
—— Board of War, quoted, on commerce carried on by the state during Revolution, 365
—— Colony Charter, bequest of H. E. Ware, for memorial of transfer of, to New England, 81, 112
—— Committee of Public Safety, 329
—— Council, size of, 1764, 233; Earl of Stirling's claim considered by, 240, 241; action of, 1776, regarding troops at Beverly, 333; order of, 1781, regarding treatment of war prisoners, 395; grants reimbursement to T. Flint and others for bringing home war prisoners, 399
—— General Court, 233; makes land grants before 1740, including territory now in Vermont and New Hampshire, 35–59; northern boundary fixed, March, 1740, 35; surveyed, 1741, 35, 37; southern boundary located by N. Woodward and S. Saffery, 1642, 41; rejected by Connecticut, 42; resurvey and settlement made by joint commission, 1713–1716, 42–46; vote of, concerning Westminster and Rockingham, Vt., 52; votes of, concerning J. H. Lydius, 57; requested by Harvard College, to provide new building, 1717, 82, 88–90; joint committee from the College and Court considers plans, 83, 90–96; action delayed, 84, 96; new committee chooses site and prosecutes work, 84–87, 96–106; building delivered to the College and named Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 87, 108; committee appointed to inspect building and audit accounts, 107; appoints committees to consider boundary between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, 199, 237; grants island of Mount Desert to Gov. Bernard, 203–204; makes township grants in Penobscot region, 202, 204, 210, 219, 220–231, 232, 242; restores half of Mount Desert to Gov. Bernard's son, 246; recommendations of, for defence of Beverly harbor, 1776, 332; passes act, 1775, authorizing letters of marque and reprisal, 334; gives permission for exporting sugar, 1777, 337; appoints naval officer for each port, 1776, 341; resolve of, 1780, concerning robbery by privateers above high water mark, 361 *n*; act of, 1777, to regulate prices, 371; report of committee appointed by, on manning of letter of marque vessels, 374; petitioned, 1781, to take visiting Nova Scotians as prisoners of war, 397; orders release of D. Corning, Nova Scotian trader, 399
—— Governor, support of, 213
—— House of Representatives, charges of, against Gov. Bernard, 244; action of, 1776, regarding defence of Beverly, 333
—— Navy Board, 395; quoted, on use of prisoners in manning ships, 1778, 395
—— Provincial Congress, resolve of, 1776, for defence of sea coast, 332
Massachusetts Historical Society, note on its check-list of broadsides, 1639–1800, 292
Masson, Sergt. ——, 440
Mather, Rev. Cotton, son of Rev. Increase, 65, 182, 295; B. Wendell

MATHER (*continued*)
on his style, 184; as a mirror of his times, 184; his Biblia Americana, 185; quoted, on followers of Laud, 186; compared to Peter Lombard, 186; quoted on Rev. J. Norton, 186; cited, on Chaucer, 187; quoted, on A. Bradstreet, 187; compared with Virgil, 188–189; uses term God's Acre, 294; printing and publishing of his Magnalia, 294 *n*; quoted, on Comenius, 295 *n*
—— Rev. Increase, letter of, forged, 313; commented on, by R. L'Estrange in his Observator, 313–317
MATTHEWS, ALBERT, A.B., v, 35, 95 *n*, 175, 176 *n*, 249 *n*, 256, 311, 313; his Note on G. Rawlins and D. Bradstreet, 2–8; his paper, A Ghost Benefactor of Harvard College, 61–63; his Note on Robert Elliston, 71–80; his Writings of George Ware Briggs, 120–146; his note on George S. Ball, 148; speaks of the earliest known allusion to a college society at Harvard, 156–159; of an undergraduate trick of 1770, 159; of the Martimercurian Company, 161; acknowledgments to, 197 *n*, 313 *n*; makes remarks on early seals of Harvard College, 256; speaks on the term God's Acre, 293–296; reports G. Ball as a fellow-commoner at Harvard College, 442
—— James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Mauduit, Jasper, 223; letter of T. Cushing to, 1762, 210; letter to, of committee on eastern grants and boundaries, 237
Mayflower Compact, 19; influence of, on American statesmanship, 21
Mayhew, Elizabeth (Clarke), wife of Rev. Jonathan, 2
—— Rev. Jonathan (*d* 1765), 312; C. N. Greenough reads paper on relations of, with T. Hollis, 1
—— Paine, Chilmark and Tisbury, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 108
Mayo, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— LAWRENCE SHAW, A.M., reads paper on the Wentworths in New Hampshire and their efforts to promote Episcopalianism, 31–33
Mecom, Benjamin, 53 *n*
Mecomb, James, 400
Menotomy, Cooper Tavern, events at, during battle of Lexington, 286–289
Mercurius Aulicus, 314
Mercurius Britanicus, 314, 316
Merrick, William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
MERRITT, EDWARD PERCIVAL, A.B., 27 *n*; gives later history of Rev. R. Ratcliffe, 34; speaks on Rev. R. B. Nickolls, once curate at King's Chapel, 64, 435; reads sketch of Rev. S. C. Lewis, of Christ Church, 120; acknowledgments to, 247 *n*, 249 *n*; on Nominating Committee, 257; reads communication on second French newspaper in Boston, 296–299; remarks in communicating letter of R. B. Nickolls, 435
Merry Mount, and the Pilgrims, 15; contrast of, to general New England life, 187
Metcalfe, John, 178
Mexican War, G. W. Briggs quoted on, 131
Middleborough, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 152
Miles, Rev. Henry Adolphus (*d* 1895), 143
Mill Prison, Plymouth, Eng. *See under* Plymouth
Miller, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Lt. Richard, 201
Minot, James, ship's surgeon, 430
—— Samuel, silversmith, 174
Minute Man, statue, at Lexington, 259
Mitchell, Experience, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Francis N., 177
—— John, surveyor, 199
—— Capt. John, 416
Monis, Judah (*d* 1764), remarks of G. F. Moore on, 146; chair which belonged to, 148
—— family, of Venice, 147
Montgomery, Cæsar, 417
—— Cato, 417
Monts, Pierre du Guast de, 199, 217; lieutenant-general of Acadia, 216
Moore, Clifford Herschel, 119
—— Rev. GEORGE FOOT, LL.D., elected Vice-President, 117, 307; speaks on Judah Monis, 146–147

Moore (*continued*)
—— Thomas, lithographer, 179
Morgan, Anna. *See* Thorndike
—— John Pierpont, LL.D., elected Corresponding Member, 318
—— William, 402, 408, 418, 430
Morison, Rev. John Hopkins (*d* 1896), 123 *n*, 134
—— Samuel Eliot, Ph.D., 318
Morrell, Rev. William, visits Massachusetts, 191; extracts from his poem on it, 192–195
Morrill, Rev. Isaac (*d* 1793), quoted, on battle of Lexington, 263, 263 *n*
Morris, Charles, surveyor-general of Nova Scotia, 199
—— Robert (*d* 1806), 331
Morse, Edmund, 247
—— Edward Sylvester, 119
Morton, Rev. Charles (*d* 1698), 30
—— Ephraim, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Nathaniel (*d* 1685), 149; freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152; cited, on W. Paddy, 255
—— Thomas (*d* 1646), of Merry Mount, relations of, with Plymouth Colony, 15
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Moses, Benjamin, 412, 414; offices held by, 431
—— William, 401
Mount Desert, island, Me., grant of, to Gov. Bernard, 197–254; his efforts for development of, 201 *n*, 211, 213, 215, 234, 234 *n*, 235; confiscation of, during the Revolution, and later disposition of, 246
Mowlson, Lady Ann (Radcliffe), 63
Moylan, Col. Stephen, 331; quoted, on matters connected with Revolutionary privateering, 324, 325, 326, 329, 330
Mudge, Isadore Gilbert, acknowledgment to, 72 *n*
Mugford, Richard, document signed by, 393
Mull, James, 417
Mulliken, Lydia, 265
Munroe, William, deposition of, concerning events at his tavern, April 19, 1775, 279–280, 281
Murdock, Harold, A.M., v; his paper, Earl Percy's Retreat to Boston on the Nineteenth of April, 1775, 257–292
Murray, James, 405
Muzzey, Rev. Abel, cited, on battle of Lexington, 263
Myles, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Rev. Samuel (*d* 1728), 5

Nancrede, Joseph, publishes Courier de Boston, 296 *n*
Nash, Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Neal, Capt. John, 413
Nelson, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
New Brunswick, boundary of Massachusetts and, 248
Newcastle, Duke of. *See* Pelham-Holles, Thomas
Newell, Samuel, and others, land grant to 1735, 49
New Hampshire, early religious history of, 31–33; claims territory now Vermont, 35; surveys line of Massachusetts boundary, 1741, 35, 37; boundary disputes between New York and, 55
New Ireland, proposed province of, 247–248
Newman, Noah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Capt. Robert, 354, 405, 431
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
New Providence, Bahama Islands, 324
News-books, of the seventeenth century, 314–317
New Taunton, Vt., later Westminster, 50, 52
New York, claims territory now Vermont, 35; brings suit against J. H. Lydius, 54–57; boundary disputes between New Hampshire and, 55; grant of, 1663–4, 208
New York City, prison ships at, during Revolution, 388
—— Trinity Church, R. Elliston's connection with, and gifts to, 73, 77
Nicholls, Richard, 76
Nichols, ——, 440

Nichols (*continued*)
—— Charles Lemuel, M.D., Litt.D., on Nominating Committee, 60; makes remarks on Bible used at the inaugurations of Washington and Harding, 255; elected member of Council, 307
—— Ebenezer, petition of, in behalf of Susannah Flint, 439
Nickolls, Rev. Robert Boucher, sketch of, by E. P. Merritt, 64, 435; letter of, soliciting provision in the Church, 436–438
Nicoll, Dr. John (*d* 1743), 79 *n*
Niles, Capt. Benjamin, 344, 417, 431
Nixon, Capt. ——, 350
Norris, Jonathan, 384
North, Roger (*d* 1734), 80
Northfield, original grant of, 1672, includes territory now in Vermont and New Hampshire, 36–38
Norton, Charles Eliot, 186, 188
—— Rev. John (*d* 1663), 9; compared to St. Thomas Aquinas, 186
—— John (*d* 1716), nephew of Rev. John (*d* 1663), 188
Nourse, Hannah Barnard. *See* Ball
—— Stephen, his wharf, Beverly, 319
Nova Scotia, boundary of Massachusetts and, 199, 204, 205, 206, 217, 236; Gov. Bernard's paper on the origin of the name, and confusion of it with Acadia, 216; early relations of, with Massachusetts, 237; trade of Massachusetts with, during Revolution, 340, 397–399. *See also* Acadia
Nowell, Samuel (*d* 1688), 62

Oakes, Rev. Urian, President of Harvard College, 65, 294
Obear, P., & Co., Beverly ship-owners, 1772, 319
Ober, Andrew, 403, 416
—— Capt. Benjamin (*d* 1780), 320, 378, 378 *n*, 411, 428; commands held by, 431
—— Elizabeth Hill, v
—— Capt. Ezra (*d* 1794), 346, 371, 382, 410, 418, 424, 428; commands held by, 431
—— Capt. Israel, 353, 409, 431
—— Capt. Israel F., 431
—— James, 431
—— John, 420, 431
—— Joseph, 408
Ober (*continued*)
—— Josiah, 409
—— Lydia (Chapman), wife of Richard, 377 *n*, 382 *n*
—— Nathaniel, 409, 431
—— Nicholas, 416, 431
—— Richard, 377 *n*
—— Capt. Richard (*d* 1821), son of Richard, 374, 377, 377 *n*, 402, 403, 410, 415, 418, 424, 427, 434; commands held by, 431
—— Richard, mariner, 403, 415, 416
—— Thomas, 403, 416
—— William, 415, 431
—— Zebulon, 402, 408, 409
Observator, The, its style of book-reviewing, 313–317
Occopy, Indian word for rum, 202 *n*
Odell, George, 408
Officia Sacrata, compiled by R. Elliston, 71
Offley, Amelia, daughter of Stephen. *See* Bernard
—— Stephen, 198
Ogden, Abraham, 239
—— Isaac, 239
Ogleeby (Ogliby, Oglisby), Capt. Nicholas, 340, 419, 420, 433; commands held by, 431
Oliver, Henry, 407
—— Jacob, seaman, 407
—— Capt. Jacob, 345, 394 *n*, 408, 410, 413, 429, 433, 434; commands held by, 432
—— Thomas (*d* 1715), 48
—— Lt.-Gov. Thomas (*d* 1815), 348
Order of the Knights of the Square Table. *See under* Harvard College
Oregon dispute, 130
O'Reilly, John Boyle, quoted, on the Pilgrims, 14
Orleans, Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of, 297
Orne, Caroline Frances, 143
—— Josiah, 412, 420
—— William, 406, 413
Orwell, Lord. *See* Vernon
Osgood, Abigail, wife of Isaac, 164
—— Isaac, 164
—— Joshua Bailey (*d* 1791), son of Isaac, officer of Martimercurian Company, 161, 162; sketch of, 164
—— Peter, Salem, on committee for choosing site for Massachusetts Hall, 1718, 96

Osgood (*continued*)
—— Rev. Samuel (*d* 1880), 142
Otis, James (*d* 1783), and Gov. Bernard, 203
—— Nathaniel, 414 *n*

Packer, Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Paddy, Alice (Freeman), first wife of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— Benjamin, son of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— Elizabeth, daughter of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— Hannah, daughter of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— John, son of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— Joseph, son of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— Mary (Greenough) Payton, second wife of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— Mercy, daughter of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— Nathaniel, son of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— Rebecca, daughter of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— Samuel, son of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— Thomas, son of William (*d* 1658), 255
—— William (*d* 1658), book believed to have belonged to, exhibited, 254; sketch of, 254–255, 255 *n*
—— William, son of William (*d* 1658), 254, 255
Page, Samuel, 411
Paige, Edward, 175, 175 *n*; gift of, to Harvard College, 168, 169
Paine, Nathaniel, Councillor, 94
—— Nathaniel, Rehoboth, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Stephen, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Steven, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Palfrey, Warwick, appointed naval officer of Salem and Beverly, 1776, 341
Palmer, Jonas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152, 152 *n*
Paper money during Revolution, 376
Parish. *See also* Parris
—— Thomas, 168 *n*
—— Thomas (H. C. 1659), son of Thomas, 168 *n*
Park, Rev. Charles Edwards, D.D., presents Annual Reports of Council, 111, 300; elected Corresponding Secretary, 117, 307
Parker, James, New York printer, note on work of, 79–80, 80 *n*
—— James, gunner, 411
—— Capt. John (*d* 1775), 259, 282, 282 *n*
—— Peter, 247
—— Rev. Stephen (H. C. 1727), 310, 312
—— Capt. Timothy, 357, 417, 432
Parkman, Daniel (*d* 1841), 176, 177, 177 *n*
Parris. *See also* Parish
—— Rev. Samuel (*d* 1720), 168 *n*; gift of, to Harvard College, 168
Parsons, Benjamin, 416
—— Eben, 201 *n*
—— Ebenezer, 377, 415
—— Jonathan, 400
—— Capt. Lawrence, 257, 262 *n*
—— Rev. Moses (*d* 1783), 164
—— Susanna, wife of Rev. Moses, 164
—— Theodore (*d* 1779), son of Rev. Moses, officer of Martimercurian Company, 161, 162; sketch of, 164
—— Thomas, 432
Partridge, George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Oliver, a proprietor of Bernardston, 38
Patten, Capt. John, 357, 377, 404, 405; commands held by, 432
Patterson, Capt. William, 429
Pay of naval officers in the Revolution, 327, 327 *n*
Payne, Daniel, 407
—— (Pain), Edward, 432
—— John, Eastham, 104
Payton, Bezaleel, 255
—— Mary, daughter of Bezaleel, 255
—— Mary (Greenough), wife of Bezaleel. *See* Paddy
—— Sarah, daughter of Bezaleel. *See* Leverett
Peabody, Andrew, 401, 402, 408
—— Rev. Ephraim (*d* 1856), 134

Peabody (*continued*)
—— John Endicott, A.B., death, xvii; elected Resident Member, 180; accepts, 197; tribute to, 303
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Pearce, James, 409
Pearson, H., 408
Peck, Israel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Nathaniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Nicholas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Peele, Jonathan, 347
Peirce, Benjamin (*d* 1831), 175; quoted, on gifts of H. Ashurst and Trusedale to Harvard College, 61
Peirey, Anthony, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Peirse, Michael, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154, 154 *n*
Pelham, Edward (*d* 1730), 174; gift of, to Harvard College, 167, 167 *n*
Pelham, 43
Pelham-Holles, Thomas, first Duke of Newcastle, 198 *n*
Pemberton, Rev. Ebenezer (*d* 1777), 79 *n*
Pencen, Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Pendleton, William S., lithographer, 179
Penobscot expedition, 347, 348, 352, 352 *n*, 356 *n*, 375, 376, 406, 407
Pepperrell, William, Kittery, Me., on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 108
Percy, Sir Hugh, Earl Percy, second Duke of Northumberland, 435, 436; paper on his retreat from Lexington, 1775, by H. Murdock, 257–292; memorials of, in Lexington, 259; his portrait, 259
Perkins, Joseph, 402, 408
Pérouse. *See* La Pérouse
Perram, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Perrin, Abraham, propounded freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Perry, Rev. William Stevens, Bishop of Iowa, correspondence of, with J. L. Sibley, concerning G. Rawlins, 5 *n*
Peters, John, 406
Peterson, Rev. Abbot, 308
Petty, Sir William, first Marquis of Lansdowne and second Earl of Shelburne, 248
Phearson, Capt. ——, 391
Philadicaios, signature of pamphlet, Some Reflections, etc., 1764, 52
Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 197
Philip's War, King, 36
Phillips, James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155, 155 *n*
—— Samuel, manufactures powder for Revolutionary uses, 336
—— Sarah. *See* White
Phipps, Rev. Joseph Hobson (*d* 1871), 135
—— Gov. Sir William, 206, 210
Pickering, Timothy (*d* 1829), 341, 355, 358, 365; judge of Court of Admiralty, 1775, 328, 330 *n*
Picket (Pickett), John, 345, 404, 407
Pickman, Benjamin, 370
—— William, 406
Pier, Arthur Stanwood, 119
Pierpont, Ebenezer (*d* 1754), 98
—— Rev. John (*d* 1866), his Forefathers' Day ode, 10
Pigot, Sir Robert (*d* 1796), 269
Pilgrim Tercentenary, reference to, 111; letters of Viscount Bryce concerning, 61, 118, 118 *n*
Pilgrims, paper on the spirit of, with reference to present-day conditions, by W. Warren, 10–23; tributes to, by Viscount Bryce, 61, 118
Pitcairn, Maj. John, in the battle of Lexington, 258, 260 *n*, 263, 281, 281 *n*
Pitman, Joseph, 415
Pitts, Peter, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Plaisted, Col. Ichabod, 439
Plymouth, settlement of the Pilgrims in, 10–20; message of, to Plymouth, Eng., 1846, 130; Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 152–153
Plymouth, Eng., appeal of, to citizens of the United States, 1846, in interest of peace, 130
—— Mill Prison, 402, 403, 418; American war prisoners confined in, 337, 340, 380, 390, 392 *n*; conditions in, 388, 389
Plymouth Colony, Quakers in, 14; list

Plymouth Colony (*continued*)
of freemen in, 1675, 149–155; paper on, by E. K. Rand, 182–195; union of, with Massachusetts, 218
Plymouth Company, grant to, 1620, 216
Poggio (Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini), 187
Poland, William, 415
Pomeroy, Ebenezer, 44
Poole, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Pope, Jerusha. *See* Flint
Porcellian Club. *See under* Harvard College
Port Royal, Nova Scotia, capture of, 1690, 210
Porter, Benjamin, 418
—— Rev. Charles Summerfield (*d* 1870), 131, 133
—— Rev. Edward Griffin (*d* 1900), 268 *n*
—— Capt. John, 373, 374, 409; commands held by, 432
—— Samuel, Hadley, on committee for choosing site for Massachusetts Hall, 1718, 96
—— William, 419
Portsmouth, N. H., Episcopal Church in, 31
Potash, manufacture of, on Mount Desert proposed by Gov. Bernard, 211
Potter, Abijah, 432
—— Alfred Claghorn, A.B., exhibits book-plates of three Harvard Clubs, 176, 177
—— Capt. Amos, 430; commands held by, 432
Pousland, Thomas, 408
Powder, scarcity of, in early days of the Revolution, 336; price fixed by General Court, 337
Pownall, John, 228, 232, 436; letters of Gov. Bernard to, 210–212, 224–225, 232
—— Gov. Thomas, 229, 248, 249; builds fort on the Penobscot, 1759, 219
Pratt, Benajah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Capt. Joseph, 347, 406
Preble, Gen. Jedediah, sells land to Gov. Bernard and T. Goldthwait, 199
Prentice, Rev. Thomas (H. C. 1726), 310, 312
Presson, Benjamin, 418
Preston, Rev. John (*d* 1628), 68
Price, Ann (Wood), wife of Theodore. *See* Bradstreet
—— Theodore, 6
Prices, during the Revolution, 355, 371; convention at Concord to consider, 375–377
Prince, Blackenberry, 409
—— Rev. Thomas (*d* 1758), book once belonging to R. Keayne, in library of, 8; Overseer of Harvard College, 95 *n*
—— Job, ship-owner, 338, 405, 406, 408, 415, 417
—— Moses, 408
Prison ships, English, at New York during Revolution, 388–395; books on, list of, 391 *n*–392 *n*
Prisoners of war, during Revolution, treatment of, by Americans, 327, 395–396; by British, 387–395; bounties for and exchanges of, 393–394, 398; enlistment and impressment of, in enemy's service, 394–395; aid to, by Nova Scotian traders, 396–399; lists of Beverly prisoners, 402, 403, 404
Privateering, as a war measure, 323; customs of, 335; chief industry of New England seaport towns during the Revolution, 341; division of prize money earned in, 353; negotiation of shares, 354, 421; gains and losses of, 424
Privateers, Beverly, in the Revolutionary War, paper by O. T. Howe, 318–435; character and purpose of, 334–335; methods of action, 339; alphabetical list of, 405–421
Prize money, earned in privateering, division of, 327, 328, 335, 353
Prizes, in war, disposal of, 328, 328 *n*
Proctor, John, 416, 432
Putnam, ——, 440
—— Rev. Alfred Porter (*d* 1906), ordination of, 135
—— Bartholomew, Salem ship-owner, 336, 345, 410, 411, 414
Putney, Vt., 45; granted to Connecticut, 1715, 44
Pynchon, Joseph (H. C. 1726), 310, 312

QUAKERS, in Plymouth Colony, 14
Quatermass, Capt. Richard, 371, 411, 418; commands held by, 432
Quebec, boundary of Massachusetts and, 236
Quincy, Edmund (H. C. 1722), 86 *n*, 87 *n*
—— Josiah, President of Harvard College, quoted, on gift of Trusedale to Harvard College, 61

RADCLIFFE, Ann. *See* Mowlson
Raimond. *See* Raymond
Raisings, use of liquor at, 195; other customs connected with, 196
RAND, EDWARD KENNARD, Ph.D., his paper, Plymouth Plantation and the Golden Age, 182–195
Ratcliff, Alice, wife of John, Boston stationer, 65
—— Elizabeth, daughter of John, Boston stationer, 65
—— John, Boston stationer, sketch of, 65; list of books consigned to, in or before 1668, by his brother Thomas, 66
—— John, son of John, Boston stationer, 65
—— Thomas, of Wapping, Eng., sends books to Boston, 65–67
—— Thomas, son of John, Boston stationer, 65
Ratcliffe, Rev. John (*d* 1775), son of Rev. Robert, 35
—— Rev. Robert (*d* 1708), E. P. Merritt speaks on, 34
Rations, on privateers, 335
Ravell, Capt. John, 340, 420, 427; commands held by, 432
Rawlin, Rev. Richard (*d* 1757), confusion of, with G. Rawlins, 4
Rawlins, Rev. Gershom (H. C. 1705), son of John, 8 *n*; book-plate of, exhibited, 2; biographical note on, by A. Matthews, 2–8; letter of, 4
—— John, 4
—— Judah, wife of John, 4
Rawson, Sec. Edward, 67
Ray, Ebenezer, 403, 409
—— Capt. Isaac, 424
—— Joseph, 403, 416
—— Zebulan, Beverly ship-owner, 320
Raymond, John, killed in battle of Lexington, 279, 280, 281, 290; member of Parker's company, 282, 282 *n*
—— Robert, 402, 408
—— S., Beverly ship-owner, 1772, 320
Rea, John, 403, 416
Read, Daniel, propounded freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— John, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Read, Duncan, & Co., 55
Reed, Gen. Joseph (*d* 1789), 325, 326
Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 150
Reisner, George Andrew, 308
Remington, Jonathan (*d* 1745), on committee for building Massachusetts Hall, 84, 96, 97
Remond, Robert, 412
Renaissance, not repeated in New England experience, 187
Revere, Paul (*d* 1818), 269
Revolutionary War, Beverly Privateers in, paper on, by O. T. Howe, 318–435; Washington's first attention to naval warfare, 324; early action by several colonies in arming vessels, 324; letters of marque and reprisal granted, 334; conditions of commerce, 362–367, 375; treatment of prisoners, 387–400
Rhode Island, arms vessels in the Revolution, 324
Rice, Rev. Caleb (*d* 1759), 164
—— Nathan (*d* 1834), son of Rev. Caleb, officer of Martimercurian Company, 162; sketch of, 164
—— Priscilla, wife of Rev. Caleb, 164
Richards, John (*d* 1694), 62
Richardson, Moses, killed in battle of Lexington, 283
—— Capt. Robert, 345, 419, 425, 432, 435
Richerson, James, 418
—— Philip, 408, 432
Richmond, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Rickard, Gyles, Sr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Gyles, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153

Rider. *See* Ryder
Ring, Andrew, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Ripley, William Putnam (*d* 1842), 127
Ritchie, Capt. ——, 329
Ritchmond, Dr. John, 415
Robbins, Rev. Chandler (*d* 1882), 129
Roberts, Peter, land grant to, 1765, 45
—— William, 408
Robie, Thomas (*d* 1729), 310; title and dedication of sermon by, 156–158; sketch of, 158
Robinson, Frances. *See* Gould
—— Fred Norris, Ph.D., 1, 10, 31, 60, 111, 120, 156, 180, 197, 257, 300, 309, 318; elected President, 117, 307.
—— Increase, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
—— Isaac, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Rev. John (*d* 1625), 190; advice of, to the Pilgrims, 17, 18, 20, 186; autographs of, 64
—— John (*d* 1723), Bishop of London, 4 *n*, 6; letter of G. Rawlins to, 4
—— Capt. Joseph, 345, 346, 350, 351, 352, 352 *n*, 356, 368, 410, 414, 414 *n*, 421, 424, 425, 428, 433; commands held by, 433
Rock, Joseph, 178 *n*
—— Mary (Wilson) Danforth, wife of Joseph, 178, 178 *n*
Rockingham, Marquis of. *See* Watson-Wentworth, Charles
Rockingham, Vt., early history of, 51, 52
Rodney, Admiral Sir George Brydges, first Baron Rodney, 358, 358 *n*
Roes, Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Rogers, Ann, wife of Jacob, 269
—— Eben, 406
—— Rev. Ezekiel (*d* 1661), bequeaths land to Harvard College, 177 *n*
—— Jacob, 269, 269 *n*, 283
—— John, President of Harvard College, 294; death of, 295, 295 *n*
—— John, Sr., Duxbury, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— John, Jr., Duxbury, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— John, Eastham, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— John, Marshfield, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Rogers (*continued*)
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Rolfe, Sarah (Walker). *See* Thompson
Rollins, John Rodman, 8 *n*; quoted, on G. Rawlins, 3
Romaine, Benjamin, 392 *n*
Roman Catholics, in Plymouth Colony, 15
Ropes, Capt. David, 383, 385; death of, 386
Roundy, Benjamin, 417
—— Stephen, 403
Rouse (Rowse), John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— William, Charlestown, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107
Rousselet, Abbé Louis de, and the Courier Politique de l'Univers, 298; sketch of, 298–299
Rovigo, Abraham, 147
Rovigo, Italy, 147 *n*
Rowland, Capt. Edward, 337, 418
Rowlandson, Rev. Joseph (*d* 1678), 65
Rowley, land in, owned by Harvard College, 177, 177 *n*
Rugg, Hon. Arthur Prentice, LL.D., elected Vice-President, 117, 307
Rum, Indian word for, 202 *n*
Rumford. *See* Thompson, Benjamin
Russell, Catherine Elliott, 129
—— George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— J., Plymouth, 130
—— Jason, killed in battle of Lexington, 289, 290
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Rust, Enoch, 325
—— Henry, 356, 412
Ryan, William, 419, 420, 433
Ryder, Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149, 149 *n*
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Ryswick, Treaty of, as affecting land claims in America, 218, 219, 224, 231, 236

Saberry, Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153

Sabin, Jeremiah, propounded freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Sabine, Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Saffery, Solomon, with N. Woodward, employed to locate southern boundary of Massachusetts, 1642, 41
Safford, John, Beverly, his wharf, 319
Sagadehock, territory of, 217, 218, 232, 233, 236, 244, 244 *n*, 245
St. Barbe, Capt. ——, 367
St. Croix River, 199, 226, 229
St. Eustatius, island of, during the Revolution, 358 *n*
St. Firmin, Jean François Greste, petition of, concerning the Mars, 413
Salem, naval officer appointed for, 1776, 341
Salem Union League, organization of, 139, 139 *n*, 140
Sales, Francis (*d* 1854), 170 *n*
Salt works in Dennis, 371 *n*
Saltonstall, Nathaniel (H. C. 1659), 175
—— Richard Middlecott, A.B., death, xvii
Sampson, Abraham, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Henry, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153, 153 *n*
Samson, Capt. ——, 424
Sandwich, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 154
Sandys, Samuel, first Baron Sandys of Ombersley, 224
Sanger, Eleanor Whitney (Davis), v
Sargent, John Singer, LL.D., elected Honorary Member, 318
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Savage, Habijah, Boston, on committee to consider providing new building for Harvard College, 1717, 90, 91, 92, 93
—— John, 403, 416
Sawtell, Josiah, land grant to, 1738, 40–41
Sawtell's Grant, Vt., 38
Sawtelle, William Otis, his paper on Sir Francis Bernard and his Grant of Mount Desert, 197–254
Schuyler, Philip (*d* 1804), 180
—— family, various members of, and others, petition for land grant on Connecticut River, 1708, 46, 47; Indians deed land to, 48
Scituate, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 154
Scrooby, Eng., Bradford's account of the Separatist church at, 16
Scudder, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Sears, Richard, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Sedgwick, William Thompson, 119
Selman (Sellman), Capt. J., 325, 327, 410, 433
Sephardi, meaning of, 147 *n*
Serjeant. *See* Sargent
Sewall, Eliza. *See* Tuck
—— Judge Samuel, 4, 65, 68, 86 *n*; quoted, on Rev. D. Bradstreet, 6, 7; books once belonging to, exhibited, 71; criticizes Biblical instruction at Harvard College, 85, 99, 102; on committees connected with the building of Massachusetts Hall, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 100, 103
—— Judge Stephen (*d* 1760), 24; note on, by Rev. S. Bradstreet, 26
Shares in privateers, negotiable, 354, 421
Shaw, James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152, 152 *n*
—— Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Shelburne, Lord. *See* Petty, William
Shelley, Robert, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Shepard, Rev. Thomas (*d* 1677), gift of, to Harvard College, 168, 168 *n*
Sherburne, Andrew, 392 *n*
Shillaber, Robert, 394 *n*
—— William, 421
Ships: Active, 357, 373, 377, 404, 424, 427, 428, 432, 434, summary, 405; Adventure, 354, 405, 429, 431; Alert, 429, 432, 433; Alfred, 337; Allegiance, 383, 386 *n*; Alliance, 389 *n*, 390, 390 *n*; America, 428; Amphitrite, 346, 411; Amsterdam, 385; Anna and Eliza, 349; Anna Maria, 336; Annabella, 327; Anny, 341; Apollo, 401; Assurance, 346, 411; Astrée (Astrea), 383, 384, 386, 386 *n*, 423; Batchelder, 421; Belisarius, 388, 414; Bellona, 431,

Ships (*continued*)
433; Bennington, 434; Betty, 330 *n*, 346, 406, 429; Beverly, 370; Bickford, 347, 406; Black Prince, 347, 348, 353, 425, 433, summary, 406; Black Princess, 403; Blackbird, 402, 428; Blonde, 382, 383, 384, 385, 398, 412; Bon Homme Richard, 390, 390 *n*; Boston, 384; Bowdoin, 432, 433; Brandywine, 350; Brutus, 427; Buccanier, 357, 358, 359, 381, 391, 423 *n*, 427, 428, 429, summary, 406; Buckram, 434; Bunker Hill, 431; Cambria, 130; Carolina, 379, 380; Cato, 372, 375, 406, 427, 428, 434; Centipede, 346, 347, 429, various spellings of name, 347 *n*, summary, 406; Central America, 136; Centurion, 428; Ceres, 427; Chance, 359, 381, 388, 424, 428, summary, 406; Charlestown, 383, 384, 386 *n*; Charming Polly, 368; Chatham, 352, 362, 377, 404, 407, 414; Cicero, 330, 358, 359, 368, 369, 379–381, 382, 391, 424, 429, summary, 407; Commerce, 379, 404, 407, 423, 424, 434; Concord, 330 *n*; Conqueror, 403; Content, 365, 407, 429; Cornwall, 407, 425, 427; Count D'Estaing, 378, 407, 432, 433, 435; Crawford, 357; Cumberland, 327, 430; Daniel, 358, 425; Defence, 327, 348, 353, 356, 356 *n*, 368, 377, 404, 425, 426, 427, 434, summary, 407; Despatch, 331, 429; D'Estaing, 378, 407; Diamond, 403, 418; Diana, 349, 357, 378, 402, 425, 428, 429, summary, 407, 408; Digby, 372; Dolphin, 357, 361, 361 *n*, 408, 429, 430, frequent use of the name, 323; Dolton, 389, 389 *n*; Dove, 340, 341, 408; Dreadnought, 432; Driver, 375, 408, 424, 429; Dunmore, 400; Eagle, 356, 402, 408, 427, 428, 429, 432; English, 402; Enterprise, 358, 413; Essex, 355, 356, 401, 402, 426, 430, summary, 408; Exchange, 428; Experiment, English ship, 356; Experiment, of Beverly, 373, 374, summary, 409, 432; Fair American, 346, 372; Fair Lady, 420; Falcon, 333; Fanny, English ship, 340, 402, 420, 428; Fanny, of Beverly, 377, 404, 430, 431, 433, 435, summary, 409; Favorite, 429; Fish Hawk, 353, 354, 402, 404, 428, 431, summary, 409; Fly, 346, 399, 410, 430,

Ships (*continued*)
431; Fortune, 374, 402, 410, 425, 427, 429, 431, frequent use of the name, 323; Fox, 387, 410, 429, 432; Francesco di Paula, 349, 350; Franklin, 325, 327, 345, 346, 365, 424, 425, 427, 428, 430, 432, 433, 434, summary, 410; Freedom, 331, 378, 400, 424, 428, 429, 431, 432, summary, 411; Friendship, English ship, 401; Friendship, of Beverly, 369, 373, 389, 401, 411, 427, insurance policy on, 370; Gates, 421, 432; Gen. Gates, 336, 404, 420; Gen. Lincoln, 426; Gen. Pickering, 425; Gen. Putnam, 434; Gen. Wayne, 404, 411, 425, 426, 430, 432; George, 327, 382; George Law, 136; Gloucester Packet, 328 *n*; Gold Wire, 349; Good Content, British prison ship, 401; Good Intent, 338; Good Man Richard, 390 *n*; Grand Turk, 433; Greyhound, 390; Hague, 327, 430; Hammond, 394 *n*, 402, 432, 434; Hampden, 344, 397, 401, 424, 425, 434, summary, 411; Hancock, 327, 390, 430, 431; Hannah, 324, 325, 327, 330, 330 *n*, 331, 364; Harlequin, 336, 420; Harriet Selvyl, 368 *n*; Harrison, 326; Hawk (Hawke), 342, 343, 343 *n*, 367, 375, 400, 403, 411, 421, 424, 429, 431; Hector, 367, 373, 412, 424, 426; Hermione (Hermionné), 383, 384, 386, 386 *n*; Hero, 361, 362, 362 *n*; Hiram, 337; Hope, English cruiser, 404; Hope, of Beverly, 360, 361, 412, 427, 429, 435; Hopewell, English ship, 349; Hopewell, of Beverly, 362, 426, 427; Hunter, British hospital ship, 389; Independence, 424, 425; Industry, 330, 337, 401, 424, 427; Intrepid, 411; Isaac, 333; Jack, 383, 384, 385, 386, 386 *n*, 427; James, 254; Jane, 424; Jason, 327, 428, 430; Jersey, British prison-ship, 388, 388 *n*, 389, 391 *n*, 392, 393, deaths on, 389; Jinny, 330 *n*; Junius Brutus, 346, 356, 412, 426, 430; Langdon, 433; Lee, 327, 331, 429; Leopard, 424; Levant, 339; Light Horse, 423 *n*; Little Vincent, 431; Lively, 384, 385, 386, 387, 401, 424, 426, 430, 433; Lord Dartmore, 336; Lord Howe, 352; Lord Sandwich, 350; Lynch, 325; Lyon, 359, 382, 383, 398, 404, 412, 426, 434; Maccaroni, 346; Marquis La Fayette,

Ships (*continued*)
426, 427, 434; Mars, 350, 375, 412, 413, 427, 435; Mary, 350, 351, 368; Mary and James, 338; Massachusetts, 433; Mayflower, 10, 16, 111; Mercury, 368, 379, 380; Milford, 333; Minerva, 428; Modesty, 434; Mohock (Mohawk), 346, 352, 357, 358, 359, 404, 413, 426, 433; Montgomery, 425, 426; Morning Star, 432; Nancy, 330 *n*; Nautilus, 334; Neptune, English brig, 352 *n*, 357; Neptune, of Beverly, 401, 413, 421, 424, 430, 435; Neustra Senora de Merced, 349; New Adventure, 413, 432; New Jersey, British prison ship, 403; North Briton, 329; Observer, 383, 385, 386; Oliver Cromwell, 342, 343, 344, 424, 425, 426, 427, 433, 435, summary, 413–414; Pacific, 404; Pallas, 349; Pandora, 387, 401; Patty, 428, 434; Peggy, 400; Pelican, 403; Penguin, 428; Phoenix, 428; Pilgrim, 330, 345, 346, 349, 349 *n*, 350, 351, 352, 352 *n*, 356, 359, 368, 378, 423, 424, 425, 428, 429, 431, 433, 434, summary, 414, 414 *n*; Pluto, 420, 433; Polly, 330 *n*, 336, 432; Porus, 346, 370, 426; Prince Edward, 360, 361, 372, 412; Princess Royal, 391; Prospect, 432; Protector, 333; Providence, Continental sloop, 358; Providence, English brig, 377, 409; Queen Charlotte, 355, 356, 408; Rainbow, 390; Rambler, 353, 356, 359, 366, 367, 368, 368 *n*, 369, 373, 374, 377, 381, 402, 421, 423, 424, 430, 431, 432, 433, summary, 415; Ranger, 382, 412, 433; Reasonable, 389; Reprisal, 337, 338, 415; Republic, 331, 365, 428; Resolution, 421, 430, 432, 434; Resource, 354, 377, 402, 403, 427, 431, 434, summary, 415; Retaliation, 336, 337, 401, 402, 428, 432, 433, summary, 416; Revenge, 336, 353, 354, 416, 432, 434, 435; Revolution, 358, 359, 381, 391, 416; Rhodes, 421; Rising Empire, 400; Rover, 337, 338, 338 *n*, 425, 428, summary, 416; St. Lucie, 337, 337 *n*; St. Mary's Packet, 430; Salem Packet, 358; Sally, 330 *n*, 336, 366, 367, 369, 369 *n*, 416, 420, 426; Sarah Ann, 338; Saratoga, 336 *n*, 372, 416, 427, 428, 431, 432, 434; Satisfaction, 425, 433; Saucy Jack, 384; Scammell, 361, 384, 385, 386;

Ships (*continued*)
Scorpion, Beverly privateer, 344, 402, 417, 424, 426, 429, 430, 431, 434; Scorpion, English hospital ship, 389; Scourge, 357, 359, 417, 432; Seaford, 411; Sebastian, 373, 404, 417, 423, 424, 427, 428, 430; Serapis, 390; Shaker, 360, 417, 430; Sibyl, 402; Siren, 433; Snake, 368, 368 *n*; Snapper, 368; Somerset, 269; Spanish Packet, 382, 417, 427; Spit Fire, 404, 432; Spring Bird, 432; Starks, 334, 370, 418, 428, 431, 432; Strombol, British hospital ship, 389; Sturdy Beggar, 337, 338, 418, 428, 430; Success, 337, 349, 350, 402, 418, 428, 429, 432, 434; Surprise, 428; Swallow, 361, 418, 423, 435; Swett, 427, 430; Swift, 359, 378, 379, 404, 415, 429, 434, 435, summary, 419; Tartar, 426, 428; Terrible Creature, 344, 345, 419, 425, 426, 432, 435; Thomas, 400, 431; Thompson, 383; Three Brothers, 349; Three Friends, 367; Three Sisters, 343; Tom, 340, 370, 401, 411, 420; Trenton, 430; True American, 341, 342, 419, 426, 434; True Blue, 425, 427, 429; Tryall (Tryal), 366, 396, 424, 435; Two Friends, 359, 419; Tyger, 426; Tyrannicide, 331, 425, 426, 428, 430, 431, 434; Union, 366, 367, 373, 412, 419, 425, 426, 429; Unity, 324, 341; Valenciano, 350; Valiant, 419, 425, 427, 430; Vengeance, 425; Vernon, 383; Viper, 378, 427; Volant, 424; Vulture, 383, 386 *n*; Warren, 327, 339, 340, 370, 402, 427, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, summary, 419; Washington, 326, 338, 338 *n*, 401, 430, 431, 433, 434, privateering contract of, 339, summary, 420; Wilkes, 361; Yankee Hero, 400

Shirley, Gov. William, 199 *n*, 249; lands claimed to have been granted by, to J. H. Lydius, 1744, 53, 56, 59; his preparations for expedition against Crown Point, 438; his recall, 439

Shove, George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154

Shute, Gov. Samuel, 82, 82 *n*, 109; promotes building of Massachusetts Hall, 83, 85, 92, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 106; rebukes Judge Sewall for interrupting committee meeting, 100; treaty of, with Indians, 1717, 218

Sibbs, Rev. Richard (*d* 1635), 68

Sibley, Rev. John Langdon (*d* 1885), 8 *n*; quoted, on G. Rawlins, 3
Sidney, Algernon (*d* 1683), 317; portrait of, exhibited, 2
Silsbee, Nathaniel, 406
Silver, Early, belonging to Harvard College, paper by W. C. Lane, 165–176
Silvester, Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Simmond, Capt. ——, 360, 361
Simmons, Capt. Thomas, 343, 366, 367, 413, 414, 415, 424; commands held by, 433
Simpson, Benjamin, 69
Skeene, Philip, active in settling tract on Wood Creek, N. Y., 54
Skerry, George L., advertisement of, 141
Skiffe, James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Stephen, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Skinner, David, 393
Slavery, G. W. Briggs on, 125, 127; abolition of, in West Indies, 132
Smallcorn, Samuel, 415
Smith, Capt. ——, 403
—— Christopher, document signed by, 393
—— Daniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Edward, 419
—— Capt. Elias (*d* 1817), 338, 339, 346, 347, 358, 378, 378 *n*, 406, 407, 413, 420, 425, 430, 432, 434, 435; commands held by, 433
—— Ezra, 433
—— Francis, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
—— Col. Francis, his detachment in the Battle of Lexington, 258, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 277, 280, 281 *n*, 290
—— George Girdler (*d* 1878), engraver, 177
—— Hannah, wife of John, Ipswich, 164
—— Henry, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— John, Ipswich, 164
—— John, Perth Amboy, N. J., 239
—— Rev. Josiah (H. C. 1725), 310, 312
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Smith (*continued*)
—— Samuel (*d* 1827), son of John, of Ipswich, officer of Martimercurian Company, 161, 162; sketch of, 164
—— Rev. Samuel Abbot (*d* 1865), quoted, on Deacon Joseph Adams, 285 *n*
—— Thomas, 407
—— Rev. William (H. C. 1725), 310, 312
—— Rev. William Burritt (*d* 1856), ordination of, 138
Snow, Anthony, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Charles Armstrong, A.B., death, xvii; reported, 111; tribute to, 113
—— Mark, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Nicholas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Stephen, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and J. Mayhew, 1; land reserved for, in New Hampshire, by Gov. B. Wentworth, 32
Some Reflections on the Disputes between New-York, New-Hampshire, and Col. John Henry Lydius, 1764, authorship of, 52, 52 *n*; variation in copies, 53 *n*
Somers, Ct., and the Massachusetts boundary dispute, 43
Somersby, Henry, Newbury, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107
Somes, Abraham, letter of, relating to his settlement on Mount Desert, 201 *n*
Soule, George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
South Carolina, vote of, to expel S. Hoar, 1844, 128, 128 *n*; in Revolutionary naval warfare, 324
Southworth, Constant, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Edward, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Nathaniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Spalding, Philip Leffingwell, 119
Sparrow, Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Spofford, Dr. ——, 325

Spooner, Ephraim, 411
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Sprague, Benjamin, 402, 408, 409
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153, 153 *n*
—— Joseph, 416
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Stacy, Capt. Samuel, 360, 417
Standish, Alexander, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Josias, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Myles (*d* 1656), 20; forged signature of, exhibited, 63
Standly, Joseph, 414 *n*
—— Capt. Robert, 400
—— Willis, 406
Stanly, Edward, 413
—— Robert, 415, 418
Stebbins Island, Vt., 37
Stedman, Charles (*d* 1812), 260 *n*; quoted, on battle of Lexington, 264
Stephens, Abigail. *See* Davis
—— John, 321
—— John & Thomas, Beverly merchants, 321
—— Thomas, Beverly ship-owner, 319, 322, 400
—— Capt. Thomas, 402, 416, 433
Stephenson (Stevenson), Capt. David, 420, 433
Stevens, Capt. John, 397; commands held by, 433
—— Rev. Joseph (*d* 1721), on committee to prepare address of thanks to General Court for building Massachusetts Hall, 87, 107
—— Phinehas (Phineas) (*d* 1756), 51
—— Thomas, 408, 418
Stevenson, Jonathan, seaman, 410
—— Dr. Jonathan Greely (H. C. 1816), 176 *n*, 177 *n*
Stewert, Joseph, 401; document signed by, 397
Stiles, Dr. Henry Reed, 392 *n*
—— Capt. Richard, 425
Stirling, Earls of. *See* Alexander
Stirling, island of. *See* Long Island
Stoddard, Capt. ——, 361, 384
—— Anthony, buys Connecticut River lands, 1716, 44
Stoddard (*continued*)
—— John, Northampton, on committee to inspect Massachusetts Hall, 1720, 107
Stone, Ebenezer, Newton, 104
—— Edwin Martin, quoted, on the women's raid in Beverly, 1777, 371
—— Robert, 408, 409
—— Samuel, 409, 433
—— Zachariah, 407
Stoughton, Lt.-Gov. William, builds Stoughton College, at Harvard, 82, 89, 171; gives silver bowl, or cup, to the College, 169, 170 *n*, 171
Stoward, Capt. Moses, 351
Street, Rev. George Edward (*d* 1900), cited, 234 *n*
Strout, Jacob, cruelty of, to American prisoners, 388; asks exchange, 393
Studson, Robert, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Sturgis, Edward, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Richard Clipston, A.B., on Nominating Committee, 60
Suffield, Ct., and the Massachusetts boundary dispute, 46
Sugar, capture and export of, during Revolution, 337
Sugden, George, 414, 433
Sullivan, Rev. Thomas Russell (*d* 1862), 132
Sumner, Charles, G. W. Briggs quoted on P. S. Brooks's attack on, 135
Sutton, Ebenezer, 202 *n*
Sutton's Island, Me., 202 *n*
Swain, Benjamin, 408
Swansea, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 152
Swasey (Swazey), Joseph, 357, 407
—— Capt. Nathaniel, 357, 377, 405, 407, 434
Swett, William, 347
Swift, Lindsay, A.B., death, xvii; tribute to, 303
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Symons, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Moses, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154, 154 *n*
Symonson, Moses, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153

TAILER, Lt.-Gov. William, on committees connected with the building of Massachusetts Hall, 88, 89, 90, 94, 100, 103
Tanner, Nicholas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Taunton, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 154
Taylor, Capt. ——, 368 *n*
—— George, his account of life on the prison-ship Jersey, 389
—— John, captain of marines, 408
—— John (*d* 1653), the water-poet, 314
—— William, on Beverly Committee of Correspondence, 322
Temple, ——, 440
—— Sir Thomas (*d* 1674), 217
Tenney, Elizabeth, wife of Nathaniel, 164
—— Nathaniel, 164
—— Dr. Samuel (*d* 1816), son of Nathaniel, officer of the Martimercurian Company, 161, 162; sketch of, 164
Tetard, Frances (Elliston) Dupuy, wife of Rev. John Peter, 78
—— Rev. John Peter (*d* 1787), 78
Thacher, Dr. James (*d* 1844), quoted, on battle of Lexington, 275
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Judah, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Rodulphus, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Thaxter, Samuel, Hingham, on committee for choosing site for Massachusetts Hall, 1718, 96
Thayer, Eben T., 408
—— John Eliot, A.M., on Auditing Committee, 60, 117, 257, 307
—— Nathaniel, 415
—— Zechariah, 69
Thissel, Hezekiah, 402, 408
Thomas, Edmond, 224
—— Isaiah (*d* 1831), cited, on J. Ratcliff, 65; letter of the Abbé Rousselet to, 298 *n*
—— Nathaniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Nathaniel, Plymouth, on committee for choosing site for Massachusetts Hall, 1718, 96
—— Capt. Thomas, 425
Thomas (*continued*)
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151, 151 *n*
—— William, Plymouth, 130 *n*
—— William, seaman, 419, 434
Thompson, Sir Benjamin, Count Rumford, 33
—— Francis, 411
—— Jacob, 403, 415, 416
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Sarah (Walker) Rolfe, wife of Sir Benjamin, 33
—— Thomas, 179
—— William, 418
Thomson, Elihu, 308
Thorn, Nathan, 403, 416
—— Richard, 403, 416
Thornbrough, Capt. Edward, of the English frigate Blonde, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387
Thorndike, Abigail. *See* Woodberry
—— Capt. Andrew, 321 *n*, 372, 403, 404, 415, 424; offices held by, 434
—— Anna (Morgan), wife of Andrew, 321 *n*
—— Ebenezer, 434
—— Henry, ship-owner, of Beverly, 320, 370
—— Isaac, ship-owner, of Beverly, 320
—— Capt. Israel (*d* 1825), son of Andrew, Beverly, 321 *n*, 322; ship-owner and merchant, 319, 320, 321, 347; officer of State navy, 321; commander of privateers, 339, 344, 377, 415, 417, 419, 424, 427, 430, 431, 433, 434
—— Jeremiah, 409
—— John, 390 *n*
—— Larkin (*d* 1786), Beverly, 321, 390 *n*; ship-owner, 322, 347, 348, 354, 378, 405, 406, 408; captain of minutemen, 1775, 347 *n*
—— Nicholas, 322, 403, 415, 416
—— Osmond (Osman), 400, 409, 418
Thorne, Lt. Peregrine Francis, 268 *n*
Throop, William, Bristol, on committee for choosing site for Massachusetts Hall, 1718, 96; on committee to inspect it, 1720, 107
Thwing, Samuel, 420
Tibbets, Capt. ——, 361
Tileston, Thomas, and others, land grant to, 1735, 49

Tilson, Ephraim, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Tilton, Abraham, and others, land grant to, 1735, 49
Tinkham, Ephraim, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Tisdall, James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
—— John, Sr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154, 154 *n*
—— John, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Tittle, Capt. John (*d* 1800), 372, 372 *n*, 379, 416, 419, 424; commands held by, 434
Titus, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Tomlinson, Rev. Russell, 130, 131, 133, 133 *n*
Tompkins, Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Tonge, Capt. Richard Peter, 386 *n*
Torrey, James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Tortola, expedition against, 346
Touche. *See* La Touche
Townsend, Samuel (*d* 1815), Charlestown, 269
Townshend, Charles (*d* 1767), 231
Township grants, by Massachusetts, in the Penobscot region, 202, 204, 210, 219, 232, 233, 241, 242; correspondence of Gov. Bernard and the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations concerning, 220–231
Toy, Nancy (Saunders), wife of Crawford Howell (*d* 1919), 148
Tracy, Capt., 400
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Trask, ——, of Nova Scotia, 354
—— Daniel, 405
—— Isaac, 345
—— Israel, 405
—— Capt. Joseph, 434
—— Nathaniel, 386, 404, 409
—— Capt. Philip, 434
—— Capt. Samuel, 430, 432
Trewant, Morris, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Tropater, John, 408
Trumbull, Jonathan (*d* 1785), Governor of Connecticut, 262 *n*, 278 *n*, 380
Trumbull (*continued*)
—— Jonathan (*d* 1809), Governor of Connecticut, son of Jonathan (*d* 1785) quoted, on cruise of the Cicero, 379, 380
—— Mary, petition of, and others, 206, 207–209
Trusedale, Katharine, wife of Richard (*d c* 1676), 63
—— Mary, widow of Richard (*d* 1671), benefactress of Harvard College, 63
—— Richard (*d* 1671), 63 *n*; sketch of, 62, 62 *n*; erroneously called William, 62
—— Richard (*d c* 1676), son of William, of England, 62 *n*, 63
—— William. *See* Trusedale, Richard (*d* 1671)
—— William, of England, 62 *n*
Tubbs, William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Tuck, Eliza (Sewall), wife of William, 382 *n*
—— Henry, 402, 408
—— John, 402, 408, 418
—— Sewell, 354
—— William, 382 *n*
—— Capt. William (*d* 1784), son of William, 382, 382 *n*, 384, 385, 404, 412, 420,423, 423 *n*, 424; with others, petitions General Court in behalf of Nova Scotian traders, during the Revolution, 398; commands held by, 434
Tucker, Capt. Samuel, 327
Tufts, John, 417
—— Simon (H. C. 1724), 310, 312
Tunis, Rev. John (*d* 1896), installation of, at Cambridge, 124 *n*
Tupper, Thomas, Sr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Thomas, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Turell, Rev. Ebenezer (*d* 1778), quoted, on an early society in Harvard College, 158, 309
Turner, John, Sr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— John, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— John, gunner on the Pilgrim, 414 *n*
—— Capt. John, 345, 410, 424, 425, 434
—— Thomas, Scituate, on committee for choosing site for Massachusetts Hall, 1718, 96

Turner (*continued*)
—— Capt. William (*d* 1676), 38
Turner's Falls, battle at, 1676, 38
Tuttle, Julius Herbert, 64; speaks on book which belonged to R. Keayne, now in Prince Library, 8–9; appointed on Nominating Committee, 60; cited regarding books compiled by R. Elliston, 80; reports for Nominating Committee, 117
Tyler, Harry Walter, 119, 308
Tyng, Edward, 67

Unitarian Book and Pamphlet Society, formation of, 133 *n*
United States, relations of, with Great Britain, 1846, 130; Congress, resolution of, 1775, regarding seized vessels, 328; offers bounties, 1777, for prisoners and captured cannon, 394
—— Senate, relations of, to the President, 180–182
Updike, Daniel Berkeley, quoted, on Rev. D. Bradstreet, 7 *n*; cited, regarding books compiled by R. Elliston, 78, 80
Uromcon, Barret, 58
Usher, Hezekiah (*d* 1697), 66
—— James, Archbishop of Armagh, 186
—— Rev. John (*d* 1775), 5
Utrecht, treaty of, as affecting land claims in America, 216, 217, 218, 224, 236, 238, 248

Vanbruck, Peter, and others, petition for land grant, 1708, 46
Van Rensselaer, Killian, 48
Van Schaick, Anthony, 48
Vassall, John (*d* 1747), 174; gift of, to Harvard College, 169, 170 *n*, 172
—— William (*d* 1800), brother of John (*d* 1747), 174; gift of, to Harvard College, 169, 170 *n*, 172
Vaughan, —— (H. C. 1726), 310, 311, 312
Ven, ——, 175, 175 *n*; gifts of, to Harvard College, 167
Ven, John, 167 *n*
—— Thomas, son of John, 167 *n*
Vergennes, Comte de. *See* Gravier
Vermont, land grants in, by Massachusetts, 35–59; territory of, claimed by surrounding colonies, 35; earliest English settlement in, 37
Vernon, Francis, Viscount Orwell and Earl of Shipbrook of Newry, 231
Vernon, Vt., originally included in Northfield, Mass., 36; later in Hinsdale, N. H., 38; organized as Hinsdale, Vt., 39
Very, Benjamin, 401; document signed by, 397
Vesey, Rev. William (*d* 1746), 5
Vickory, Herbert, 415
—— John, 420, 420 *n*, 434
Vierevant, J. Evers, 80 *n*
Vinall, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Stephen, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Vincent, Henry, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Virgil, C. Mather compared to, 188–189
Vixon, Robert, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Vose, Moses, 414 *n*
—— Solomon (*d* 1809), officer of the Martimercurian Company, 163; sketch of, 163 *n*
—— William, 414 *n*

Wade, Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Wadsworth, Rev. Benjamin, President of Harvard College, on committees connected with the building of Massachusetts Hall, 88, 89, 98, 100, 103, 108; his plan, 83, 85 *n*, 95 *n*; frames Overseers' vote on Biblical instruction in the College, 102; quoted, on Vaughan (H. C. 1726), 311
—— Christopher, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Wages, on privateers and ships carrying letters of marque, 335, 353, 353 *n*; of ordinary seamen, 1779, 353 *n*
Wainwright, Francis (*d* 1711), 174; gift of, to Harvard College, 168, 169
Waldo, Samuel, 245 *n*
Walker, James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154

WALKER (*continued*)
—— Philip, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Sarah. *See* Thompson
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Rev. WILLISTON, D.D., death, xvii
Wallace, Nathaniel, 404
Walley, Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
Wallis, Nathaniel, 419
Walton, Ephraim, 415
Walz, John Albrecht, notes on his study of the term God's Acre, 293–295
Ward, Gen. Artemas, quoted, 331
—— Joshua, 356, 412, 418
—— Samuel, 419
Ware, Horace Everett, bequest of, received, 81, 112
—— Rev. John Fothergill Waterhouse (*d* 1881), 133
Ware, granted, 1715, to Connecticut, 43
Warren, Capt. Benjamin, 336, 344, 411, 414, 416; commands held by, 434
—— Rev. John (H. C. 1725), 310, 312
—— Winslow, Plymouth, 131
—— Hon. WINSLOW, LL.B., his paper, The Pilgrim Spirit, 10–23, 111
Washburne, John, Sr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153, 153 *n*
—— John, Jr., freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Washington, George, 256, 325, 326, 329, 331; centennial of inauguration of, as President, 144, 144 *n*; relations of, to the Senate, 180–182; quoted, on Percy's retreat from Lexington, 266; issues first commission to a privateer, 324; quoted, on privateering exploits, 327; directions of, to commanders, 327; quoted, on conditions at beginning of year 1780, 354; action of, concerning American prisoners of war, 387, 393; anecdote relating to, 403
Waterford, N. Y., 439 *n*
Waterman, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153, 153 *n*
Waters, Capt. ——, 327
—— Benjamin, 370, 373; agreement signed by, 374
—— Capt. Daniel, 434
—— John, 354, 403, 416
Watson, George, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Watson-Wentworth, Charles, second Marquis of Rockingham, 31, 51
Weare Papers, 34
Webb, Gen. Daniel, 439
—— Rev. Nathan (H. C. 1725), 310, 312
—— Capt. Stephen, 359, 372, 379, 404, 407, 416; commands held by, 434
Webster, Daniel (*d* 1852), 160; visits Belfast, Me., 34
—— Ezekiel, brother of Daniel, 34
Weekly Memorials for the Ingenious, founded 1682, 314
Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome, 315, 316
Weeks, Clement (*d* 1830), son of William, 159; sketch of, 161, 161 *n*
—— Elinor, wife of William, 161
—— Joseph, 405
—— William, 161
Weiss, Rev. John (*d* 1879), 132
Wellman, Capt. Adam, 338 *n*
Wells, Thomas, a proprietor of Bernardston, 38
Welsh, Mary, wife of Thomas, Charlestown, 164
—— Thomas, Charlestown, 164
—— Dr. Thomas (*d* 1831), son of Thomas, Charlestown, officer of the Martimercurian Company, 161, 162; sketch of, 164
WENDELL, BARRETT, Litt.D., 188; death, xvii; cited, 183, 185; quoted, on C. Mather, 184; tribute to, 302
Wentworth, Benning (*d* 1770), Governor of New Hampshire, son of John (*d* 1730), 31, 51; promotes Episcopalianism, 32; enriches himself in office, 33
—— Charles Watson, second Marquis of Rockingham. *See* Watson-Wentworth, Charles
—— John (*d* 1730), Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, 31
—— Sir John (*d* 1820), Governor of New Hampshire, nephew of Gov. Benning, 31; attempts to convert the Province to Episcopalianism, 32; intimacy of, with Count Rumford, 33; thermometer belonging to, exhibited, 33
Wessagussett, and Plymouth Colony, 15
West, Rev. Charles E., 392 *n*

West (*continued*)
—— Francis, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Capt. Nathaniel, 344, 345, 347, 406, 419; offices held by, 435
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
—— Samuel, seaman, 414, 435
West Indies, abolition of slavery in, 132
Westminster, Vt., grant of, 45, 50; vote of Massachusetts General Court concerning, 52
Weston, Edmond, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 153
Westonians, 187
Wetmore, William (*d* 1830), officer of the Martimercurian Company, 162; sketch of, 162 *n*
Wheelock, Rev. Eleazer (*d* 1779), conflict of, with Gov. J. Wentworth concerning religious control of Dartmouth College, 32
Wheelwright, Edward (*d* 1900), bequest of, 301
—— Capt. John, 338, 415
Whipple, Dana, 415
—— Matthew, Ipswich, on committee for choosing site for Massachusetts Hall, 1718, 96
White, Daniel Appleton (*d* 1861), 123 *n*, 138, 140
—— Emanuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Isaac, 345
—— John (*d* 1721), Treasurer of Harvard College, buys Connecticut River lands, 1716, 45; on committee to prepare address of thanks to General Court for building Massachusetts Hall, 87, 107
—— Jonathan, 415
—— Joseph, Salem ship-owner, 344, 346, 406, 417
—— Capt. Joseph, Salem, 336, 416, 435
—— Peregrine, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Peter, 350
—— Phillips (*d* 1811), son of William, 164, 164 *n*
—— Phillips (*d* 1774), son of Phillips (*d* 1811), officer of the Martimercurian Company, 161, 162; sketch of, 164
—— Resolved, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
White (*continued*)
—— Samuel, 338, 415
—— Sarah (Phillips), wife of William, 164 *n*
—— William, 164 *n*
—— Rev. William Orne (*d* 1911), 23
Whitney, Dr. Elisha (*d* 1807), 372, 372 *n*, 401
Whittaker, Richard, propounded freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Whittemore, Samuel, in battle of Lexington, 287, 288 *n*
Whittingham, William (H. C. 1660), gift of, to Harvard College, 167, 167 *n*, 168
Whittredge (Whitreg), Elijah, 408
—— Joseph, 415
—— Livermore, Beverly, 347; ship-owner, 1772, 320, 322, 322 *n*, 377, 406, 408, 409
—— William, 322 *n*
Wilbur, James Benjamin, 308; elected Corresponding Member, 309; accepts, 318
Wilcox, John A. J., his engraving of a portrait of Gov. Bernard, 249 *n*, 250
Wilder, James H., 143
Wilkins, John, 404, 407
Willard, Sec. Josiah, 39, 41, 199 *n*
Willett, James, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
William and Mary, 204, 205, 206, 209, 211, 214, 217, 218
William's War, King, 36
Williams, Ephraim, 57
—— George, 347, 365, 406; quoted, on scarcity of food and money during the Revolution, 341, 355; on privateering luck, 358, 423; on prices, 371, 376; with others, petitions General Court, 1781, to take visiting Nova Scotians as prisoners of war, 397
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— John, (H. C. 1725), 310, 312
—— Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
—— Nathaniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
—— Richard, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Roger, 68
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155

Williams (*continued*)
—— Theodore, 407, 435
Williamson, Timothy, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Willis, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Nathaniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
—— Samuel (H. C. 1653), 175
—— Rev. Zephaniah (*d* 1847), 131; sketch of, 131 *n*
Wills, William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Wilmot, Montagu, Governor of Nova Scotia, 199, 236, 237
—— Thomas, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151
Wilmouth, John, propounded freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Wilson, Benjamin (*d* 1788), his portrait of Gov. John Wentworth, of New Hampshire, 31
—— Rev. John (*d* 1667), 9, 178 *n*
—— Rev. John (*d* 1691), son of Rev. John (*d* 1667), 9, 178 *n*; document of, 178
—— John (*d* 1728), son of Rev. John (*d* 1691), sketch of, 178, 178 *n*
—— John (*d* 1848), 34
—— Mary, sister of Rev. John (*d* 1691). *See* Rock
—— Woodrow, President, 63; quoted, on President's power of removal of officers, 181
Winchester, N. H., originally included in Northfield, Mass., 36; charter granted to, 1753, 37
Wines, Bridget, 63
Wingate, Rev. Paine (1838), cited, regarding fellow-commoners, 175
Winlowe, Margery, daughter of Richard. *See* Bernard
—— Richard, 198
Winship, George Parker, Litt.D., exhibits book-plates of E. Holyoke and G. Rawlins, 2
—— Jason, killed at Cooper's Tavern, April 19, 1775, 286–289; sketch of, 287 *n*
—— Lydia, sister of Jason. *See* Wyman
Winslow, ——, 441
—— Edward (*d* 1655), Governor of Plymouth Colony, 17, 20, 190; attitude of, in writing of the Pilgrims, 16
Winslow (*continued*)
—— Edward (*d* 1753), silversmith, 174
—— Isaac, Jr., and others, petition of, concerning land lost by adjustment of Massachusetts boundary, 39
—— Jonathan, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
—— Joshua, and others, petition of, concerning land lost by adjustment of Massachusetts boundary, 39
—— Josiah (*d* 1680), Governor of Plymouth Colony, son of Gov. Edward, 152; freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150, 150 *n*
—— Kenelm, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 149
—— Nathaniel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 150
Winsor, Justin, 95 *n*
Winthrop, Adam (*d* 1743), 93, 95
—— John, Jr. (*d* 1676), Governor of Connecticut, his offer of presidency of Harvard College to Comenius, 295 *n*
—— Wait (*d* 1717), son of John (*d* 1676), funeral of, 88
—— William (*d* 1825), 8 *n*
Wire, John, 247
Witherell, Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Witherill, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Theophilus, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— William, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 155
Wolcott, Roger, Governor of Connecticut, 44
Wood, ——, 206
—— Ann. *See* Bradstreet
—— David, 269
—— John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152, 152 *n*
—— Joseph, 333 *n*
—— Joseph (*d* 1808), son of Joseph, 322, 333, 376; sketch of, 333 *n*
—— Joshua (H. C. 1727), 310, 312
—— Joshua, ship-owner, 349 *n*
—— Ruth (Haskell), wife of Joseph, 333 *n*
—— Samuel, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
—— Stephen, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151

Woodberry, Abigail (Thorndike), wife of Jacob, 360 *n*
—— Capt. Asa (*d* 1830), son of Thomas, 379, 379 *n*, 419, 423; commands held by, 435
—— Benjamin, 435; deposition of, 1782, concerning behavior of prisoners, 396
—— Cornelius, 411
—— Curtis, 402, 408
—— Capt. Herbert (*d* 1809), son of Jacob, 360, 360 *n*, 361, 404, 409, 412, 428, 433; commands held by, 435
—— Jacob, 360 *n*, 409
—— Joanna. *See* Herrick
—— Joseph, 402
—— Levi, 402, 408
—— Lucy (Herrick), wife of Thomas, 322 *n*, 379 *n*
—— Luke, 409
—— Nathaniel, 402
—— Thomas, 322 *n*, 379 *n*
—— Thomas (*b* 1743), son of Thomas, Beverly ship-owner, 319, 322, 322 *n*, 377, 415
—— Capt. W., Jr., 435
—— Capt. William, 427, 435
Woodbury, John, A.B., exhibits book by J. Brown, with manuscript annotations by T. Hollis, 312, 313; book given to Harvard College, 313 *n*
Woodby, Andrew, 403, 416
—— Ebenezer, 403, 416
—— Jacob, 403, 416
—— John, 403, 416
—— Thomas, 403, 416
Woodcocke, John, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 151, 151 *n*
Wooden, Jonathan, 415
Woodman, Andrew, 403, 416
—— Nathan, 408
Woodstock, Ct., and the Massachusetts boundary dispute, 43, 46
Woodward, Nathaniel, with S. Saffery, employed to locate southern boundary of Massachusetts, 1642, 41
Woodworth, Joseph, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
—— Walter, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 154
Worsely, Capt. ——, 423
Wren, Sir Christopher, 74 *n*
Wright, Richard, freeman of Plymouth Colony, 1675, 152
Wyatt, William, 406
Wyman, Jabez, killed at Cooper's Tavern, April 19, 1775, 286–289; sketch of, 287 *n*
—— Lydia (Winship), wife of Jabez, 287 *n*
Wyndham, Sir Charles, second Earl of Egremont, 206

YALE College, the great apostacy at, 1722, 5; benefits by sale of lands granted to Connecticut in settlement of boundary, 44
Yarmouth, Plymouth Colony freemen in, 1675, 149
Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, settlement of, 363, 364
York, Duke of, grant to, of the province of New York, 1663–64, 208, 209; of land on the Kennebec River, 1664, 217. *See also* James II
Yorke, John, 224
Young, Thomas (*d* 1777), 54; author of pamphlet signed Philadicaios, entitled Some Reflections, etc., 1764, 52

ZENGER, John Peter (*d* 1746), 79